



#### EXPLANATION

*Britannia, standing upon a Rock in a Defensive Attitude, on her right hand a Lion the Emblem of Courage, on her left a Caduceus which signifies Policy, the Ashes and Scepter signify her Naval Power and Dominion of the Sea, the Cask and Bale of Goods her Traffick, and the Castle in the back ground her Internal Strength. On the opposite Continent are the Emblems of France, Spain, and Holland, the two former in an hostile posture as an indication of their Natural Enmity to England, and the latter crouching down as ready to take a Commercial Advantage of all Political Disputes.*



# NEW AND AUTHENTIC History of England,

FROM THE MOST REMOTE PERIOD OF  
GENUINE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE,  
TO THE  
PRESENT IMPORTANT CRISIS:  
CONTAINING AN  
INTERESTING CHRONICLE OF THE MONARCHS;  
AN ACCURATE  
CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF REMARKABLE EVENTS;  
AN  
ENTERTAINING RECITAL OF SINGULAR OCCURRENCES;  
AND AN IMPARTIAL BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE OF THE  
LIVES OF EMINENT PERSONS:  
INCLUDING, IN THE WHOLE,  
ALL THAT IS WORTHY OF OBSERVATION IN THE ANNALS  
OF THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE.

IN WHICH

The CIVIL, ECCLESIASTICAL, MILITARY, NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and LITERARY TRANSACTIONS of THESE REALMS, are circumstantially and candidly related; the CONSTITUTION and POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENTS are distinctly traced; and an ESTIMATE of the CUSTOMS and MANNERS of the TIMES, with the STATE of the NATION, are given for the Space of near TWO THOUSAND YEARS.

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By WILLIAM AUGUSTUS RUSSEL, Esq.

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Embellished and illustrated with upwards of ONE HUNDRED curious COPPER PLATES, engraved (from the Drawings of the celebrated Mr. WALE, and other eminent Artists) by GRIGNION, WALKER, TAYLOR, WHITE, DEBROCHE, and other capital Masters, representing the most remarkable public and private Transactions that occur in the Course of the History; with Whole Length Figures of all the Monarchs, from William the Conqueror, to the present Time.

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Read, Britons, read, how your Forefathers thought,  
And gain'd Renown, while they for Freedom fought;  
Fix'd on a Rock, Religion's purest Flame,  
And studied Commerce, as they fought for fame;  
While Heav'n at once, with Arts and Arms inspir'd,  
And Wisdom fram'd those Laws by all admir'd:  
Hence Britain's Sails are in all Climes unfurl'd,  
And Heroes bear her Thunder round the World.  
Truth ope's her Records, and delights to tell  
How worthy Monarchs rose, and Tyrants fell;  
How the King's Power, and People's Love agree,  
"And 'tis each Subject's Birth-right to be FREE."

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L O N D O N:

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MDCCLXXVII.



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# T H E P R E F A C E.

**T**H E R E is a natural desire implanted in every human heart to know its own origin, and to trace the vital blood that flows through it to the fountain-head:

Hence individuals, willing to preserve the memory of their progenitors transactions, have transmitted to posterity an account of many important events ; and, sedulous for their own ancestors, have furnished the world with a variety of interesting anecdotes concerning those of others.

At length, the annals of particular families were blended together, and national histories formed; these were no sooner known than admired, a sense of their utility succeeded, and their real importance shortly procured them universal esteem.

A celebrated writer justly observes, that “ Wandering people must have been the last who wrote, “ having less means of procuring and preserving archives, having few wants, few laws, few events ; “ being occupied by nothing but the method of procuring a precarious subsistence, and being satisfied with oral tradition. A Hamlet had never any history ; a wandering people still less ; and “ a single city very rarely. The History of a Nation cannot be written till very late ; it is begun “ by some summary registers which are preserved as far as can be in a temple or citadel. An unhappy war often destroys these annals ; and the people must renew their labours twenty times ; “ like ants, whose habitations are trampled upon. Many ages must elapse before a History any “ way circumstantial can succeed to this indigested register.”

Thus originated the histories of different nations, when the hand of improvement methodized the various relations, ascertained dates by concurrent testimonies, compared facts with each other, and placed events in such a light as to reduce the whole to a system.

At present no polite people are without their national history. Societies, deficient in this respect, are justly ranked as barbarous ; and those individuals in polished countries, who are unacquainted with their own annals, may, with equal justice, be deemed stupidly illiterate.

If the members of arbitrary governments think it inexcusable to be ignorant of their own chronicles, how much more assiduous ought a British individual to be in making himself acquainted with the history of his country ? The former but seeks, as a matter of curiosity, to know when, where, and how, his chains were forged, and at what period he became enslaved ; but it is incumbent on the latter, as a matter of necessity, to inform himself at what time his constitutional liberty was obtained ; how tyrants were prevented from enslaving this nation ; and by whom our rights and franchises were handed down to us inviolate. The *one* amuses himself in tracing how he became a *vassal* ; the *other* may find equal entertainment in exploring how he became *free*.



The business of an historian is to be ~~faithful~~—~~impartial~~—~~perspicuous~~—~~instructive~~—~~amusing~~—  
and *exact*. These relative duties we have endeavoured to perform by giving a *faithful narrative* of  
events; an *impartial account* of actions; a *perspicuous detail* of occurrences; an *instructive display* of  
characters; an *amusing relation* of things; and an *exact recital* of facts. To be *faithful*, we have  
compared authorities; to be *impartial*, we have divested ourselves of prejudice; to be *perspicuous*,  
we have aimed at *conciseness*; to be *instructive*, we have omitted nothing *essential*; to be *amusing*,  
we have inserted nothing *unnecessary*; and to be *exact*, we have strictly attended to *dates*. In fine,  
our end is *improvement*; our *means*, *entertainment*; and our *guide*, TRUTH.

When dust shall eat her brass, when time's strong hand  
No more shall suffer palaces to stand;  
When sumptuous temples, lofty towers decay,  
And mould'ring pillars piece-meal fall away;  
Still, still shall live th' Historian's useful page,  
The faithful mirror of each various age;  
While Britain's annals to succeeding times  
Shall praise our virtues, or reproach our crimes:  
And as we pry into events of yore,  
Our own transactions others shall explore.  
Then o'er Britannia's head may cloudless skies,  
And white-rob'd peace in brightning prospects rise;  
That our successors may not blush for shame,  
And children mourn, their fathers were to blame.

*William Augustus Russel.*





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A NEW AND AUTHENTIC  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

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BOOK I.

*From the earliest Period of Authentic Information, to the Conquest of Britain by the Romans.*

**I**N tracing the English Annals, a vast field opens to the imagination, and a prodigious fund of important intelligence is procured. That curiosity, inherent in every enquiring soul, is gratified by a variety of objects worthy of the utmost attention; the most rational information is acquired, while the mind is agreeably entertained; we receive lessons from the wisest legislators; are instructed in the duty we owe to ourselves and our country, by the bravest heroes, and even learn to correct our faults by the erroneous conduct of Kings.

We are, in the course of our investigation, led to consider the various degrees by which a powerful nation hath been gradually polished from a state of profound ignorance and barbarism, to an amazing degree of literary and political refinement. No country having undergone greater changes, none can afford more satisfaction to the curious; for since the revolutions have been many, the examples must be numerous; and as the occurrences were important, the lessons they afford are, of course, interesting.

This island was so early known at the time the Roman empire was in its utmost splendor; but since that period it has increased so exceedingly in power and opulence, as to extend its conquests farther, and to acquire more territory than that state could ever claim, when its possessions were the most extensive. Even in the time of the emperor Augustus, the Britons were deemed a people detached from the rest of mankind, and of such inhospitable manners, that it was thought a kind of banishment to be sent among them.

— "Some to far Oaxis shall be sold,  
" Or try the Lybian heat, or Scythian cold;  
" The rest among the BRITONS be confin'd,  
" A race of men from all the world disjoin'd.  
VIRGIL."

Yet the inhabitants of these islands, at subsequent periods, penetrated regions which the Romans had no idea could exist, made themselves masters of tracts of country which lay in climates, deemed by those people, uninhabitable, and boldly explored an immensity of ocean, though then pristine conquerors never dared venture to lose sight of land.

The ancients deemed Great Britain the largest island in the universe. Modern discoveries have, however, evinced the error of that idea; but if it is not the most extensive, it is certainly the most considerable in every other respect. The excellency of its situation; the fertility of its soil; the courage and ingenuity of its inhabitants; its internal opulence, extensive commerce and naval strength, place it at the head of European states, and seat it in the first rank of estimation in the eye of the world.

We cannot forbear here inserting the beautiful epithets with which the inimitable Shakespear, one of its noblest ornaments, distinguishes it.

" This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,  
" This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
" This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
" This fortress built by nature for herself,  
" Against infection, and the hand of war,  
" This happy breed of men, this little world,  
" This precious stone set in the silver sea  
" Which serves it in the office of a wall;  
" Or as a moat defensive to a house  
" Against the envy of less happier lands."

It has been supposed that England was first termed *AMRON*, and afterwards *BRITAIN*; but this opinion is erroneous, as the names are equally ancient, the whole cluster of islands being called Britain, and England only known by the appellation of Albion.

The ancient history of all nations, and the derivation of the names peculiar to them, have been generally enveloped in obscurity, and disguised by fables. The annals of Britain, like others, met this common fate, and previous to the invasion of Julius Cæsar, every historical occurrence is interwoven with romance; so that it is extremely difficult to separate fact from fiction. We shall, however, endeavour to preserve what is authentic; exclude the fabulous parts from our writings; and maintain that candour and veracity, so essential to the character of the historian.

The word Albion is derived, by the most judicious historians, from the Greek word *Albion*, which signifies white, this is countenanced from the whiteness of the chalky cliffs which surround the whole island,



island, and authorised by the writings of the antient British bards themselves, who call England *INIS-WEN*, or *WHITE-ISLAND*. The epithet Britain, according to the most authentic accounts, is derived from the word *BRITH*, which, in the British language, signifies painted, and was peculiarly characteristic of the natives, though some affirm that it originates from the Phœnician word *BARTANAC*, or *LAND OF TIN*, a name which those people who traded to Britain for this commodity, might naturally be supposed to bestow upon the country itself. With respect to the modern appellative England, it is derived from an Anglo-Saxon province called Anglen, from whence our Saxon ancestors principally came.

The island of Great Britain is commodiously situated in the Atlantic Ocean, being bounded on the north by the Deucædonian, or Northern Ocean; on the south by the British Channel; on the west by the Irish Sea, or St. George's Channel; and on the east by the German Ocean.

The astronomical length from north to south is 540 miles; that is, accounting sixty miles to a degree; but in English statute measure it is exactly 622 miles, and four furlongs in length, and 285 miles in breadth in the broadest part, which must be taken from the Land's-end in Cornwall, to the south Fore-land, in Kent. The form is triangular, the whole circumference, including the windings of the coast 1830 miles, the longitude is from 9 deg. 45 min. to 17 deg. 15 min. and the latitude from 50 to 59 deg. north.

From its peculiar situation, Great Britain enjoys many advantages unknown to any other country under the same parallel of latitude, and is indeed superior in some circumstances to the rest of Europe. Being surrounded by some of the finest seas in the Universe, the coldness of winter is mitigated by the salt vapours; and the heat of summer corrected by the refreshing breezes which proceed from them; so that the former is never intense, nor the latter intolerable. An almost perpetual verdure overspreads the face of the country, and is at once the admiration, and envy of neighbouring nations. The air, though thick is not unhealthy, as the inhabitants are celebrated for their longevity. The frequent rains meliorate, and the hazy fogs fatten the earth to so great a degree, that the pastures are the most verdant and rich, and the cattle some of the largest and finest in the world. Thunder, lightning, earthquakes, and hurricanes are neither so common in their visits, or so terrible in their effects, as throughout the rest of Europe. The surrounding seas, intersecting streams, and fertile plains, furnish Britain with all the necessaries that nature can crave, and most of the delicacies that luxury can wish, while every deficiency that the imagination of variety, or the calls of epicurism may require, is profusely supplied by commercial means. Scarcity is so little known, that above three centuries have been unacquainted with famine, and constraint is so incompatible with the constitution, that the meanest subject has the same freedom of enjoying the fruits of his industry, as the most exalted peer can claim to revel in the produce of his possessions; well may each individual exclaim with Doctor Lisle:

“ The flow ascending hill, the lofty wood  
 “ That mantles o’er its brow the silver flood  
 “ Wand’ring in mazes thro’ the flow’ry mead,  
 “ The herd that in the plenteous pastures feed,  
 “ And ev’ry object, ev’ry scene excites  
 “ Freshly under my soul and fills with new delights,  
 “ Dwells cheerful plenty there, and learned ease,  
 “ And art with nature seems at strife to please.  
 “ There liberty, delightful goddess reigns,  
 “ Gladdens each heart, and gilds the fertile plains,  
 “ There firmly seated may she ever smile,  
 “ And shower her blessings on her favourite isle.”

Concerning the first peopling of this island, very little can be said with certainty; all that has been written upon the subject is merely conjectural, and even those conjectures are founded upon tradition only. The most early account which is deemed authentic, informs us that Teutat, king of the Celts, first sent a colony of his subjects here, in order to extend the commerce of his own dominions. These having succeeded in making a settlement, others were induced to follow their example; and thus, in process of time, not only the sea coasts, but the interior parts of the island became inhabited; for many, not having a genius for commerce, quitted the maritime provinces, and seeking that satisfaction in a solitary, which they could not find in a busy life, resigned themselves up to unrestrained indolence, and absolute freedom, in the woody recesses of the in-land parts of the kingdom.

The Belgæ afterwards becoming too numerous on the continent, and consequently impoverishing each other, a great number of them determined to emigrate to Britain. These springing originally from the same stock, using the same language, and having the same manners and customs as the Celts, were hospitably received by the descendants of the first settler, and incorporating together, by inter-marriages, their progeny deemed themselves but one people. Hence the ancient inhabitants of Britain became populous and powerful, and the Phœnicians and Grecians carried on a commercial intercourse with them long before they were known to the Romans. With respect to their characters, they were exquisitely tenacious of liberty, rudely generous, and roughly brave. They resembled their neighbours the Gauls in every thing, except being less polished, and more ferocious. Tacitus says, that the vigour of their bodies, and the faculties of their minds were superior; and Diodorus affirms, that they possessed much greater integrity than even the Romans. Like the principal part of the universe at that time, they were gross idolators, their worship being as rude, as their manners were simple. The men were tall, strong, and active; the women fair, well featured; and finely shaped; and both sexes had either red, or chestnut-coloured hair. Robust by constitution, and hardy through custom, as they felt not the necessity, they scarce knew the conveniency of dress, or fixed dwelling places; many went intirely naked, and those who were clad, wore only the skin of some animal thrown negligently over them. Their houses were but huts built of boughs and covered with reeds, and these they removed at pleasure; their towns were shady woods, in which they erected those temporary dwellings, and their fortifications were large ditches or trees cut down, and laid across the winding woody paths, to impede the passages to their habitations. It is singular that they used exactly the same expedient to render themselves agreeable and terrible; for by staining their bodies all over with Woad, they imagined that they became at once captivating to those whom they wished to please, and dreadful to such as they wanted to terrify. That herb gave them a sky coloured tinge, which being considered as a proper ground, was overpread by a variety of other tints, independent of which they were ornamented with many different figures artificially cut into the skin. The latter custom is still in use in many parts of the world, as the late discoveries in the South Seas evince, where the practice of tatowing, or tattooing and cutting the skin by way of ornament, is almost general.

Far from wanting foreign assistance to furnish out their meals, they deemed many articles of the produce of their own country superfluous, and did not use the half of that abundance with which nature presented them. The flesh of animals killed in hunting, fruit, milk, and water, were all the luxuries of their frugal



frugal tables. This abstemiousness was not the effect of natural temperance alone; but in some measure took its rise from religious principles, as they were strictly forbade eating fowl, hare, goole, or fish; they bred up the three former, as domestic animals, but never attempted to take the latter, because they imagined that the waters were the habitation of the gods, and that all which they contained was of course consecrated to their use. It is, however, affirmed, that the Belgæ, upon their settlement in Britain, introduced some little knowledge of agriculture, so that bread made of rye and barley mixed became common; and upon particular solemnities they used a fermented liquor, composed of honey, barley, and apples, which upon those occasions only they drank to excess, and consequently became intoxicated.

The inhabitants of the maritime were more civilized than those of the inland parts of the kingdom on account of their intercourse with strangers. The principal commodities which they exported were hides and tin; commerce was chiefly carried on by barter, as their coin consisted only of iron and brass rings, which being made to a certain weight past among themselves as current. The imports were gold, silver, ivory, and pearl; these they at first considered as matters of curiosity, afterwards they became means of distinction, by being converted into ornaments to adorn their principal people; and finally, they grew objects of their ingenuity, for they, in process of time, learned to manufacture them into chains, bits, bracelets, collars, wreaths, &c. to such perfection, that they were re-exported at a considerable advantage. Their marine was extremely trifling, consisting only of boats made of light wood, cover'd with skins; and as they invariably observed a religious maxim enjoined them, never to eat upon the water, it is evident, that their voyages could not be long. It is to be observed, in honour of the antient Britons, that they were exceeding hospitable to strangers, and scrupulously humane to those cast by stress of weather, or ship-wreck upon their coast, whose persons and effects they deemed sacred. — We wish that truth would permit us to include the modern Britons in this eulogium.

The civil government of the Britons greatly resembled that of the Gauls; the whole country was divided into several petty states; whether the sovereigns of these principalities were hereditary or elective, is not at present known; but it is certain, that upon particular emergencies, delegates were sent from all these states to a full assembly of the nation, in order to appoint some respectable individual to the office of Generalissimo. The authority of this officer was temporary, as it depended on public expediency, and his power limited, since he was amenable to the sentence of the general assembly by whom he was elected.

Of these petty states there were seventeen previous to the Roman invasion, viz.

Dannomi	{	Cornwall
Durotriges	{	Devonshire
		Dorsetshire
Belgæ	{	Somersetshire
		Wiltshire
		Hampshire
Atrebates	{	Isle of Wight
Regni	{	Berkshire, or Berks
Cantium	{	Surrey
		Sussex
Dobun	{	Kent
		Gloucestershire
		Oxfordshire
Cattuchlam	{	Buckinghamshire
		Bedfordshire
		Hartfordshire, or Hertfordshire
Timobantes	{	Middlesex
		Essex

Iceni	{	Suffolk
		Norfolk
		Cambridgeshire
		Huntingdonshire
		Northamptonshire
		Leicestershire
Coritani	{	Rutlandshire
		Lincolnshire
		Nottinghamshire
		Derbyshire
		Warwickshire
Cornavii	{	Worcestershire
		Staffordshire
		Shropshire
		Cheshire
		Herefordshire
Silures	{	Radnorshire
		Brecknockshire
		Monmouthshire
		Glamorganshire
Dimetæ	{	Carmarthenshire
		Pembrokeshire
		Cardiganshire
		Montgomeryshire
		Merionethshire
Ordovices	{	Carnarvonshire
		Anglesey
		Denbighshire
		Flintshire
	{	West
		East
		North
Brigantes	{	Riding of Yorkshire
		Richmondshire in ditto
		Bishoprick of Durham
		Lancashire
		Westmoreland
		Cumberland
Ottadini		Northumberland.

An able writer says, that the abovementioned practice of the antient Britons and Gauls, in electing their generals and other principal people was, "A polity the most natural to mankind, in which the wisest, the bravest, and the strongest, being elevated by these natural advantages above the rest, challenged the pre-eminence of conducting the people in time of war, and governing them in peace: this was the civil œconomy into which mankind fell of course, when they found the absolute necessity of having some sort of government to avoid the inconveniences in a state of nature."

In each of these petty states the principal power was lodged in the Druids; a body of men, who, though generally considered as priests, acted in a civil as well as ecclesiastical capacity. The reason of their becoming possessed of the secular as well as the clerical authority, was owing to a notion being prevalent among the people, that none ought to submit to punishment for any crime whatever, but by divine authority, which authority was delegated to, and lodged in the priesthood only. Hence the Druids had an uncontrouled power over the minds and persons of the laity, exempted from taxes, excused from military services, arbitrators in civil concerns, judges in criminal matters, and public oracles of the community, it must be imagined that their sentences were without appeal, indeed, few dared to dispute their infallibility; but if by chance an individual had so much temerity, he was punished by an excommunication so dreadful, as to be deemed more terrible than the cruellest death. From that moment he was looked upon as a person abandoned by God and men, universally hated and contemned, none would communicate with him, but he was suffered to drag through a miserable existence, till penury or sorrow snatched him from a world, in which he could find neither pity or relief.



The Druids were under no apprehension that their influence could ever decline; being solely intrusted with the education of youth, they from infancy secured the respect of the people, and implanted that awe in their juvenile breasts, which increased with their years, and at length ripened into the most permanent and profound veneration.

The Druids were of three classes, viz. Druids, properly so called, Bards, and Eubates, or Vates.

The first class presided over, and regulated all public affairs, both in spirituals and temporals; their decisions were final over life and effects, and a principal part of their business was to direct and adjust all public sacrifices and religious ceremonies. They were under the direction of a principal elected by themselves, and stiled Arch-Druid, whose authority extended so far as to call to account, and depose the secular prince whenever he thought proper.

The second class, or Bards, were the national preceptors, having the care of educating the children of both sexes and all ranks. It was likewise their business to compose verses in commemoration of their heroes and other eminent people, and to furnish songs upon all public occasions, which they sung to the sound of harps.

The third class, or Eubates, were skilled in physic, natural philosophy, astronomy, magic, divination, augury, &c.

Hence it appears that the Druids in general possessed, not only all the power and learning, but the principal archives, and places of trust in the nation, for they were the only priests, magistrates, preceptors, poets, musicians, physicians, philosophers, orators, astronomers, magicians, &c. in the kingdom. It is not therefore surprizing, that the principal people should be ambitious to get their children and relations admitted into some of their classes; and that the vulgar should regard them with as much veneration as they did their deities, whose immediate agents they imagined they were.

If any disturbance ever happened among the Druids, it was upon the death of their Primate, when such earnest endeavours were made to get appointed to that honourable, and powerful office, that the freedom of election was frequently disturbed by appeals to the sword. Upon all other occasions they acted with great justice, moderation, disinterestedness, and temperance, which at once secured and increased that respect the people naturally entertained for them.

Their adoration, and religious ceremonies were performed in groves, consecrated to their deities. These groves were composed of, surrounded by, and fenced in, with lofty oak trees; as they held sacred that towering monarch of the British plains. Though the reason of such prepossession in favour of this tree in particular is now unknown, yet it is remarkable, that the ancient rustic natives of this island should adore that tree as a sacred production of the earth, which the more refined modern inhabitants ought to revere as their principal bulwark on the main.

In most of their various ceremonies, the Druids took occasion to use some of the members of this tree. Their altars were covered with its branches,

their victims adorned with the smaller boughs, and all who were concerned in the sacrifices, decorated themselves with garlands made of its leaves. The mistletoe, which nature hath taught to grow on, and embrace the sturdy oak, came in for a share of their veneration. They deemed it the peculiar gift of Providence, and held its virtues universal in medicine. It was yearly sought for in the spring, on the first day of a new moon, when a proper branch being selected, a principal Druid mounted the tree to which it clung, cut it with a pruning knife, and carefully wrapped it up in his garments, amidst the joyous acclamations of the enraptured multitude, who deemed it the happy omen of a prosperous year.

The religious tenets which the Druids taught the people, teemed with the grossest superstitions, and enjoined human sacrifices as oblations to their deities. The first part they had in common with the Celts and Gauls, the latter they learned from the Phœnicians. Their deities were Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Andates, their goddesses of victory, and others of a subordinate class; to them, after the Roman invasion, they added Minerva, Diana, and Hercules. Their worship consisted in human and other sacrifices, expiatory oblations, invocations and thanksgivings. They had in common, with other idolatrous people, both ancient and modern, the custom of making their idols hideously ugly, which evinces, that idolatry in general always was, and still is formed more on fear than love; as the figures which image worshippers are universally pleased to give their deities, seem rather calculated to excite horror or ridicule than to inspire reverence or respect. Unacquainted with the awful and amiable attributes of the true Deity, ignorant and barbarous nations, in all ages, have formed their religious opinions more on apprehension than admiration, and being incapable of conceiving the nature of universal benevolence, have sought a remedy for their fears in the deprecation of partial wrath.

All Druidical ceremonies, and literary precepts were performed and delivered by rote, as they never suffered either their maxims or their sciences to be committed to writing. This restriction was founded on two motives, the one, that the vulgar should not become acquainted with their mysterious learning by means of any manuscripts, which might accidentally fall into their hands; and the other, that the retentive faculties of their pupils might be invigorated by continual exercise.

Though the idolatry of the Druids was abominable, and their human sacrifices execrable, yet this moral philosophy hath been the admiration of after ages, and many of their maxims which stand in record have met with the eulogiums of the most celebrated and polished writers. We are happy to have it in our power to gratify the public with some of their principal tenets, which we have extracted from a valuable and curious manuscript in verse, now in the possession of a distinguished nobleman, who at present adorns, and reflects a lustre on the British court; and to whom we return our thanks for his obliging condescension in permitting us to transcribe them.

## The Druids System of General and Relative Duties.

### I. Religious.

ONE \* God supreme the universe does sway,  
With reverence his omnipotence obey;  
And know, that all we possibly can name,  
From heav'n itself originally came:

\* It is evident that the Druids acknowledged a supreme god head, but like many other nations they unhappily fell into idolatry by dividing his perfections, and making his various attributes so many imaginary deities.

† These sentiments evince, that the Druids had a notion of the creation, according to the Mosarcal accounts.

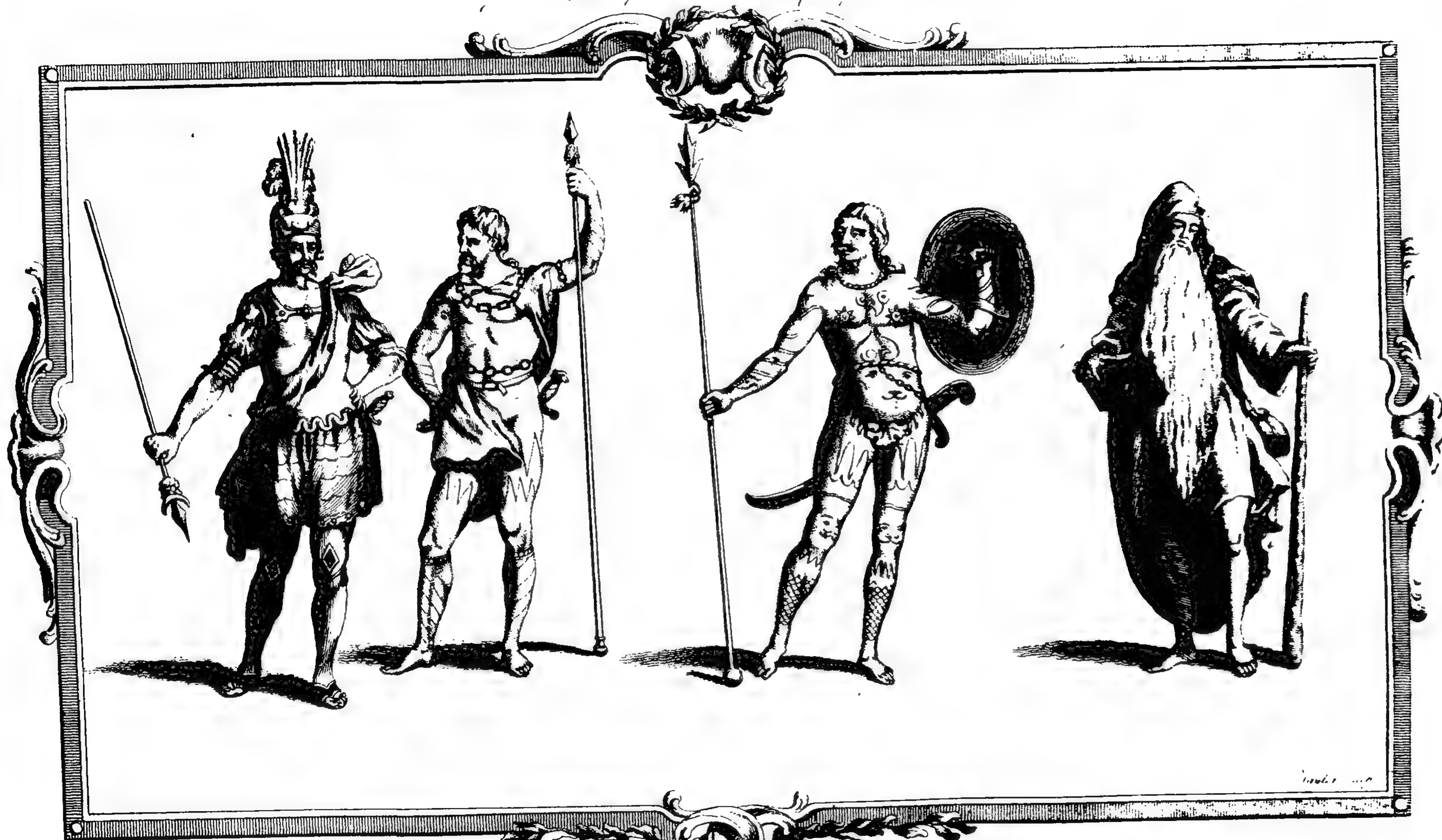
Let no mean thoughts of dissolution fright,  
Or damp your spirits with the dews of night:  
‡ The soul's immortal and can never die,  
Then death and all his dreadful train defy

For

‡ The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was one of the favorite druidical maxims, as being at once grateful to the human mind, and affording the Druids opportunities of inspiring the common people with the utmost degree of courage, by explaining the idea of an absolute dissolution, and encouraging them to expect future rewards for dying nobly in the service of their country.



*Engraved for Puffets's History of England.*



A ROMAN.

AN ANCIENT BRITON.

A PICT.

A DRUID.



For frail existence no vain efforts make,  
Nor fear to lose what he wants power to take.

If awful vengeance ever shall be hurl'd  
By nature's God against a sinful world;  
In dreadful deluges we must expire,  
Or else consume in rapid flames of fire.

\* In these tremendous elements alone,  
Mankind shall perish, and their sins atone

Another world is ready to receive  
Immortal souls, that earthly bodies leave;  
To dust the perishable parts return,  
But at the grave eternal spirits spurn.

† And if in virtue's paths they trod below,  
In heav'nly mansions 'tis their fate to glow;  
But if by vice enslav'd, their doom's to roam  
Without a heav'nly, or an earthly home.

On your young offspring spend your utmost care,  
And of the early seeds of vice beware;  
This noble task you can't commence too soon,  
Expand their virtues, and their follies prune;  
Their youthful minds, like melted wax impress,  
And heav'n's fair image in their souls express.

## II. Political.

Children must from their parents be remov'd,  
Tho' fondly priz'd, and tenderly belov'd;

‡ Till fourteen times the sun with radiant rays,  
Shall round the world in annual circuit blaze;  
Lest blind partiality in youth should wrong  
Those rising minds that to the state belong.

§ 'Tis just, upon emergencies of state,  
To yield an individual up to fate;  
Better a part should perish than the whole,  
A body's forfeit cannot hurt the soul:  
The sacrific'd, by feeling earthly pain,  
May greater bliss in future life obtain.

Blind disobedience to the state's decree,  
Shall always excommunicated be;  
And interdicted thus, the wretch shall roam,  
Secluded from society and home:  
Devoid of trust in the most trifling cause,  
And unprotected by the injur'd laws.

|| When danger calls, and delegates should meet,  
Let not the senate wait for tardy feet;  
For in the crisis of our country's fate,  
He merits death who gives advice too late.

## III. Miscellaneous.

Those who lend money to the wretch decay'd,  
In the next life will be again repaid.

If by one newly dead you want to send

\*\* A note, to any long departed friend:

\* Here the Mosaic account of the flood, and the promise that God would never again destroy the world by water are blended together, and referred to a future day. The idea that the world shall be destroyed by the powerful element of fire or water, and that man shall at the same time be purged from sin, by the purifying effects of the former, and the cleansing qualities of the latter, is extremely beautiful, and shews that the mythology of the Britons was in some respect superior to that of the Romans.

† It is a great pity that such sublime principles should have been disgraced by an intermixture of idolatrous notions, and in human ceremonies.

‡ This was an admirable political maxim to intrust the education of children to persons properly qualified, and publicly appointed till the age of fourteen years, when reason usually begins to take possession of her throne. By which means it prevented their being spoiled in their infancy by the indiscrete indulgence, or absurd partiality of their parents.

§ The principle contained in the first four lines of this maxim is reasonable in itself, and just with respect to society; yet the words were perverted from their true sense to the most cruel purposes; for on the authority of this tenet, human sacrifices were made, and the sentiment contained in the two subsequent lines, was intended as a salvo, both to excuse the cruelty of the practice, and to comfort the poor victim amidst the horrors of death.

Compose your letter in a solemn stile,  
And slowly cast it on the fun'ral pile.  
Then know the sentiments therein express'd,  
Will be deliver'd to the hand address'd.

Each master of a family, we deem  
In his own habitation, Lord supreme.  
O'er life and property his pow'r extends,  
If the state ratifies, what he intends.

†† Prisoners of war are doom'd by fate to die,  
Then sacrifice them to some deity;  
Upon the altars let them soon expire,  
Or clos'd in wicker feed the sacred fire.

Be arts instill'd—be useful science shewn,  
And wisdom taught in sacred groves alone;  
There, and there only, shall the mind improve  
In useful knowledge, and in social love;

But let no lesson be in writing given,  
Trust all to memory—that great gift of heaven:  
‡‡ When strong diseases, the weak frame enthrall,  
The moon's the sovereign remedy of all.

Let §§ mistletoe with reverent awe be sought,  
Since as a boon, from heav'n itself 'tis brought;  
The sacred oak ascend, and then with skill,  
Cut the wish'd branches with a golden bill.

The chief seat of the Druids was in the isle of Anglesey, where they held an annual assembly of the states, and had their principal seminary of learning, which, it must be admitted, was the first university in Britain. Hither the children of the princes, and nobility were sent for education; and such was the reputation of this early seat of the muses, that the principal people in Gaul were placed here on the same account.

The Britons were of a fierce and warlike temper, and consequently had frequent contests among themselves; which want of union, as Tacitus observes, greatly facilitated their conquest by the Romans. Their arms were small shields, and very large swords, which, says a certain author, was expressive of “a more eager desire of wounding their enemies than defending themselves.” The spears, or javelins which they carried were of a moderate length, and had a brass ball fastened to the lower end, with which they made a rattling noise upon an attack, to intimidate their enemies. Their daggers were very short, and their war chariots greatly resembled those used by the Grecian heroes during the Trojan war, as the Roman writers description of the former perfectly agree with Homer's account of the latter. To the nave of the wheels, iron scythes were fastened, which did great mischief as they drove through the ranks of the enemy. In the management of their chariots they were singularly skillful, being able to drive on the side of

|| If this maxim was still in force as a law, many modern senators would frequently be in danger.

\*\* This custom still prevails in Georgia and Mingrelia, where, as Sir John Chardin informs us, the people send letters by the dead to their friends in the other world; in particular, a complimentary card from the priest to St. Peter is placed on the breast of the deceased, to inform that saint that the funeral fees are paid; and intreat his permission for the soul of the deceased to pass into Paradise. From this maxim, we likewise understand that the Britons, like the Greeks and Romans, burnt their dead upon funeral piles.

†† These inhuman practices, the Britons, as well as many other nations, learned from the Phœnicians, who were the most bloody people in the universe, with respect to human sacrifices. The mode of burning prisoners in wicker was practised likewise by the Saxons.

‡‡ The Druids fancied that the moon had such an absolute influence on the human body, that by observing her aspects, and applying remedies accordingly, they could cure any disease. This explains the meaning of the above druidical tenet.

§§ Mistletoe was held in great esteem by the ancients for many medicinal virtues; but it hath decreased greatly in its reputation among modern physicians. Dr. Brookes says, it purges both upwards and downwards with uncommon violence, and is therefore improper to be taken inwardly.



of a hill, or edge of a precipice at full speed, stop suddenly, turn short, and perform many other acts of the most admirable dexterity. In the commencement of an engagement they scoured the plains in their chariots, threw their darts with great address, and began the attack with the utmost intrepidity. During the fight they would quit these machines, form themselves into compleat bodies on foot, and do great execution with their heavy swords; while their chariot-drivers withdrew from the battle, and placed themselves in order at a suitable distance, that their masters, if weary or overpowered, might easily retreat to them, and remount. Thus they maintained at once the speed

of cavalry, and the steadiness of infantry. Their horses were small, but vigorous and swift, and the troopers were exceeding skilful in the management of them. With respect to enduring fatigue, no troops could be more hardy and robust; they could, without any inconvenience, live a considerable time upon roots or the barks of trees only, and sleep many nights successively in damp bogs, and marshes covered with water. Such were the Britons at the time of Julius Cæsar's invasion; when, notwithstanding their skill and courage, the Romans found means to subdue them by greater unanimity, better discipline, more persevering fortitude, and superior address.

## B O O K II.

*From the Conquest of the Britons by the Romans, to the Introduction of the Saxons.*

### SECTION I.

*Of Julius Cæsar's two Expeditions into Britain.*

AT the time of Cæsar's conceiving the idea of invading Britain, the Romans were in the meridian of their military glory. They had subjugated the whole western world, yet their desire of conquest was unsatisfied. This thirst of unbounded dominion was universal, and pervaded all ranks of people. Each individual, from the laurel'd hero, to the low Plebeian, ardently burned still farther to enlarge the territories of the republic, and extend the Roman name. This general passion had already laid waste the continent, and seas of blood were shed to gratify the Roman vanity; but wild ambition is never satisfied, the ocean must now be crossed in the pursuit of a fallacious glory, and realms be joined by conquest, which were separated by nature.

“ From thirst of rule, what dire disasters flow,  
 “ How flames that guilt ambition taught to glow;  
 “ With gains on wish, desire formounts desire;  
 “ Hope fans the breeze, and envy feeds the fire.  
 “ From crime to crime aspires the mad'ning soul,  
 “ Nor laws, nor oaths, nor fears its rage controul;  
 “ Till heav'n at length awakes supremely just,  
 “ And levels all its tow'ring schemes in dust.

Various have been the conjectures concerning Cæsar's motives for this invasion. Some insist that envy stimulated him to the enterprize; for Pompey, of whom he was perpetually jealous, having conquered a great part of Africa, and carried his arms through many Asiatic regions, had filled the world with his renown. Hence Cæsar could not bear to remain inactive in Gaul, but glowed to do something which might immortalize his own name, and eclipse the glory of his rival. Others affirm, that avarice induced him to engage in the undertaking; and of this opinion is Suetonius, who says, that Cæsar was so captivated by the British \* pearls, which he would frequently poize in his hands with great satisfaction, that he at length determined to invade the country; and Cicero intimates, that the silver mines of Britain were his strongest motives for invading it. The sup-

position is, however, rejected by the generality of writers, on account of the acknowledged generosity of Cæsar's disposition; but such as reason in this manner shew, that they have taken but a superficial view of human nature; for the generous heart pants after riches as much as that of an avaricious cast, with this difference; the former would possess wealth, that he may liberally distribute it, and the latter, that he may fordidly conceal it. The miser is not constituted by wishing to acquire money, but by not having spirit to use it when acquired. And finally, a third class of those who have discussed this subject, make Cæsar's unbounded ambition the sole cause of the British invasion.

But without limiting our ideas, might not all these motives co-operate in the mind of Cæsar, together with the one which he himself mentions; but which these critical gentlemen have injudiciously omitted? for he tells us, that, “ although the summer was nearly spent, he resolved to make a voyage to Britain, “ because he had been informed in all the wars of “ Gaul, the enemies had received considerable supplies from thence.” Is it strange that the active spirit of Cæsar should undertake a difficult enterprize, when ambition, envy, interest, and resentment united in urging him to it? The Romans had previously been concerned in many sea engagements in sight of land; but had never entertained the idea of undertaking a naval expedition to any country separated by the ocean from the continent. This enterprize was reserved for Cæsar, whose martial genius seemed calculated to surmount all difficulties.

Cæsar's first expedition seems, by his own account, to have been rather intended as a preparatory, than a decisive one, for he says, (speaking of himself in the third person) “ Though the time of the year would “ not permit him to finish the war, yet he thought “ it would be worth his while to make an expedition “ thither only to view the island, to learn the nature of “ the inhabitants, to be acquainted with their coast, “ their ports and creeks, which the Gauls were almost “ strangers to; for they were seldom visited by any “ but merchants, who were unacquainted with all the “ country, except the coasts and those part which “ were opposite to Gaul. Accordingly, having summoned a council of merchants from all parts, he “ could neither be informed of the extent of the “ island,

\* Cæsar was grossly mistaken in fancying those pearls British, as the Britons had them by commercial means, from the Phœnician merchants.

† The best Roman writers affirm, that the merchants pretended to be much more ignorant concerning Britain than they really were, in order to deter Cæsar from his expedition, which they naturally

feared would deprive them of the beneficial trade that they carried on with the Britons. And this conjecture seems the more probable, as they took care immediately to a prize took people of their danger, that they might have time to make preparations for opposing the Roman forces.



“ island, what nation, and how powerful the inhabitants were, how well they understood the art of war, what customs they were governed by, nor how considerable a navy their parts were capable of receiving.”

Not discouraged by this want of proper intelligence, Cæsar dispatched C. Volusenus, a Tribune of his army in a galley, to reconnoitre the British coasts, and make such observations as might be of service to the expedition, who, after a five days cruize, returned and made a report of what he had seen to his commander.

Some of the British states being informed of Cæsar's great preparations to invade them, and dreading the impending danger, sent ambassadors to him into Gaul, offering to submit to the Romans, and to give hostages for their fidelity. These envoys were graciously received, hospitably entertained, and sent back in company with Comius as deputy from Cæsar to the different British states. Comius, a Briton by birth, but much in Cæsar's favour, was, however, imprudently seized upon the moment he landed, and imprisoned by his countrymen, who were exasperated at his attachment to a foreigner and an enemy.

Cæsar having drawn together his forces, embarked his infantry in eighty, and his cavalry in eighteen transport ships, and set sail from Morini, or Picardy, about one in the morning, on the 26th day of August, in the year of the world, 3917, and fifty-five years before Christ.

About ten o'clock the same morning, the ships, with the infantry, arrived off Dover; when Cæsar found the cliffs lined with armed Britons, who, from the nature of the place, could oppose his landing with advantage; he therefore ordered the ships to cast anchor, called a council of war, gave proper directions to his officers, and at about four o'clock in the afternoon again weighed anchor, in order to find a more plain and easy shore; which, after having sailed about eight miles to the northward, he discovered at the place now called Deal. The Britons, guessing his intent, dispatched their chariots and horsemen first, and followed with the rest of the army, as expeditiously as possible, in order to oppose the landing of the Romans; which, says Cæsar, “ We found it very difficult to effect for many reasons; because our ships being tall, required a considerable depth of water, and our soldiers, while their hands were employed, and loaded with heavy armour, were at the same time to encounter the waves and the enemy in a place they were not acquainted with; whereas the Britons, either standing upon dry land, or falling a little way into the water in those places they knew to be shallow, having the free use of all their limbs, could boldly cast their darts, and spur their horses forward, who were insured to that kind of combat; which disadvantage so discouraged the Romans, who were strangers to this way of fighting, that they did not appear so cheerful and eager to engage the enemy as in their former conflicts on dry land. Which Cæsar perceiving, gave orders, that the galleys, (a nimble sort of shipping the enemy had never seen) should advance a little before the rest of the navy, and row along with their broadsides towards the shore, that they might more conveniently force the Britons to retire from the water side by their flings, engines, and arrows, which did the Romans considerable service; for the Britons, being surprized at the make of our galleys, the motion of our oars and engines, began to give ground. But the standard bearer of the tenth legion, perceiving our men were unwilling to venture into the sea, having first invoked the gods for

“ success, cried out aloud,—My fellow soldiers, unless you will forsake your eagle and suffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, advance: for my part I am resolved to perform my duty to the commonwealth, and my general. Having said this, he immediately leaped overboard, and advanced the eagle toward the Britons; whereupon the soldiers, encouraging each other to prevent so signal a disgrace, followed his example, which those in the next ships perceiving, did the like and pressed forward to the enemy. The conflict was sharply maintained on both sides, though the Romans not being able to keep their ranks, obtain firm footing, or follow their particular standards, leaping out of several ships, and joining the first ensign they met with, were in great confusion. But the Britons, who were well acquainted with the shallows, where they saw us descend in small numbers from our ships, spurred their horses into the water, sat upon our men, incumbered and unprepared to receive them, and some surrounded us with their numbers in one place, whilst others flanked us where we lay most open in another;—which Cæsar observing, he caused the long boats and smaller vessels to be manned, and where occasion required, sent them to assist their fellows; thus our foremost ranks, having gained dry footing, were followed by the rest of the army, and charging the enemy briskly, put them to flight, but were not able to pursue, or take the island at that time, because we had no cavalry; which was the only thing wanting to complete Cæsar's wonted success.

“ The enemy being defeated, so soon as they had escaped beyond the reach of danger, sent ambassadors to Cæsar to desire a peace; promising to deliver hostages for their entire submission, and with these ambassadors came Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent into Britain, where he was imprisoned so soon as he landed with his general's commands; but set at liberty again after the battle. They endeavoured to excuse what they had done, by laying the blame upon the mob, and entreating him to forgive a fault of ignorance, but not of malice; Cæsar at first reprimanded them for their breach of faith, that after they had voluntarily sent ambassadors to him into Gaul to desire a peace, and delivered hostages of their own accord, they should, without any reason make war upon him; he imputed it, he said, to their ignorance, and forgave them; then demanded hostages for their future carriage, part whereof they delivered immediately, and with the rest who lived at some distance, they promised to return in a few days after. In the mean time, having disbanded their men, and dispersed them into their several counties, the princes from all parts came to deliver up themselves, and their estates to Cæsar, disposed.” \*

Affairs did not long remain in this amicable situation, for a violent storm dispersed the eighteen transports, appointed to bring the Roman cavalry, and did considerable damage to Cæsar's fleet in the Downs; the first were forced back again to Gaul, and the latter rendered totally unfit for service. The intelligence of these accidents threw the Roman army into the utmost consternation, and insinuated the Britons to revolt. The assembly of the states exhorted the people to seize upon this opportunity of regaining their liberty, and by a total extermination of their enemies to deter others from the idea of invading their country. And the Druids took care to observe, that as the heavens interceded themselves in their favour, it would be impious not to join the elements in their own deliverance.

Cæsar,

\* It is to be observed, that in mentioning general matters, Cæsar speaks in the third person; but in relating any thing more

particularly respecting himself, he always modestly makes use of the third person.



Cæsar, in the mean time, did all that a great general, and a prudent man could effect upon such an emergency. He fortified his camp with great precaution, assiduously furnished it with as much corn as could be procured, and industriously repaired the ships that had received the least damage with the timber of twelve that were the most shattered.

Hostilities, however, soon commenced, for the seventh legion being sent out to forage, was suddenly surrounded by the Britons, while the men were unsuspecting of, and unprepared for, an attack. The contest was sharp and bloody, and the Romans would have been infallibly destroyed, had not Cæsar come seasonably to their relief, and with his whole force interposed to save them from destruction. Encouraged by this success, and by the difficulties to which they were sensible the Romans were driven, they surrounded Cæsar's camp, and attacked it with great impetuosity; but after a bloody conflict were repulsed with considerable loss; when Cæsar thought proper to lay waste the country for several miles round. This induced them to send a third embassy to Cæsar again, to apologize for their conduct, and sue for peace. Cæsar severely reprimanded the deputies, and then granted their desires, only insisting to have the number of hostages doubled, and sent after him to Gaul, whither he returned with all his troops, on the twentieth of September. But the Britons were no sooner freed from such disagreeable company, than most of them forgot their promises, as we find that only two states thought proper to send the hostages stipulated for in the treaty.

Thus ended Cæsar's first expedition to Britain, which, though glossed over by the Roman self-flattering historians, was inglorious to their army, and not of the least solid advantage to the state. Cæsar, however, had sufficient address to represent it of such vast importance, that the re-public decreed him a triumph of twenty days upon the occasion.

During the winter, Cæsar made vast preparations for a more successful expedition in the ensuing summer. Every thing at length being ready, he set sail from Portus Itius, now Boulogne, in the beginning of August, with a fleet of upwards of 300 sail, and a formidable force on board. He landed without opposition in the same place he had done the preceeding summer, the Britons having retired up the country. Cæsar having left ten cohorts, and three hundred horse to guard the ships, penetrated the same night twelve miles from the sea, and discovered the Britons near the river Stour in Kent. An engagement ensued, when the Britons being routed by the Roman cavalry, retreated to a fortified wood, "where," (says Cæsar) "they were possessed of a post extremely well fortified both by art and nature, which had been built, in all probability, during the times of their own civil wars; all the passages to it being blocked up by heaps of trees cut down for that purpose. They never ventured out of this place but in small parties, and always hindered the Romans from entering it; but the soldiers of the seventh legion having cast themselves into a tessudo, and thrown up a mount against their works, took the place, and drove them from the woods."

The next morning Cæsar divided his army into three parts, in order to pursue the Britons, but was diverted from this design by receiving the melancholy intelligence that his fleet was almost destroyed by a storm. He immediately repaired to the sea coast, gave orders to repair some of the ships with the wrecks of the others, wrote to Gaul for more, and then resolved upon putting into execution one of the most astonishing expedients that ever entered the mind of man, which was no other than drawing his navy upon dry land, and surrounding it with a fortification. This was effected by incredible labour, and indefatigable in-

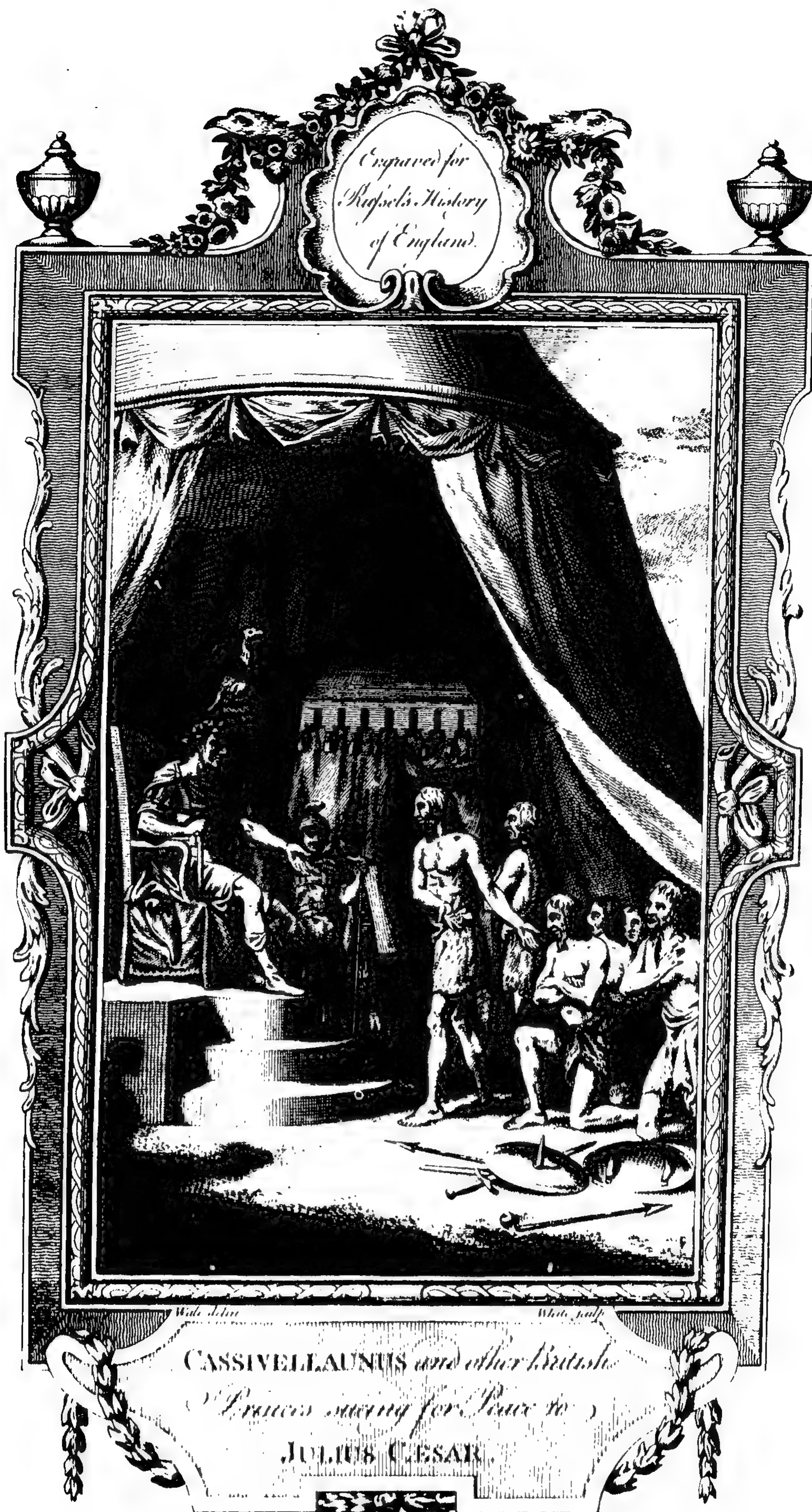
dustry. Cæsar then returned to the place where he had last defeated the enemy, when "he found far greater numbers of the Britons assembled, than he left when he went to visit the fleet. By general consent, the whole management of this war was committed to the care of Cassivellaunus, whose territories were divided by the river Thames from the sea coasts, and extended fourscore miles into the island; for though he had formerly made war on the rest of his countrymen, yet upon our arrival they all united, and pitched upon him as the fittest person to direct them at so important a conjuncture."

The Britons attacked the Romans in their march, a sharp conflict ensued, and the Britons were repulsed; but they soon after made an attempt upon the camp, and broke through two of the best cohorts. Cæsar, in relating this affair, is under the necessity of confessing, that he had rather the disadvantage. His words are, "This engagement happening in the view of the whole army, every one perceived that the legionary soldiers were not a fit match for such an enemy, because the weight of their armour would not permit them to pursue, nor durst they go too far from their colours, neither could the cavalry encounter them; because the Britons often pretended a retreat, and having drawn them from the legions, would forsake their chariots and fight on foot to a great advantage; and when they were mounted, they were equally fatal to our horse, whether we pursued or fled. Another disadvantage was, that the enemy never fought in a close battalion, but in small parties at a great distance from one another, each of them having their particular part allotted, from whence they received supplies, and the weary were relieved by the fresh."

The next day the Britons attacked three legions that were foraging, but were repulsed with considerable loss; upon this ill success, the auxiliaries forsook Cassivellaunus, who was never after able to bring any formidable force into the field.

Not being able to make head against the Romans, the unfortunate British chief retreated to his own territories, and fortified the Thames, where fordable. The Romans, however, forced a passage at Coway, in Middlesex, and proceeded on their march, when they were met by deputies from the magistrates of the chief city of the Trinobantes, who ignobly offered subjection, and traiterously joined the Romans; at the same time, requesting that Mandubrace, one of Cæsar's attendants, whose father was killed by Cassivellaunus, might be permitted to rule them. Cæsar assented, but at the same time demanded forty hostages, and provisions sufficient for his whole army. These conditions were complied with, and the defection of these people not only weakened the common cause, but induced several other states to follow their example. Among those who joined Cæsar, some were base enough to let him know what strength Cassivellaunus had still remaining, and where he had retreated to. Upon this information, Cæsar immediately proceeded to the city of Verulam, now St. Alban's, and beleagued that unfortunate chief in his capital. The place was tolerably well fortified with woods and morasses; but the Romans took it by storm, and put a prodigious number of the unhappy Britons to the sword. Cassivellaunus, however, escaped, and as his last resource persuaded four petty kings of Kent, viz. Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagelas, and Segonax, to attack the Roman camp where the ships were secured, and try to destroy the navy. The project was put in execution, but failed of success; for the Britons were defeated, and Cingetorix taken prisoner. This ill success, the desolation of his country, and the revolt of his allies, induced Cassivellaunus at length to sue for peace. His request was granted immediately







immediately by Cæsar, who pretended to have a great respect for Cassivellaunus on account of his personal courage; but the real reason of his granting him conditions tolerably favourable was, his desire to return to Gaul, where the public affairs rendered his immediate presence necessary. Previous to his departure, he imposed a yearly tribute upon the Britons, included his ally Mandubrace in the treaty, and tried to secure the allegiance of the different states, by taking with him a great number of hostages. Thus concludes Cæsar's second expedition, wherein Tacitus observes, he had rather shewn Britain to the Romans, than given them possession of it, supposing it glory sufficient to have attempted a thing at once so novel, singular, and difficult. When he returned to Rome, the British captives, from their remarkable attire and peculiarity of manners, afforded matter of admiration to the people, and Cæsar offered a breast plate, embroidered with pearls, found in Britain, to Venus as a trophy of the spoils of the ocean.

The subjugation of Britain was the very last triumph of the Romans, who had conquered so many nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa, for the purpose of extending their territories. Cæsar himself placed it among the greatest of his achievements, boasting that he had discovered and penetrated into a new world. The Romans in general were of the same opinion, for Ovid, in the succeeding reign, in describing the deification of Julius Cæsar, mentions it as the first and principal of that Hero's actions in the following lines.

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- “ In his own city, Cæsar we adore,  
 “ Him arms and arts, alike renown'd beheld,  
 “ In peace conspicuous, dreadful in the field;  
 “ His rapid conquest, and swift finish'd wars,  
 “ The hero justly fix'd among the stars;  
 “ Yet is his progeny his greatest fame,  
 “ The son immortal makes his father's name;  
 “ The sea-girt Britons, by his courage tam'd.  
 “ For their high rocky cliffs and fiercenels fam'd.

## S E C T. II.

*From the departure of Julius Cæsar, to the conquest of Britain, by the Emperor Claudius.*

THE account we have of the affairs of Britain for near one hundred years after the departure of Julius Cæsar, is very trifling and vague. By their intercourse with the Romans, the inhabitants grew more polished, but at the same time were less regarded. The emperor Augustus, Cæsar's immediate successor, greatly neglected this island for several years; at length he determined to make an expedition into Britain, but was diverted from his purpose by a revolt in Pannonia. About seven years after he renewed his design, but the distracted state of Gaul, and the arrival of some ambassadors from Britain to sue for peace a second time caused him to change his resolution. The ensuing year he again reassumed his intention, and was again disappointed by commotions in other parts. Thus, all his plans of making an expedition to Britain proved abortive. Tiberius succeeded Augustus, and, like his predecessor, paid but little regard to Britain.

On the death of Tiberius, the empire devolved to Caligula, a most conceited, whimsical, inconsistent, and cruel tyrant. In his reign Adminus, the son of Cunobelin, a British king, raised an unnatural rebellion against his father, but not succeeding according to his wish he fled to Caligula, who being of a bale disposition himself, received the traitor with open arms. The treacherous Briton, finding the encouragement given to his crimes, and perceiving the weakness

of the emperor, persuaded him to invade not only his father's dominions, but those of all the other British princes, representing, that the conquest would be very important from the riches it would bring; extremely glorious from its importance; and mighty easy from the terrors of his name: for the Britons, said he, will throw down their arms, the moment they hear you are coming in person against them.

These arguments exactly suited the avarice, pride, and cowardice of the emperor, who thought that an opportunity to gain wealth and fame without danger, was not to be neglected. He accordingly drew together an army of two hundred thousand men to invade Britain, and proceeded to the coast of Belgic Gaul. He was here informed, to his great surprise, that the Britons were under arms on the opposite shore, with a determined resolution to oppose his intended descent. This he could hardly believe at first, but being at length convinced that his name was not so terrible as he imagined, his fears induced him to desist, for he resolved not to engage in any enterprise, in which there might be the least personal hazard. But that it should not be said he was afraid to see his enemies, he embarked on board a galley, sailed within a league of the British coast, took a peep at the Britons, whose formidable appearance he did not at all like, and then halted back again with as much ostentation, as if he had achieved some great action. To make himself still more ridiculous, he ordered the army to be drawn up in battle array as soon as he landed, and having made a curious harangue to the soldiers, to their utter astonishment, gave directions that they should disperse themselves about the sea coast, to gather up all the shells they could find; the troops naturally thought the emperor's head was turned, but at the same time obeyed him. A prodigious quantity of shells being collected, Caligula commanded that they should be carefully packed up, and to complete the farce, sent them with the most pompous parade to Rome, as the spoils of the British ocean; demanding, at the same time, that the senate should decree him a triumph for the important services he had done the empire. Absurd as his request may appear, the senate was civil enough to comply with it; and put themselves to immense expence to render the emperor magnificently ridiculous in the face of the whole world.

Thus from the continual failure of intended expeditions, the Britons remained unsubdued by the Romans till the reign of Claudius; and then rather fell victims to their own intestine broils than to the power of that empire. Jealousy did what their enemies sword could not effect; and while some states had the virtue to oppose the Romans, others joined them, and were solicitous for their own destruction. Bouda, a discontented British Prince, was the chief enemy to his own country, and the principal person who persuaded the Emperor to undertake the expedition. Plautius, the Praetor, was placed at the head of the army, and ordered to pass into Britain. But the troops mutinied and declared, “ They would not make war out of the compass of the world,” for the common people thought that all places beyond the ocean were out of the limits of the world to which they belonged. At length, threats, present, and promises prevailed; harmony was restored, and the troops reconciled to the expedition. Plautius took advantage of this favourable disposition and embarked his whole force at three ports, that the failure of one embarkation might not prevent the success of the enterprise. They were however, all driven back by contrary winds, and much disheartened, but the appearance of an aurora borealis recalled their spirits, for the Romans imagining this meteor to be a happy omen against sail, and landed in Britain without opposition. Then not meeting with the assistance they expected,



expected, was owing to the Britons having been informed by some merchants, that the Roman troops had mutinied, and the expedition was laid aside. This fatal intelligence foothed them into security, and occasioned them to disband their forces, when there was more occasion than ever to employ them.

Plautius penetrated as far as Oxfordshire, without any opposition, except being a little harassed by small skirmishing parties. He now advanced toward the principal forces that the Britons had been able to collect, which were very impolitically divided into two bodies; the one commanded by Caractacus, and the other by Togodumnus, his brother. Plautius attacked them seperately, and defeated both parties: this double misfortune threw the Britons into great consternation, and at the same time determined Plautius to make every advantage of his success; leaving a sufficient body of troops to secure the country already conquered, he proceeded to the Isis. As this river was not fordable, they imagined that it would have stopped the career of the Romans. Their mistake was, however, soon evident; for Plautius ordered the German Auxiliaries to plunge into the stream and swim over, which they easily effected, though encumbered by their armour; for these people were trained from their youth to swim across deep and rapid streams, while incommoded with heavy weights. The Germans no sooner gained the opposite shore, than, according to the order of their General, they aimed their arrows and darts at the horses of the enemy; and by the slaughter of those animals, rendered the chariots effectually useless. The Romans, animated by the example of the Germans, soon crossed the river to their support, when the Britons, unequal to the conflict, fled. The next day, however, they recovered their spirits, and attacked the Romans with such impetuosity, that a victory would have been the consequence, had not Siderius Geta, after having been taken prisoner, freed himself, and those who were with him, and charged the Britons in the rear. This unexpected attack threw them into great consternation, and a rout ensued. Geta was deemed the cause of the victory, and a triumph was afterwards decreed him upon that account, though he had never passed the Consular dignity.

The Britons then marched expeditiously along the banks of the Thames, and forded it at places with which they were well acquainted; while the Romans, who followed them were frequently benimed in bogs and marshes. At length discovering a ford, the latter passed over, and again defeated the former; when many Britons, among whom was Prince Togodumnus, were slain.

Plautius found that his own army was considerably diminished by these repeated engagements; and that the Britons, not discouraged by their ill successes, were still determined to struggle for their liberties. Doubtful of his own security, he sent to the continent for reinforcements, and strongly solicited the Emperor to come in person in order to complete the conquest.

Claudius accordingly landed in Britain in the month of August A. D. 43, with a powerful army, and immediately marched to join Plautius, whose troops were encamped on the south side of the Thames. The forces by their junction formed a more considerable army than the Romans had ever before brought into the island. Claudius took the sole command upon himself, marched expeditiously up to the Britons, and before they had time to reflect, brought them to a general engagement; in which the Britons received a total overthrow. This last fatal defeat, and the powerful arm, of the Romans, quite dispirited the Britons, who thought more of making then peace than retrieving their affairs, and determined to court the confidence instead of opposing the progress of the conqueror. They accordingly, in general, threw

down their arms; and deputies from the different states flocked daily to the Roman camp to make their submission. It is therefore at this period that we ought properly to date the reduction of the Britons by the Romans, for the previous expeditions tended rather to disturb than subjugate the country. Claudius then took Camulodunum, now Malden, in Essex, which he made a military colony; a great part of the country was reduced to a Roman province, and having conciliated the affections of the Britons by his moderation, he returned to the continent. At Rome he was received by the people with the most rapturous demonstrations of joy; a triumph was decreed him, and Britanicus was added to his name. Plautius, who was left to manage the new conquest, after the departure of the Emperor, found that a discontent, and a desire of liberty still prevailed among the Britons, which obliged him frequently to detach Flavius Vespasian, on a variety of expeditions, according as exigencies required, or the commotions grew dangerous. In his several excursions, Vespasian fought thirty battles with the revolted and remote Britons; took twenty towns; subdued the Isle of Wight, and even added the Orkney islands to the imperial territories. As a reward for which, he afterwards obtained a triumph, two sacerdotal dignities, and a consulship. Plautius being honorably recalled from Britain, and cordially received by the Emperor, P. Ostorius Scapula was appointed to succeed him as Proprætor.

### S E C T. III.

*From the Proprætorship of P. Ostorius Scapula, to the Evacuation of Britain by the Romans.*

THE Britons took advantage of the interval between the departure of Plautius, and the arrival of Ostorius, to assemble under the command of Caractacus; so that Ostorius found the public affairs of Britain in a much worse situation than he had expected. As he did not land till the latter end of October, the Britons supposed that he would not attempt to attack them till the ensuing spring. But Ostorius, sensible of the danger of such a delay, determined to begin his operations immediately. He accordingly took the field, defeated several parties who ventured to oppose him, disarmed the Britons wherever he came, and erected a chain of forts along the banks of the Avon and the Severn, which effectually subjugated the southern parts of the island. He then added to the fortifications of Malden, in Essex, and built London; or at least augmented its buildings so much, that from a poor village, it became a mart of trade. As Ostorius determined to penetrate farther into the kingdom, he thought it prudent to leave no enemy behind. Cogidumnus, king of the Debori, was therefore made a Denizen of Rome, and besides his own dominions, had some other province granted to him to secure him in the Roman interest; this policy prevailed, for he was ever after a powerful and faithful ally, and proved of great service to the Romans upon a variety of occasions. Ostorius then marched against the Iceni, whom he defeated; this stroke induced others, who had then remained undetermined, to submit to the conqueror. The Roman general afterwards proceeded to reduce the Cant, and his endeavours, after a brave opposition proved successful; warring the country as he went he reached the Irish Sea, but was recalled by an insurrection of the Brigantes, against whom he immediately turned his arms. These were no sooner subdued, but the Silures prepared to oppose him, and being not only numerous and brave, but under the conduct of Caractacus, their endeavours appeared more formidable to Ostorius than any of the former. Caractacus, politically removed the seat of war from the country







of the Silures, or South Wales, to the country of the Ordovices, or North Wales; as he knew the craggy rocks and high mountains there would prove natural fortifications, and enable him to annoy the enemy with great advantage to himself. On the approach of the Romans, Caractacus addressed his troops in a spirited manner, and told them the impending engagement would establish their inestimable liberty, or confirm their perpetual servitude; that they ought to remember the courage of their ancestors, who had driven Julius Cæsar from Britain, and by whose valour they were happily delivered from oppression and tyranny.---The Britons, animated by this speech, gave a shout of general joy, and declared, that they would seek life in Liberty; or in Death, court eternal Freedom. The nature of the country, and the resolute behaviour of the enemy, in some measure staggered Ostorius; he, however, determined to rely on the courage and discipline of the Roman legions, and not to despair of the continuance of fortune's smiles to a people whom she had so long favoured. The Romans attacked the intrenchments with great spirit; the Britons defended them with the utmost intrepidity. The conflict was long and bloody; fortune seemed at first to incline to the Britons; but at length the legionary discipline prevailed, and the Romans routed their enemies with great slaughter. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners; his brothers soon after surrendered themselves up; and that unhappy General took the fatal resolution of flying to Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes, though he knew she was his enemy. Hence we may perceive, that common prudence frequently forsakes the greatest souls in the hour of distress, and indiscretion finishes what accident began.

Cartimandua was not only well affected to the Romans, but bore an inveterate hatred to Caractacus, for siding with her husband Venutius, with whom she had been a long time at variance. Happy, therefore, to have the object of her malice in her power, and to be able at once to oblige the Romans, and gratify her own revenge, she loaded that brave general with chains, and sent him to the conquerors.

The name of Caractacus had long been terrible to the Romans; he had for nine years bravely supported that formidable confederacy, began by Cassivellaunus, and was deemed the most experienced of the British leaders. It is not, therefore, surprising that his defeat should be considered at Rome in an important light, and that his captivity filled the people with joy. It was the universal wish, to see a general of the Barbarians (as the Romans were pleased to term the Britons) who had rendered himself so conspicuous, and whose military talents were at once dreaded and admired. All the captives were therefore sent to Rome, to become a public spectacle. On the day appointed for gratifying the general curiosity, the emperor and empress prepared to receive the unhappy captives in great state, each being seated on a magnificent throne, and adorned with the most superb military trophies. The grandees surrounded the monarch, the imperial guards were drawn up in order, and all the eyes of Rome were intent on the procession. The vassals and dependants of Caractacus came last, the warlike spoils succeeded, that brave general's family followed, and himself brought up the rear. In the presence of the emperor, the behaviour of Caractacus was collected and firm, and advancing to the imperial throne, he boldly addressed himself to Claudius, in the following words, as they are particularly recorded by Tacitus, the celebrated Roman historian.

"Had my moderation in prosperity been adequate  
"to my noble birth and ample fortune, I should not  
"this day have appeared as a captive, but as a power-  
"ful ally of Rome; nor wouldst thou, O Cæsar!  
"have disdained the alliance of a prince, defended

"of illustrious progenitors, and the commander of  
"many nations. My present fortune is to me low,  
"and dishonourable; but to you glorious and tri-  
"umphant—I once possessed horses, and arms, war-  
"riors, and chariots of war; power and riches—Is  
"it surprising then that I should be so solicitous to  
"keep, and arduous to defend them—If fate hath  
"decreed universal empire to Rome, our subjection  
"was inevitable; but had I tamely submitted with-  
"out opposition, neither my fame nor your glory  
"would have been conspicuous, and oblivion must  
"have followed my shame—Deprive me of ex-  
"istence, the sense of my losses will die with me—Re-  
"store me to my family, and raise a perpetual mo-  
"nument to your own clemency."

Claudius, who was naturally humane, could not hear this manly address without being sensibly affected. He sympathized with the captive hero, and melting into generosity, gave liberty to him and his family. It is difficult to determine, whether the greater merit belongs to the imperial Roman, or spirited Briton, but both have certainly a claim to the admiration of posterity.

This victory was placed among the most shining occurrences that formed the Roman glory; and Ostorius, though absent, was honoured with a triumph. But as his reputation grew splendid, his prosperity declined; lulled into security by success, the Romans became indolent and careless, while the Britons, taught by dear-bought experience, grew more expert in the art of war, and studied with care that discipline, their enemies knowledge of which had cost them so much blood—Stimulated to revenge, by their own wrongs and the captivity of their beloved hero; cautious from former failures; and better trained, by being fatally sensible, that regularity was the soul of military enterprise, they appeared to the Romans more formidable than ever. Their cautious intrepidity was successful, for surprising the legionary cohorts, who were left to erect forts in the country of the Silures, they defeated them. The principal officer of this detachment, eight captains, and a great number of private men were slain, nor would any have escaped, had not speedy assistance been sent from the neighbouring garrisons. Soon after they routed the Roman foragers, and by their successes, greatly dispirited the imperial troops. Ostorius, fearing that the splendor of his triumph would be sullied by these subsequent misfortunes, fell a martyr to the anxiety of his mind, and died through grief for not being able gloriously to terminate a war so prosperously begun. The demise of this able general gave the Britons new spirits, and determined them to hazard a general battle with their enemies. Manlius Valens took the command of the Roman army, till the arrival of Aulus Didius, who was appointed by the emperor to succeed Ostorius. The two armies coming to an engagement, the Romans were defeated, and the Britons so flushed with success that they penetrated into the Roman provinces, included under the name of Britannia Prima, while the legionary troops were greatly dispirited, and their auxiliaries in the utmost consternation.

Didius, on his first arrival, found affairs in a much worse condition than he had expected, and perceived abundant cause, severely to reprehend the conduct of Manlius. This fine opportunity, however, of recovering their liberty, was lost by the Britons, through their own intestine broils, and discord gave what their enemies could not take. The difference between Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, and her husband Venutius was now come to an open rupture. This infamous queen, relying upon the protection of the Romans, not only rejected her husband, and occasioned his brother and kinsman to be put to death; but took a menial servant for whom she had long entertained a criminal passion to share her throne and bed.

These



These things rendered her extremely odious, and roused the neighbouring states against her. Thus were the Britons plunged into a civil war, by a wicked woman, at the very period that seemed favourable to their deliverance. For while their own success gave them confidence and hope, the Romans were dispirited, the emperor Claudius died, and was succeeded by Nero, an effeminate, base minded prince; and Didius found that he should have sufficient employment in defending the Roman military provinces, without being able to make any additional conquest. Thus were affairs situated, when the legionary troops fought an obstinate battle in the defence of Cartimandua, whom they had great difficulty to save from falling into the hands of her husband—Venutius, however, seized upon her dominions; and being exasperated at the protection given her by the Romans, joined the British Confederacy, and determined, if possible, either to expel, or exterminate those abhorred intruders. Didius, who was very old and infirm, quitted this life about the same time, and was succeeded by Varanius, who boasted much, and did nothing, as death overtook him before he could carry any of his projects into execution. The celebrated Paulinus Suetonius was then nominated to the government of Britain; from whose military talents the Romans had the most flattering expectations; nor were they deceived, as he soon reduced the brave Ordovices, and turbulent Silures, and then turned his attention to the conquest of the isle of Anglesey, the chief seat of the British Druids, and the common retreat for fugitives who were enemies to Rome. Hence it became not only populous, but formidable, on which account Suetonius thought it a subduction absolutely necessary. As this island is separated from the land only by a very narrow channel which flows from the sea, the cavalry easily forded it, and the infantry passed over in flat bottomed boats. The Romans on their landing, found the people drawn up in order of battle, near the shore; the women running up and down the ranks with dishevelled hair, torches in their hands, and making dismal lamentations; while the Druids lifted up their hands to heaven, and made the air resound with the most dreadful imprecations. This unusual sight, and the hideous yellings with which it was accompanied, struck the Roman troops with surprise and horror; and during their consternation, a flight of arrows from the enemy did great execution. At length, animated by their general, and abashed at being thrown into confusion by women and priests, they impetuously attacked, and speedily routed the Britons. After the defeat, Suetonius found a great number of fires in the consecrated groves, being informed that they were intended for the sacrifice of the Roman prisoners who should be taken in the battle (for the Druids had assured the people of victory) he was so exasperated at the designed cruelty of those priests, that he ordered all the Druids that could be seized, to be thrown into the fires they had prepared, that they might suffer the death they intended for others. He then overturned their altars, demolished their magical woods, destroyed their mysterious groves, and put an effectual stop to Druidism. After this ordered forts to be erected, and appointed a force sufficient to secure this new conquest.

While Suetonius was thus successful in the remote parts of the kingdom, an affair of the utmost importance called him to the interior provinces. A general revolt seemed impending, to which the Britons, besides their natural love of liberty, had been excited by various reasons, of which the following are the most material. Prasutagus, the rich king of the Iceni, on his death made Nero cohen with his two daughters, thinking by that means to secure a powerful protection to his family, but the avaricious dispo-

sition of Nero prevailed over justice, gratitude, and humanity. Not content with the share so generously bequeathed him, his officers seized the whole kingdom, pillaged the palace, ordered the defunct monarch's consort, Boadicea, to be shamefully scourged, and basely commanded the common soldiers to violate the chastity of his daughters.

Calus, the Procurator, renewed the confiscation of goods, which before was remitted by the moderation of Claudius.

Seneca, one of Nero's counsellors, having obliged the Britons to borrow money upon loan, previous to the specified time of re-payment, suddenly recalled the sums he had lent with the most exorbitant interest; the impossibility of complying with his demands gave him a pretence to seize and distrain their possessions.

The colony at Camulodunum, either dispossessed the British inhabitants of that place of their houses, or treated them as their slaves, by obliging them to perform their menial drudgery; and the priests of Claudius, under pretence of demanding their religious dues, made the most grievous exactions on the people.

These, and many other cruel and flagrant acts of injustice, fired up a general spirit of resentment in the breasts of the Britons. An insurrection immediately took place among the Iceni and Trinobantes, at the head of whom Boadicea appeared, and blending her own private with the public wrongs, inspired the people with sentiments of revenge.

The Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea and Venutius, began their operations by an attack upon the Roman colony at Camulodunum. This place was taken by storm, the garrison put to the sword, and a dreadful slaughter throughout the whole province ensued. Flushed with this success, they soon after attacked the Ninth Legion, under the command of Petellius Cerealis. After an obstinate conflict, the Roman infantry was cut to pieces, and the horse only escaped. Suetonius, who was informed of all these proceedings, made the greatest expedition to reach London; which, though not a Roman colony, was much frequented by merchants, and generally stocked with provisions. In a council of war, London not being tenable, he withdrew to the Surry side, while the Britons entered London, and destroyed both town and inhabitants with fire and sword. The city of Verulam met the same fate: in fine, the Britons, with the most savage cruelty, put to death above 80,000 persons, sparing neither age, sex, or condition.

To put a stop to these depredations, Suetonius determined to hazard a general battle. His army consisted of only ten thousand men; but then being veterans, and admirably disciplined, seemed to make up for their inferiority in point of numbers. He chose an advantageous situation, with a narrow entrance leading to an open plain in his front, and a wood for the defence of his rear. The Britons now appeared in such numbers as to astonish the Romans, and at the same time seemed so confident of victory, that they had brought their wives with them, and placed them in carts at the extremity of the plain, that they might be witnesses of their triumph over the general army.

Boadicea, previous to the engagement, addressed herself to the army with all the powers of female eloquence, and informed them, "That it had been usual  
" for the Britons to fight under the conduct of wo-  
" men, but she now appeared in a capacity differ-  
" ent from her ancestors, being not to fight for a  
" kingdom, but as a person robbed and oppressed, to  
" revenge the injuries she and her family had re-  
" ceived. On which account she was determined to  
" obtain either Liberty or Death."

Suetonius, who was deemed the best general then living, did not fail to exhort his troops to act with their  
usual



usual intrepidity, and without considering the numbers of the enemy, to depend, that as soon as their first ranks were broken, the rout would become general, as the rest were only a confused rabble without order or discipline.

The engagement was begun by the Britons with a furious discharge of darts, which were no sooner spent than the Romans sallied from the defile, and charged the enemy in the open plain with such impetuosity, that their ranks were soon broken, and the Britons put to the rout with incredible slaughter, as above 80,000 of them were slain. The Romans had not above 400 killed, and as many wounded; but it is to be considered, that the carnage of the Britons was more general by their having surrounded the field with a chain of carriages, which, after the defeat, impeded their flight, and so fatally retarded their retreat, that many were sacrificed to the resentment of the Romans, who might have otherwise made their escape. The unfortunate Boadicea finding her hopes frustrated, and her revenge disappointed, destroyed herself and her daughters by poison, that neither should fall into the hands of the conqueror.

Suetonius took every advantage of his success, and destroyed the countries of those who had appeared as enemies with fire and sword. He deprived the Britons of their cattle wherever he came; and unfortunately for themselves they had no corn; for Boadicea, in order to render her army more formidable, had persuaded them, that it was unnecessary to save any, as the Roman granaries would soon be in their possession. Improvidently confident of success, they had neglected the duties of agriculture, and thus by their own remissness, the horrors of famine succeeded those of war.

These accumulated distresses were increased by the severities of Suetonius, whose rigour prevented the Britons from laying down their arms. This occasioned the procurator Julius Classicianus, to write to Rome for his recall, as the only method of terminating the war. Polyeetus was accordingly sent to enquire into the state of affairs in Britain. His report was greatly in favour of Suetonius, nevertheless, as that general had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Britons, on account of his destroying the Druids, it was deemed politically prudent to recall him.

Petronius Turpilianus, the successor of Suetonius, arrived in Britain at the beginning of the year sixty-two, and by moderation accomplished what the military severities of his predecessor could not effect; though some of the Roman writers have affirmed, that his affable behaviour was founded on indolence, and that a kind of apathy, natural to his disposition, prevented his being either cruel or rapacious. But whatever envy might promulge to his disadvantage, it is certain, that he gave essential satisfaction, both to the Britons and the court of Rome; by which he had triumphal honours decreed him. Returning home in the year 63, he was succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, who wanted both experience and courage, two things essentially necessary in the character of a governor and a general. Advance being joined to the above deficiencies, his ruin was the consequence, for the legions revolted, gave the command to Rofcius Calpurnius, and obliged Trebellius to fly the kingdom.

About this time that monster of nature, Nero, put an end to his own doleful life, and during the reigns of the two succeeding emperors, Galba and Otho, Britain continued in tranquillity. Vespasian, coming to the empire, deputed Vectius Bolanus to the government of Britain. This officer was negligent and inactive, but affable and obsequious; so that he gained the affection of the troops, without preserving the authority of the general.

On the demise of Vespasian, his successor Vespasian reinforced the army in Britain, and sent Petellius Cerealis to command it. This brave general conquered the Brigantes; and Julius Frontinus, who succeeded him, subdued the Silures. But Julius Agricola being appointed governor of Britain, towards the latter end of Vespasian's reign, by far surpassed the fame of any of his predecessors. The transactions of this general are succinctly related by his son-in-law, Tacitus, one of the most elegant writers, and without exception the best historian that any age or nation ever produced. His authority, therefore, we shall follow, as it is superior to all others.

A short time, previous to the arrival of Agricola, the Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, had cut off some of the Romans, and began another revolt. This general marched with the utmost expedition to suppress an insurrection, which portended such dangerous consequences. Their rocks and mountains were of no effectual use against a commander of such consummate abilities; he routed them on plains, drove them from precipices, and pursued them through places hitherto deemed inaccessible. Finding that neither the obstructions raised by art, or personal courage, could avail against the superior skill of the Roman commander, they submitted themselves to his clemency, and embraced the conditions held out by his humanity.

The Ordovices being subjugated, Agricola determined to complete the conquest of the isle of Anglesey, which had before been prevented by the sudden recall of Suetonius. This he effected with great reputation to himself, and then returning to the southern provinces, employed the winter in conciliating the affections of the Britons. Prudent by the errors of his predecessors, he made it his chief study to avoid the rocks on which they had severally split. He was moderate without relaxing in the distribution of justice, liberal without profusion, and though affable to all, his dignity was never lost to any; sensible that to extirpate the idea of revolt, it was necessary to render the people perfectly easy, he determined on a thorough reform throughout the kingdom. To give no offence, he began with the regulation of his own family, then proceeded to enquire into the abuses which had crept into the army, and concluded by new modelling the administration of public affairs in such a manner, as to give the least dissatisfaction to the people in general. This equitable procedure rendered him beloved, both by Britons and Romans, and made him the favourite object of all parties, so that on the demise of the emperor Vespasian, which happened, A. D. 81, his son Titus who succeeded him, confirmed Agricola in the government of Britain.

During the ensuing campaign, this able commander proceeded to subjugate the remaining unsubdued provinces, by the political mode of extending the sword with one hand, and the olive branch with the other, at once menacing the Britons with all the horrors of war, and courting them to partake of the blessings of peace. This conduct, equally prudent and artful, could not fail of success, and when the shutting in of the winter put an end to military operations, Agricola was still unremitting in his endeavours to rivet by gentle means those fetters which he had put on with so much cunning. To effect this he introduced a taste for architecture, erected public academies for the instruction of the Britons in the liberal arts, and promoted the study of the Roman language. Stately edifices assumed the places of huts, simplicity gave way to studied refinements, and frankness of speech was sacrificed to the elegancies of diction. The debased Britons were civilized into subjection; their rough ideas of freedom were polished into abject submission; and



and the last spark of liberty was extinguished by the luxurious graces.

In the third year of his administration, Agricola, having settled every thing to his satisfaction in South Britain, resolved to enter upon new discoveries, and to explore the northern parts of the island. In consequence of which determination, he this campaign penetrated to the Frith of the river Tay in Scotland, conquering all the countries as he went, and building forts to secure his conquests. The fourth year of his government he spent in reviewing and securing his new acquisitions, to which end he erected a chain of fortresses on the neck of land, between the friths of Glota, and Bodotia, now Dunbritton, and Edinburgh.

The emperor Titus dying, was succeeded by his brother Domitian, who confirmed Agricola in his government. In his fifth expedition, this great commander extended his conquests still farther north; erected forts, placed garnisons in the western isles, and built a powerful fleet to assist the operations of the army. The Caledonians, surprised at these proceedings, took up arms in despair, and determined to sacrifice their lives for the recovery of their freedom. Agricola, understanding that they intended to harass him in separate parties, divided his army into three battalions, in order to frustrate their designs. This new disposition induced the Caledonians to change their original intention; they accordingly united their whole force into one body, attacked the ninth legion, while detached from the rest of the army, and even broke into the camp with great slaughter. Agricola being informed of the transaction came to the assistance of his troops just time enough to save them from destruction. The Caledonians were routed with much carnage, and pursued to their woods and bogs by the horse and light armed infantry.

The Romans had hitherto imagined that Britain was an island. Julius Cæsar by conjecture expressly calls it so; yet it was not till about this time that the fact was really ascertained. But the following occurrence put the matter beyond a doubt: a cohort of Germans having slain a centurion and other Roman officers in a mutiny, fled on board three light galleys with a design to escape the punishment due to their demerits. In order to support themselves they frequently landed for plunder, and in this piratical manner sailed entirely round Britan. At length, being driven by a storm on the coast of Friesland, they were seized on and made slaves. Being frequently bought and sold, in the course of their traffic, they at last returned into the hands of their old masters, to whom they confirmed the general opinion of Britan's being entirely surrounded by the ocean, and received a free pardon on account of their discoveries, adventure, and sufferings.

Agricola, determined to penetrate to the extremity of the island, took the field early in the spring. The fleet seconded the operations of the army, by alarming the coasts, and the troops on board frequently landed, in order to divide the attention and distract the councils of the enemy. The Caledonians, in the mean time, formed a powerful union, and assembled near the Grampian mountains to the number of 30,000 effective men, under the command of Calgacus, a person of elevated rank, eminent abilities, and distinguished personal bravery. On being informed that the Roman forces were near him, he addressed his troops in these words, "When I consider the cause of this war, and the present crisis, I have reason to presume that the future happiness and freedom of the whole island will date their birth from this important day—for we are the most valiant remains of the Britons, seated in the remotest regions beyond the ken of those nations enslaved by the enemy, so that our eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the contagion of foreign

"tyranny; and this secret recess, unknown to fame, has hitherto preserved us in all the blessings of liberty—Beyond us is no nation, nothing but waves and rocks, and on that side, nothing but the bondage and slavery which is to be expected from the Romans, a people, insatiable in their lusts, and unbounded in their ambition. Those robbers of the world, and ravagers of the universe, now the exhausted continent can no more furnish their rapines, endeavour to rille the wide seas and ocean. Where they meet with opulent enemies, their cruelty proceeds from avarice, when with poor it rises from ambition. The east and west, vast as they are, cannot satiate their voracious minds—They, and they alone with equal greediness, grasp at the riches and poverty of all nations; devastations, murders, and extirpations pass with them, under the false names of empire and government; and they boast of establishing peace in those provinces they have rendered desolate—Our goods are their tribute, our corn their provisions, and our bodies their tools for all kinds of drudgery; and if the modesty of our wives and daughters has preserved them from open violence when they were enemies, it cannot secure them from their lascivious friendships now they are guests. Other slaves, whom nature and fortune have destined to servitude, are nourished by their masters; but the Britons alone purchase their own bondage, and maintain and support their oppressors. Were our enemies courage in war equal to their debaucheries in peace, we might justly dread their arms, but their glory is all owing to our dissensions. Our union will disperse their forces that are gathered out of many nations, so that one misfortune of theirs will dissolve their whole power—In fine, there you see tribute and slavery, here death, or liberty. Therefore let us consider the glory of our ancestors, and the fate of our posterity."

This speech animated Calgacus's army to a degree of enthusiasm, nor did Agricola forget to impart his troops with all the energetic powers of Roman eloquence.

Both sides being eager to engage, the battle began with great fury, and was obstinately maintained for some time with dubious success. At length the Roman discipline prevailed, and the Caledonians were defeated with a dreadful slaughter, 10,000 being slain in the fight and pursuit, while only 340 Roman lost their lives. The distress of the unhappy fugitives is scarce conceivable; driven by despair to the most sanguinary phrenzy, they butchered their wives and children that they might not fall into the hands of the Romans, then burning their habitations, and desolating the country in their retreat, they hid themselves in solitary cliffs, and dismal caves, and in those unsoled recesses bewailed their accumulated calamities.

Thus was Britan and the circumjacent isles entirely reduced to a Roman province. But the success of Agricola proved a fatal to himself as to the North Britons; for the tyrant Domitian, being jealous of his great reputation, still recalled him from Britan, and afterwards dispatched him by poison. From this period to the arrival of the emperor Adrian, a profound silence is observed by historians respecting the affairs of Britan—At least the supine acquiescence of the Britons in slavery, rendered the occurrences of the times so scarce and trifling, that the English writers have not thought them deserving of mention.

The expedition of the emperor Adrian was occasioned by a revolt of the Caledonians.—That monarch, on his arrival, marched into Scotland, drove the people up into the highlands, or northern mountains, and to prevent their future incursion, in the year A. D. 121, erected a prodigious wall with wood and earth, which extended from the mouth of the



Tyne, to the Solway Frith, running eighty miles from east to west. Then returning to Rome, his flattering courtiers, and sycophants, complimented him with the title of Governor of Britain, which was added to the names of his other dignities, and stamped upon his coins.

In the late insurrection the Caledonians had shewn more mercy to the Britons of the Southern province than to the Romans themselves, but treated both with indiscriminate cruelty. This impolitic barbarity hurt the public cause; as the South Britons, instead of uniting with the North Britons, in a general struggle for the recovery of their liberties, found themselves under the necessity of pursuing coercive measures against the latter for their own personal safety: and at length not only consented to conform themselves to the Roman laws, both civil and military, but also requested to be taught the discipline of the legionary troops, which request was complied with by Præfens Licinius the Pro-prætor.

Antoninus Pius succeeded the emperor Adrian, when Lollius Urbicus, his lieutenant in Britain, defeated the Brigantes, and afterwards built another wall in Scotland, from the Frith of Dunbritton, to that of Edinburgh.

From this period nothing material occurred till the reign of the emperor Commodus, when the North Britons became more formidable than ever. Hearing that the emperor was a pusillanimous coward, and the Roman army sunk in indolence and luxury, they judged it an admirable opportunity to undertake some capital enterprize. Having assembled a considerable force, they broke through the last made wall, attacked the nearest fortrefs, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and carried desolation wherever they went. Terrified at the intelligence of this, the emperor, with all possible expedition, sent over Ulpius Marcellus to command in Britain. This experienced and active commander began his operations with success, and finished them with judgment. He punished the revolvers, reduced affairs to their former channel, and revived the discipline of the Roman army. The prudent administration of Marcellus, and the applause which it procured him, excited the envy, and raised the jealousy of the emperor. Possessing no virtues himself, he could not bear them in others, as they seemed tacit reflections on his own vices. His ingratitude therefore prompted him to a design upon his general's life, in return for the services he had rendered him; but being persuaded that such a step would prove prejudicial to himself, he consented at length only to deprive him of his government.

On the departure of Marcellus, a mutiny broke out among the Roman troops, who openly renounced their allegiance to Commodus. To quell this dangerous commotion, the emperor imprudently sent his favorite Perennius to Britain, who, instead of appeasing, pursued the very methods most likely to increase the general discontent. He began his administration by removing the veteran officers, placing his own creatures in their stead, and treating the whole army with the most unexampled severity. These proceedings diverted the resentment of the troops from the emperor to himself, and induced them unanimously to accuse him of high treason. Commodus believed, or pretended to believe the allegation; and happy to find the storm turned another way, delivered his favorite up to the discretion of the enraged soldiery, who immediately sacrificed him to their revenge.

Pertinax being appointed to the government of Britain, with great difficulty, and at the hazard of his life, put an end to the seditions of the troops. Being recalled at his own desire, he was succeeded by Clodius Albinus, who, upon a false report of the emperor's death, declared himself for the senatorial, in preference to the imperial, power. These sentiments

so unpleasing to a despotic court being known, he was hastily recalled, and Junius Severus appointed in his room. The tyrant Commodus was murdered A. D. 193, when Pertinax succeeded to the imperial dignity. Albinus was re-appointed to the government of Britain, in which office he continued during the short reigns of Pertinax and Julian his successor, and had so far gained upon the affections of the troops, that on the death of the latter, they offered him the imperial crown. Septimus Severus, however, pretended to the same dignity, and received the sanction of the senate. Albinus, therefore, passed over with his legion into Gaul, that they might in the field confirm to him the title with which they had complimented him. He was, however, disappointed in his aim, for engaging Severus near the city of Lyons, his troops were defeated, and himself slain.

Severus being securely seated on the throne, determined to alter the administration of public affairs in Britain, by dividing that government into two parts: the southern department he committed to Heraclitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus. The latter, however, was so harassed by the Caledonians, that he at last determined to purchase his repose with money, and sacrifice his purse to his peace. This resolve was extremely impolitic, as the consequence proved; for the Caledonians finding that they could be well paid not to be troublesome, took the resolution to be more troublesome than ever, that they might be the easier bribed. Lupus now too late perceived, that he had thrown out a bait for insurrections; and that a payment to desist from hostilities was but earnest money to engage them to repeated attacks.

The emperor being informed of these things, resolved on an expedition into Britain, though he was then above sixty years of age, and sorely afflicted with the gout.—Severus accordingly arrived in Britain A. D. 208, attended by his two sons Caracalla and Geta. The North-Britons, terrified at this intelligence, sent ambassadors to sue for peace: these Severus detained under various pretexts, till he was ready for the expedition, and then dismissed them with an equivocal answer. Leaving his son Geta in the southern parts, he proceeded northwards, accompanied by Caracalla. In Scotland, by hewing down woods, draining bogs, and building bridges, by arches, cades, skimmishes, fuchels, &c. &c. he lost more than 50,000 men. But persevering to the last, he overcame all difficulties, obliged the North Britons to submission, and made them resign most of their country, and all their arms. Then, to secure their obedience, he built a new, or rather repaired the old, wall erected by Adrian, making it twelve feet high and eight feet thick. On which account he took upon him the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, which was afterwards stamped upon his own and his coins. Leaving the command of the army to Caracalla, the emperor retired to Eboracum, or York, to enjoy a little rest. His son in the meantime permitting the soldiers to commit great outrages, the Caledonians again flew to arms. The emperor being informed of the insurrection, but not of the cause, was so exasperated, that he ordered a general massacre, when great numbers of both sexes, and all ages, indiscriminately fell victims to the weakness of an infirm superannuated prince, and the malevolence of interested sycophants. Soon after the emperor, depressed by disease and age, died at York; saying, just before he expired, “I have been all that man can be—but that is useless to me now.”

Severus left the empire to his two sons; but Caracalla's ambition prompted him to procure his brother's assassination, when he ascended the throne alone in A. D. 211, from which period we have no account of the affairs of Britain till the reign of the emperor Diocletian.

Diocletian



Dioclesian began his reign, A. D. 284. and immediately made Carausius admiral of a fleet, with orders to prevent the piracies of the Franks and Saxons on the coasts of Britain and Gaul.---But this commander, converting whatever he could possess himself of to his own use, the emperor designed to punish him for his avarice and perfidy with death. Being apprized of this, he seized upon Britain, bribed the army, got himself proclaimed Emperor, and augmented his fleet. Maximinian was ordered to march against him; but not being able to encounter so formidable a foe, he was glad to enter into a negotiation; in which it was concluded, that Carausius should remain governor of Britain, in subordination to the emperor. This dignity Carausius held during seven years, when he was treacherously slain by Alectus, his prime minister, and pretended bosom friend, who immediately took the reins of government upon himself. Constantius being dispatched from Rome against him, Alectus was defeated and slain, when the mercenary Franks, and other barbarians, whom he had employed in his army, fled to London, and plundered it, thinking to get away to sea, with their booty.---But being met by a part of the Roman fleet, they lost all their plunder, and many of them their lives. Soon after Dioclesian resigned the imperial diadem; when the government of the western provinces, including Britain, fell to \* Constantius, who, in A. D. 307 died at York, universally regretted, and left all his possessions and dignities to his son, who afterwards became celebrated in history by the title of Constantine the Great.

This monarch, who received the appellation of Great, not from having desolated many provinces, or spilt oceans of blood, but for his singular humanity, and exemplary justice, made a new partition of the Roman Empire: namely, he divided the whole into four great military governments, viz. Italy, Gaul, Illyria, and the East. These were called Prefectures, and the officers who governed them Prefects. Each of these was subdivided into fourteen provinces, so that Britain was one of the provinces belonging to the Prefect of Gaul, who governed it by deputy. Constantine died A. D. 315, and left the empire to his three sons. Britain, with France and Spain, fell to the eldest, named Constantine, who, not contented with what was assigned him, invaded his brother Constans's territories, but was slain, after having reigned about three years. Constans now seized the whole of the western empire, kept possession of it nine years, and then fell by the treason of Magnentius. Constantius, the surviving brother, who reigned in the East, directed his whole force against Magnentius, and by giving him a total defeat in A. D. 340, became sole possessor of the Eastern and Western Empires †.

Martinus was now sent into Britain as deputy Prefect. On his arrival he was highly incensed at the conduct of Paulus Catena, the Notary, whose cruelties and extortions had greatly oppressed the people. This person being employed to sequester the estates and effects of those who had favoured the treason of Magnentius, took that opportunity to enrich himself by confiscating the fortunes of many innocent people. Martinus not having it in his power to displace Paulus, who was protected by the emperor, thought it necessary to expostulate with him. This excited Paulus to accuse the deputy Prefect of high treason, who was so much exasperated at his audacity that he attempted to kill Paulus, but missing his aim he flew himself. From the death of Constantius

to the reign of Valentinian the first, nothing stands on record relative to Britain that is worth preservation. But during that emperor's reign the Britons were in a deplorable situation, invaded from abroad by the Franks and Saxons, and ravaged at home by the Scots and Picts; the sea-coasts and interior parts of the country were equally distressed. The emperor having in vain dispatched Severus and Jovinus at once to suppress the insurgents and repel the invaders, he at length sent over Theodosius, father to the first emperor of that name. This able commander, at the head of a body of select troops, reinforced by several Herulian and Batavian bands, soon put a stop to the disorders complained of. He routed both foreign and domestic enemies, retook the plunder and prisoners, restored their effects to the several owners, reserving only a small proportionate part to reward his troops, and then entered London in triumph, in the year 366. To settle affairs upon the most amicable foundation, he afterwards published a general amnesty, which induced many to submit.

Commotions, however, still subsisted in the north, which caused Theodosius to send for Dulcius and Civilis, the former celebrated for his great military talents, and the latter for his prudence and integrity. Being both arrived, he made the first duke of Britain and guardian of the sea coasts, and the last vicar of the island. By this prudent arrangement, foreign invasions and domestic insurrections were prevented, the fortresses rebuilt, the garrisons better regulated, and the Roman boundaries to the northward enlarged. The country newly taken in, he called ‡ Valentia in honour of the emperor, and the city of London he ordered to be called Augusta. At length, Theodosius returned to Rome, beloved by the Britons, applauded by the Romans, admired by neutral nations, and even revered by his enemies.

At the death of Valentinian, the empire of the west fell to his eldest son Gratian, who chose Theodosius the younger to be his associate. This preference so greatly exasperated Maximus the governor of Britain, who himself aspired to that honour, that he assumed the purple, and having corrupted the troops, was saluted emperor. To compleat his ambitious views, he drew the Roman forces from Britain, and besides these engaged the flower of the British youths to join his army and pass with him to the continent. The island being thus left defenceless, the Scots and Picts did not fail to take an advantage of so favourable an opportunity, but entered the Roman provinces with fire and sword, plundering wherever they came, and committing the most horrid depredations. In the mean time, Maximus defeated Gratian, and then advanced towards Theodosius, who was marching to the assistance of the emperor. But his good fortune now forsook him, for he was routed and put to death by Theodosius. The Britons, who accompanied him to Gaul, did not return to their own country, but retreated to Armorica, now Bretagne in France; and the inhabitants of that province from these and some others of their countrymen, who have settled there, are to this day called Britons.

This formidable revolt being thus suppressed, Chrysanthus, the son of Marcian, bishop of Constantinople, was made vicar of Britain, by Theodosius, who now reigned as emperor. This officer discharged his duty with great reputation to himself, and in a principal measure, suppressed the northern insurrections.

In

\* Some historians affirm, that the emperor Constantius, who came to Britain in 289, married Helena daughter to Coilus, duke of Colchester, and soon after that she bore him a son, afterwards Constantine the Great, who was born in London, which city that empress still walked round.

† Britain itself was divided by this emperor into three parts, viz. 1. Brittonia Prima, or all the country on the south side of the Thames. 2. Brittonia Secunda, or all the country west of the

Severn to the Irish Sea, and, 3. Maxima Caesariensis, or all the country east of the Severn, and north of the Thames.

‡ It is to be observed that Britain now consisted of five distinct Roman provinces, viz. Britannia Prima, to the south. Britannia Secunda, to the west. Flavia Caesariensis, to the east. Maxima Caesariensis, to the north. Valentia, beyond the wall of Severus.



In 393 Theodosius died, and the empire was divided between his two sons. The western department was governed by Stilicho, during the minority of the young emperor Honorius; and Victorius, a man of a tyrannic, but enterprising spirit, was made vicar of Britain.

We now come to the period, when the Roman empire began rapidly to decline, by the prodigious irruptions of the Vandals into Spain, the Alans into Portugal, and the Goths into Italy. The Roman forces being recalled from the remoter provinces to defend the center of the empire, Britain was again left defenceless, and their northern neighbours, as usual, took the advantage of such a favourable crisis, by making inroads into the southern provinces. This they could do with impunity, as the Britons had been for some time sunk into luxury and sloth, drained of the flower of those who were able to bear arms to reinforce the Roman army, and lost to the noble spirit of liberty, by long servitude. The Britons dreaded their barbarous neighbours more than their late masters the Romans, and therefore implored the latter to send them some assistance in their distress. A legion was accordingly sent to their relief, A. D. 420, and another in 421, when the Romans having driven the Scots and Picts, as usual, into the highlands of Scotland, their commander Gallio informed the Britons that he could now only recommend them to the protection of providence, as he was obliged to withdraw the troops from Britain, to defend Rome itself against the vast inundations of northern barbarians that threatened that mistress of the world with destruction. Having exhorted them to act with unanimity, and defend their lives and properties with spirit, he passed over to Gaul with all his forces. And thus was Britain evacuated, and totally abandoned by the Romans, in the year 447, about 463 years from their first invading it under the conduct of Julius Cæsar, 367 after they got possession of it under Claudius, and 326 after the full conquest of it by Agricola, in the reign of Domitian.

#### SECT. IV.

##### *The State of Britain under the Romans.*

FROM the Notitia of the Roman empire, which was published about the year 410, the following particulars are obtained.

Britain, one of the dioceses appertaining to the district of the Prefectus Prætorie of Gaul, was under the jurisdiction of a governor, or vicar. The ensigns of this officer were a book of mandates, shut, covered with green, and marked on the back with five castles, representing the five British provinces, with their names severally inscribed.

According to the number of provinces, he had five magistrates under his command, two being consulars, and three præfidents. The consulars, as officers subordinate to the vicar or governor general, ruled Valentia and Maxima Caesariensis, and the præfidents presided over Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Caesariensis. Subordinate to these five great officers were many of inferior rank, to assist them in the administration of the civil government.

The military government of Britain was under the superintendence of three principal officers, the Comes Britanniarum, the Comes Littoris Saxonici,

and the Dux Britanniarum. The first had the command of the troops and garrisons in the interior parts of the island, and the two latter of the eastern and northern coasts. The chief of the three was the Comes or Count of Britain, who had under his command 3000 foot and 600 horse; the Comes or Count of the Saxon shore acted as admiral of the coast, and had nine maritime garrisons under his command, which together formed a body of 2200 foot, and 200 horse. The Dux or Duke of Britain commanded in the north, and had fourteen garrisons to superintend, which contained a body of 6000 foot, 300 horse, and 23 military stations on the Pictis wall, man'd by 8000 foot, and 600 horse; so that the established military force of the Romans in Britain was 19200 infantry, and 1700 cavalry.

All the forces in Britain were either disposed of in garrisons on the sea coasts, or northern frontiers, as above mentioned, or encamped in the interior parts of the kingdoms, at Gogmagog Hills in Cambridgeshire, and other places.

To facilitate the communication of the troops in the different parts of the kingdom, and render the intercourse of the people more easy and agreeable, the soldiers were employed in peaceable times in forming public highways. These were extensive and grand, as well as useful, and their remains are still the subject of admiration to the curious. By the Romans they were called the consular, prætorian, regal and military ways; and afterwards by the Saxons, stradas, or streets. They were many in number, but the four principal ones had the names of Via Vætelingiana, or Watling Street, Via Icenorium, or Ikenield Street, Erming Street, and Foss-way. Two of these extended the whole length of the kingdom, and the other two the breadth from sea to sea. These grand ways had various privileges and conveniencies appertaining to them, such as places of refuge from arrests and other dangers, mansions of rest for the repose of the weary, inns for the entertainment of travellers, and stationary houses for the change of horses and travelling chariots. Besides the above, the Romans had erected twenty-eight noble cities, and a great number of castles, forts, towers, walls, locks, &c.

That christianity was introduced into Britain in the time of the Romans is indisputable, but the precise time has not been satisfactorily ascertained. Not to enter into a scrutiny of the fabulous tales and ridiculous legends of the monkish writers, we can only say that their absurd accounts have been justly exploded. Though the introducer and time of introduction are dubious, certain it is that christianity had been successfully propagated in Britain, previous to the reign of Dioclesian, as the British christians were included in the persecutions set on foot by that emperor, and many of them suffered martyrdom upon that account, the principal of whom was St. Alban.

In 314 three British bishops attended the council of Arles in France. In 325 the same number attended the council of Nice, and in 359 three more attended the council of Ariminum. The story of the conversion of king Lucius is replete with so many monkish absurdities, that very little credit can be given to any part of it, and the whole has been doubted by the best historians, and most learned divines. We can however affirm, that christianity was very early planted in this island, and that the christian church in Britain was originally independent of the church of Rome.



## B O O K III.

*From the Introduction of the Saxons, to the First Foundation of the English Monarchy.*

## SECTION I.

*From the Arrival of the Saxons in Britain; to the Establishment of the Heptarchy.*

THE southern parts of Britain being in the weak and defenceless state already described, the northern barbarians attacked the wall, A. D. 447, and met but little opposition from the few troops who were appointed to defend it. These having been depressed by servitude, and now losing the last gleam of hope in the most pungent sorrow for their lamentable situation, suffered their spirits to sink within them, and in the hour of exigence gave that time to despondency which should have been employed in defence. A breach was made, the Barbarians entered, the Britons fled, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. The fugitives made the best of their way southward, while the Picts and Scots followed, and spread desolation around as they went, marking their paths with blood, and leaving every where behind them vestiges of the most dreadful devastations.

This inundation of savage enemies was not the only thing that distressed the Britons---a famine raged and added to their accumulated miseries. The horrors of insatiate hunger kept pace with the dreadful ravages of war, and both contributed to render their sorrows as excruciating as they were unavailing. The fugitive Britons plunged in despair, and pressed by the calls of hunger, attempted to take by force from the inhabitants of the southern provinces, what their own necessities, occasioned by the prevailing dearth, rendered them unwilling to give; equally unsocial from the experience of want, and dread of want, they became enemies to each other, and the most horrid domestic broils ensued at the time there was the greatest call for mutual harmony. Instead of uniting to repel the invaders, they assailed each other, and spent that spirit in revenge, which might have been useful in their defence.

At length some of the Britons, wiser than the rest, persuaded many of their countrymen to suffer quarrels to subside for the benefit of the community, and prevailed upon a great number to conciliate their minds for the public safety. Though policy more than affection might cement their friendship upon this occasion, yet their union was essentially serviceable, which evinces that unanimity is the guardian angel of states as well as private families. The confederated Britons were concealed by the woods from their enemies, and made excursions as opportunity offered. The Picts and Scots being greatly harassed by these sallies at a time they little expected them, thought proper to retreat again to the north, and for some time did not chuse to make any depredations upon the Britons, except near the borders.

During these troubles in the state, some dangerous divisions happened in the church. There were occasioned by Agricola, a disciple of Pelagius, who industriously propagated the errors of Pelagianism, but Germanicus, bishop of Auxerre and Tarpus, bishop of Fricks, in Gaul, being called in, a disputation was held at Verulam, now St. Albans, and the pernicious doctrines of that monk being pointed out,

the people were convinced of their folly, in giving ear to him, and returned again to the doctrines of the British church.

The Britons, being freed from their enemies, applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, till famine fled before industry, and agriculture replenished the exhausted granaries; blessed by the bounties of returning plenty, and cheered by the smiles of long lost freedom, the Britons had now the fairest opportunity of becoming at once happy and formidable; but emerging from the most abject state of misery, they were not capable of bearing prosperity with temper. The public good was sacrificed to private gratifications, and the intemperance of individuals proved essentially injurious to the state. In proportion as they lost their fears, the people grew fond of pleasures, and becoming the slaves of luxury, were incapacitated from every noble exertion. Their vices were in proportion to their dissipation, till, says Gildas, "evil was called good, and good evil. To be lewd, was honourable; to be virtuous, disgraceful; being blind themselves, they became haters of the light, and the measures of their actions were what was most pleasing to their inclinations. All things were transacted directly contrary to the public welfare and safety, not only of the laity, but also the clergy, and those who should have been examples of virtue, often proved the ringleaders of vice." After enumerating many of their vices, he continues, "Thus wretchedly qualified, both priests and people resolved to chuse several kings of their own; but kings were anointed, not according to divine approbation, but by the voices and suffrages of such as were more cruel than others, and again, as suddenly deposed and murdered by their electors, in order to set up others more fierce and tyrannical; but if any of their princes appeared milder, and more inclinable to good council, the hatred of all men was levelled against him, as the subverter of his country."

During these domestic distractions, Pelagianism again revived; the assistance of Germanicus was once more solicited, who, coming into Britain, restored tranquillity as before, and was instrumental in repressing many vices that were too prevalent, to the great detriment of society. But this worthy prelate was no sooner departed than the Britons relapsed again into their immoralities, and became as notoriously vicious as ever.

The country had been greatly thinned by the sword and famine, but now another calamity threatened its total depopulation. This was a dreadful plague, which raged so furiously, and swept away such multitudes, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. The pestilence had no sooner subsided, than the Scots and Picts, guessing at the weakness of the nation from the reports they had received of the ravages, occasioned by the disorder, made an irruption into South Britain, and penetrated as far as Stamford, in Lincolnshire.

At this time the Britons thought proper to place the command solely in the hands of one of their princes, when Vortigern, king of Devoynshire and Cornwall, being the most potent, was chosen generalissimo. This prince had neither wisdom in council,



hor experience in war; he was haughty, insolent, and a perfect slave to his passions; in such an improper person did the unhappy Britons put their confidence, at a time when the most consummate wisdom, and intrepid conduct were necessary to save them from destruction. Vortigern, not having spirit sufficient to march against the foe with the confederated forces under his command, made the proposal in a convention of the British princes, to invite the Saxons to their assistance. This fatal proposition was seconded by the creatures of Vortigern, assented to by the delegates of the people, and at length generally embraced. Solicitous for their own ruin, the infatuated Britons sent an embassy to the Saxons, and gave a friendly invitation to the very people who were destined to drive them from their habitations, and possess themselves of the most desirable parts of this devoted land.

The \* Saxons gladly accepted this invitation, and about 1500 of their troops being selected by lot, set sail under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, two brothers, and soon arrived in the isle of Thanet, in Kent. This island, which is about ten miles long, and seven broad, was assigned them for their habitation by Vortigern, and consequently was the first piece of land the Saxons ever possessed in Britain. Vortigern met them there, when it was stipulated, that they should defend the Britons from the incursions of their enemies, for which, besides the portion of land assigned, they were to be bountifully fed, and liberally paid. Thus did the deluded Britons, in the year 449, introduce into, and entail part of, their country upon a number of warlike strangers.

With his own forces and these new auxiliaries, Vortigern marched against the invaders, who were defeated in repeated engagements, by the valour and discipline of the Saxons. These frequent checks so dispirited the Scots and Picts, that they dreaded the very name of the Saxons, and by the year 452 were entirely expelled from South Britain, and even driven up to the mountains in the northern boundaries of Scotland.

But the Saxons becoming pretty well acquainted with the country from their expeditions to its different parts, and their various marches through it, they beheld its beauty, verdure and fertility, with an eye of desire; and observing at the same time, that the Britons were enervated by luxury, sunk in vice, and lost to those noble sentiments which alone can inspire courage, their ambition was awakened to the idea of ruling those they came to defend, and enslaving a people they had been employed to protect.

Fraught with these views, Hengist artfully persuaded the weak and infatuated Vortigern to make a more general invitation to his countrymen, that the land might be better cultivated. To give the greater force to this proposition, he pretended that the Saxons were particularly skilled in husbandry, and, consequently, that the soil would be considerably improved, and the Britons initiated in a superior kind of agriculture at the same time. The king consented to every thing that was desired; a second invitation was sent to Saxony, and a fleet of seventeen sail brought over a prodigious number of Saxons, Jutes, and Angles. And with these came Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, a lady of incomparable beauty, who was afterwards essentially serviceable to the Saxons in their political designs.

The crafty leader of the Saxons now invited Vor-

tigern to a sumptuous entertainment, at which he took care that his daughter should wait upon the king. Vortigern no sooner beheld the lustre of her charms, than he became the slave of their attractions, and though he already had a consort, demanded her in marriage. Hengist artfully pretended to confess the inferiority of his daughter, and to decline so great an honour. The king, inflamed by a repulse, became frantic with desire, and appeared willing to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of his passions. Hengist, taking advantage of this disposition, stipulated that the whole county of Kent should be ceded to him, and that the king should divorce his queen, and make Rowena his sole consort. The infatuated Vortigern consented to all that was demanded. Kent was given up without hesitation, his princess was cruelly divorced, though she had borne him many children, and he attached himself entirely to his new consort, who soon gained such an ascendancy over him, that he could refuse her nothing.

Having succeeded thus far, Hengist easily perceived, that by his daughter's influence, he could make Vortigern his tool whenever he thought proper. Determined, therefore, to strike his ultimate stroke of policy, he proposed that another body of his countrymen should be sent for, who by inhabiting Northumberland, and the adjacent parts, would be a local defence to the northern borders. To this Vortigern, as usual, consented, without giving himself the least trouble to reflect on the consequences. A third embarkation took place; forty sail of ships soon appeared on the British coasts, and the northern countries began to swarm with strangers, as the southern parts had for some time already done.

The Saxons now thought proper to throw off the mask, and avow their intentions. They began by the demand of a larger sum of money, and a greater quantity of provisions than what they were entitled to by the original stipulations, that those who came recently might be as well provided for as their brethren who first landed. This unreasonable request was of course refused by the Britons in general. The refusal was what the Saxons expected and indeed wished for, as it gave them the shadow of a pretence to commence hostilities, by pretending to pay themselves, and take by force what they affirmed was unjustly withheld from them.

The unhappy Britons now clearly perceived their own folly, and the designs of the Saxons, and determined, when it was too late, to take up arms in their defence; a convention was accordingly summoned, and the conduct of Vortigern severely reprehended. The infatuated monarch, not being deemed capable of trust, was made only the nominal commander, while his son Vortimer, under the sanction of an associate, received the investiture of the sole power. Many engagements were fought with various success, but the times when, the places where, and the event of each, are so differently related, and intermixed with so many dubious and fabulous articles, that we shall omit a circumstantial detail of such uncertain occurrences. In this, however, all authors agree, that the Saxons were in general successful, and affairs at length terminated in their favour, by the total subjugation of that part of Britain, now called England, which they divided into seven kingdoms. A division mentioned by all writers under the name of the SAXON HEPTARCHY.

S. I. C. F.

\* The Saxons were a fierce, barbarous people, who pouring down from the north, under the direction of a famous leader, named Woden, had possessed themselves of the principal countries on the borders of the Baltic. They employed themselves principally at first, in committing piracies on the sea coasts of Germany, between the Rhine and the Elbe, and on the coasts of

the Cimbric Chersonese, now Denmark, but at length extending their plan, they carried their depredations to the coasts of Gaul, Britain, &c. The name of Saxons they received from the Gothic word *Saxx*, a word that implies a short, crooked, or hooked sword, which they wore as their principal weapon, and for the dexterous use of which they were celebrated.



SECTION II.

The Saxon Heptarchy.

THE Saxons having over-run all that part of the island called South Britain, formed themselves into seven distinct kingdoms at different periods, the Britons being either driven up into the mountains of Wales, obliged to fly to the continent, or compelled to submit to the conquerors. The following table will shew at one view the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy, when and by whom founded, and what parts of the country they included.

No.	Kingdoms names.	When founded.	By whom founded.	The Counties they included.
		A. D.		
1	Kent	457	Hengist	Kent
2	South Saxons	491	Ella	{ Suffex Surry Cornwall Devonshire Dorsetshire Somerfetshire Wiltshire Hampshire Barkshire, or Berkshire
3	West Saxons	519	Cerdic	{ Essex Middlefex Part of Hertfordshire Lancashire Yorkshire Durham Cumberland Westmoreland Northumberland Part of Scotland as far as the Frith of Edinburgh
4	East Saxons	527	Erkenwin	{ Norfolk Suffolk Cambridgeshire And the Isle of Ely Gloucestershire Herefordshire Worcestershire Warwickshire Rutlandshire Northamptonshire Lincolnshire Huntingdonshire
5	Northumberland	547	Ida	{ Bedfordshire The other part of Hertfordshire Buckinghamshire Oxfordshire Staffordshire Derbyshire Shropshire Nottinghamshire Cheshire.
6	East Angles	575	Uffa	
7	Mercia	582	Cridda	





## 1. The Kingdom of KENT.

**T**HE Britons made various attempts to drive the Saxons from Kent, and at length, in the year 457, came to a decisive engagement at Crecaanford. The battle was bloody and obstinately fought, but victory declared against the Britons, who were totally defeated with the loss of 4000 men. From the date of this victory, historians consider Kent as a kingdom, Hengist being prompted by his success to assume the title of king. This occurrence took place eight years after his arrival in the island, and he reigned thirty-one years subsequent to his assumption of the regal authority. Hengist now determined, if possible, to possess himself of the person of Vortigern, which design he effected by the following stratagem. Ambassadors were sent by the treacherous Saxons to negotiate a peace, and make proposals for the renewal of the former amity, which subsisted between them and the Britons. These specious advances were cordially received by Vortigern, who readily agreed to compromise matters at a public entertainment, \* to which he was weak enough to go with his nobility unarmed, and consequently unprepared against any danger which might occur. The Saxons had concealed their weapons beneath their garments, and at a certain signal, suddenly fell upon the unarmed Britons, massacred three hundred of them, and took Vortigern prisoner. To purchase the release of the unhappy monarch, the Britons were obliged to give up Essex, Middlesex, and Sussex. This accession of territory rendered Hengist extremely formidable, confirmed him in his new kingdom of Kent, and gave the Saxons such a firm establishment in the island, that the Britons were never after able to expel them.

After the death of Hengist, the kingdom of Kent declined under his three immediate successors, Esk, Ota, and Immeric; but Ethelbert coming to the crown, restored its splendor and encreased its extent.

† Ethelbert was on his accession to the throne, informed that Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons pretended to a regal superiority, and affected to claim the honour of being the principal monarch in England; this dignity, as it originally belonged to Kent, he determined to dispute with the West Saxon king by force of arms. To effect his purpose he had art enough to persuade the other Saxon kings to join in a league against Ceaulin, by insinuating that he aimed at universal monarchy. Being made general of the confederacy, he attacked Ceaulin, when that monarch, was defeated and slain. Flushed with this success, he did not attempt to disguise his sentiments, but gave the confederate kings to understand, that his

\* This entertainment was held on Salisbury Plain, and that pile of stones, called Stonehenge, is supposed by some to have been erected by Aurica, a Briton, in commemoration of that transaction.

own views were precisely the same as those with which he had taxed the deceased West Saxon monarch. To strengthen his interest, he made an alliance with the king of Paris, married his daughter Bertha, and then seized on all the provinces north of the Humber, Northumbria excepted; he was the first English king who framed a regular body of laws, and having reigned fifty-two years, he died in 616, when the crown devolved to his son Eadbald.

This prince was a profligate at the commencement, a tyrant in the course, and a penitent at the conclusion of his reign. He died A. D. 640, and was succeeded by Ercombert, who mounted the throne to the exclusion of his elder brother. On his death, which happened four years after his eldest son, Egbert succeeded him. This prince put to death all his male cousins, lest they should claim the crown, and then gave their sister an estate in the isle of Thanet, that she might erect a monastery thereon, where prayers were to be continually said for the repose of her brothers souls; and for the expiation of their murderer's crime. But as he had excluded his uncle's children from their right, his own, on his decease, suffered the same injustice from their uncle; for his brother Lothaire seized the crown in prejudice to the issue of Egbert, to whom he had been left guardian.

Lothaire began his reign A. D. 672, and thought to entail the succession on his own family, by associating his son Richard in the government with himself. Edric his nephew, however, took refuge among the South Saxons, and persuaded their monarch to assist him against the usurper. In consequence of which Lothaire was defeated and slain, and Edric mounted the throne; but dying two years afterwards without issue, his brother Withred succeeded him. This prince made Swabert, (the head of a faction against him) copartner with him in the throne, by which prudent method he converted a foe into a friend, and put an end to a dangerous insurrection without bloodshed. Swabert ruled in conjunction with Withred for the space of four years, when dying, the sole authority again devolved on the latter, who governed the kingdom twelve years after, with great reputation to himself. On his demise, which happened A. D. 725, he was succeeded by his eldest son Edbert, who reigned in tranquillity twenty years. Ethelbert, and his son Ardulph followed; and Aldric, who succeeded, was the last prince lineally descended from Hengist the first founder of the monarchy. The kingdom of Kent now became tributary to the kings of Mercia, and so remained till it was conquered by Egbert the Great.

† Ethelbert built the old cathedral church of St. Paul, London, on a spot where a temple dedicated to Diana once stood, and Melitus was its first bishop.

## 2. The Kingdom of the SOUTH SAXONS.

**T**HIS kingdom was the least considerable of any of the Heptarchy; the city of Chichester, built by Cissa was the only place of any importance in it. Ella, who founded this kingdom in A. D. 491, reigned twenty-three years, and was succeeded by his son

Cissa, who was remarkable only for his great age, reigning 60 years, and being 116 when he died. But not leaving any children behind him the kingdom was seized by Ceaulin King of the West Saxons.



### 3. The Kingdom of the WEST SAXONS.

**T**HIS kingdom was founded by Cerdic, who arrived in England in the year 495. Cerdic was certainly a man of considerable abilities, and a very able warrior. The brave British king Arthur opposed him in vain, he surmounted all opposition, and established the kingdom of the South Saxons in 519. After the death of Arthur, he reigned in tranquillity till the year 534, when he died and was succeeded by his son Cynric, who reigned only four years. The crown then devolved to Ceaulin, the son of Cynric, who was defeated and slain by Ethelbert, king of Kent. The conqueror placed Ceolric, the nephew of Ceaulin, upon the throne, whose reign was only remarkable for his passive acquiescence in all the measures of Ethelbert. He died in 598, when his cousin Ceolwulf mounted the throne. This martial monarch defeated the South Saxons who had revolted, gave a check to the Picts and Scots, and supported his dignity with great glory till his death, which happened A. D. 611. His nephew Cinigils, who succeeded him, divided the kingdom with his brother Quincelm, and gave a great overthrow to the Britons in A. D. 614. Quincelm departed this life eight years before his brother, who died in the year 643, and was succeeded by his son Cenwall. This prince was exceeding vicious, and so unsteady in his temper, that he changed his religion, and repudiated his queen without the least cause, and afterwards again embraced the former, and took back the latter through the meer instability of his disposition. After having been expelled his kingdom, and again restored to it by the Mercian monarch, he died A. D. 672, and left the crown to his queen. Concerning this lady the relations of historians are very uncertain, so that it is impossible to ascertain where or when she died, or whether she was expelled the kingdom by her subjects. A revolution, however, happened about this time, which lasted for ten years, and ended in a partition of the kingdom between three noblemen, viz. Censu, Efwine and Centwin. The latter reigned alone after the decease of the two former, and on his demise the kingdom was seized by Ceadwalla. This prince, who was a man of a very enterprising genius, defeated the South Saxons, plundered the kingdom of Kent, and conquered the island of Anglesea. Then making a journey to Rome in order to be christened by the Pontiff himself, he was accordingly baptized by Pope Sergius II, and received the name of Peter. On his death he was succeeded by his kinsman Ina, a prince of the greatest abilities, and most amiable character imaginable. In the first year of his reign the kingdom of the East Angles becoming vacant, those people voluntarily offered him the crown, and solicited him to rule over them; an incontestible

proof of the general esteem in which his character was held. Being firmly established in his extensive dominions, he turned his whole attention to the formation of a code of salutary laws, which appear as supplementary to those of Ethelbert, and the groundwork of those afterwards instituted by Alfred the Great. He then defeated the Britons, subdued the Mercians, and made a conquest of the country of the South Saxons. Having arrived to the summit of glory, his queen and himself both determined to quit a splendid for a recluse life. Accordingly, A. D. 727, he quitted his crown for a cloister, by turning monk, and his royal consort retired to the monastery of Barking, where she ended her days. It was Ina that established the celebrated tax known by the name of Peter's Pence. This subsidy was originally intended as a fund of charity to maintain English students at Rome; but in process of time the Popes thought proper to demand it as a matter of right for the enrichment of their own coffers.

After the abdication of Ina, the crown was placed on the head of his kinsman Ethelhard, on whose death A. D. 743, Cuthred succeeded to the regal authority. This prince was victorious over the Mercians, and annexed part of Cornwall to his dominions. His death happened A. D. 754, when his nephew Sigebert mounted the throne. This monarch was deposed by Kenewulf, and afterwards slain by a swine herd. But Cuthard, the brother of the deposed monarch, way-laid and slew the usurper near Merton in Surry, where he used to visit a lady privately. But the friends of Kenewulf revenged his death by dispatching the murderer and all his accomplices.

Brithric, the son of Kenewulf, A. D. 754, was elected to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people. This monarch was extremely jealous of Egbert, a prince of the blood royal, whose abilities and popularity filled him with continual apprehensions; while on the other hand Egbert, not thinking himself safe in the dominions of a professed enemy, withdrew to France, where he first projected the grand design which he afterwards successfully executed, viz. the uniting the kingdoms of the Heptarchy into one monarchy.

In 787 the Danes made their first descent upon the coast of Britain, landing a body of men from three ships at Portland, but they were defeated with great slaughter by the country people, and obliged to retreat to their vessels with the utmost precipitation. Brithric reigned in peace till A. D. 799, when he was poisoned by his queen Edburga, who fled to France, whither the judgement of Heaven pursued her, as she wandered about in distress, and afterwards perished through mere want.

### 4. The Kingdom of the EAST SAXONS.

**E**RKENWIN, who traced his descent from Woden, founded this kingdom in A. D. 527. It is singular, that though this prince reigned above sixty years, yet nothing remarkable occurred in his

reign. The reign of his son Sledda, who succeeded him in A. D. 587, was equally barren of events. \*Sebert mounted the throne after the death of his father Sledda A. D. 596, and embraced the christian religion.

\* This prince was the first founder of the Cathedral Church, of St. Peter's Westminster, which he erected on a spot where a temple dedicated to Apollo once stood.



gion soon after at the instigation of his uncle Ethelbert. On his decease his three sons, Saxred, Siward, and Sigebert, reigned in conjunction. They renounced christianity, and were all three slain in a battle against the West Saxons. Sigebert the Little reigned after them, and was himself succeeded by Sigebert the Good, who again restored the christian religion throughout

his dominions. He was, however, murdered in A. D. 622.

Nothing remarkable occurred in this kingdom during the reigns of the few succeeding princes, till it was seized by Egbert the Great, which happened in the reign of its last king Swithred.

## 5. The Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

**I**DA founded this kingdom A. D. 547, and his two sons Adda and Alla divided it between them after his death, the former reigning over that part called Bernicia, and the latter over that which went by the name of Deira. Of the five kings who successively mounted the throne after Adda and Alla, nothing remarkable is recorded. At length Ethelfrid, a man of an enterprising genius, usurped the throne. He was successful in many engagements against the Picts and Scots, but rather unfortunate in an expedition he undertook against the Britons, and at length was defeated and slain by the East Angles.

Edwin, who succeeded to the throne, obliged the Britons to pay a tribute to him, and afterwards aimed at universal monarchy by attempting the dissolution of the Heptarchy. This ambitious design

rouzed the jealousy of the other kings, who formed a powerful confederacy against him, and were even joined by the Britons. Edwin engaged their united forces at Hatfield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but was defeated and slain on the 12th of October, A. D. 633. The Northumbrians made some brave attempts to free themselves from the cruelty and oppression of the conquerors, without success; at length they were repelled in 634 by Oswald the son of Ethelfrid, who thereupon assumed the regal authority. But in 642 Oswald was defeated and slain by the Mercians. And from this time the kingdom of Northumberland was in continual anarchy and confusion, till Egbert the Great reduced it with the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

## 6. The Kingdom of the EAST ANGLES.

**T**HE Angles, who came to England under the conduct of twelve leaders, having established themselves in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, with the isle of Ely, at length formed themselves into a distinct kingdom in 575; and Ulla took upon himself the regal title and authority. But dying three years after his son Tityst succeeded him. On the demise of Tityst the kingdom devolved to Redwald king of Northumberland. Erpwald his son succeeded him in the kingdom of East Anglia only; but being a very weak and wicked prince, he was despised by his subjects, and reigned only as a kind of substitute to Edwin, king of Northumberland. Erpwald embracing the christian religion, was assassinated by Rubbert, a furious pagan zealot, who usurped the throne, and during his short reign of three years extirpated christianity from the kingdom; but his successor Sigebert, who began his reign in 636, restored it again, and by the assistance of Furcus an Irish Monk, and Felix a priest of Burgundy propagated it to the utmost extent of his power. Having made ecclesiastical appointments, erected public schools, and established tranquillity throughout his dominions, he with great humility resigned his crown to Egic his kinsman, and entered into a monastery, in order to pass the remainder of his days in religious retirement. Penda, king of the Mercians, attacking the territories of the East Angles, Sigebert was strongly solicited to emerge from the convent, in order to take upon him

the command of the army. He yielded to the pressing instances of his subjects with reluctance, and left his peaceful solitude with regret. Putting himself at the head of the troops he engaged the Mercians, but after an obstinate contest was defeated and slain, together with his kinsman Egic.

Annas, a prince of the blood royal, who succeeded Egic, received a great overthrow, and lost his life in another battle with the Mercians.

Ethelbert, the brother to the last monarch, mounted the throne, A. D. 654, and being a very weak and timid prince, made a scandalous alliance with the bloody enemy of his country, Penda, king of Mercia. Joining his forces with those of Penda, they agreed in conjunction to invade the kingdom of Northumberland, but they were both defeated and slain by the Northumbrians.

No particulars worthy of recital are mentioned by historians, concerning the reigns of the succeeding kings of the East Angles, except of Ethelbert, the last monarch of this country. They were named Ethelwald, Eardulph, Ealpwald, Bearna, Ethelred, and Ethelbert. The latter began his reign in 749, and gained the respect and love of his subjects, by his piety, learning, and justice. He was, however, treacherously assassinated by Ossa, king of the Mercians, who annexed the dominions of the murdered monarch to his own.

## 7. The Kingdom of the MERCIANS.

**C**RIDDA, who likewise could trace his descent from Woden, founded this kingdom A. D. 582, but died in the second year of his reign, when Ethelbert, king of Kent, seized it in the right of consanguinity, and placed Wehba, the son of Cridda upon the throne

as his vassal. Wehba reigned nineteen years, and bequeathed the crown to his son Penda, but Ethelbert thought proper to prevent him from mounting the throne, by seating his own cousin Ceorl upon it A. D. 614. At the expiration of ten years Ceorl died, and Penda



Penda was at length suffered peaceably to assume the reins of government. He was an inveterate enemy to the christians, but losing his life in a battle against the Northumbrians A. D. 655, his son Peada, who was a christian in his heart, succeeded to some of his dominions; for Oswy, the conquering monarch of Northumberland, had seized a part, and on the death of Peada, in 657, took possession of the whole.

Wulpha, the son of Penda, however, drove the usurper from his dominions, and assumed the reins of government. This prince possessed great abilities, but being of a restless and ambitious temper, was perpetually quarrelling with his neighbours. Dying A. D. 675, his son Kenred succeeded him, but was soon after deposed by Ethelred his uncle. The latter in A. D. 676 made war upon the king of Kent with success; but in 679 was defeated by the Northumbrians.

In A. D. 697 the kingdom of Mercia was divided into five provinces, viz. Hereford, Leicester, Lindsey, Litchfield, and Worcester, and the same year the queen was murdered by a faction, of which execrable deed Ethelred took so little notice, that he was universally deemed the principal in that bloody transaction.

In the year 704, Ethelred being seized with some qualms of conscience, turned Monk, and having first restored the kingdom to his nephew Kenred, from whom he had unjustly taken it, retired to a monastery in order to have sufficient leisure to atone by a life of penitence for the crimes of usurpation and murder.

Kendred, after having been deposed by one uncle, was so little qualified for a public, and so enamoured of a private life, that in a short time he voluntarily resigned his crown to another uncle named Ceolred. This prince was the very contrast of his nephew, and being of an active and enterprising spirit, he maintained a bloody but undecisive war, against the West Saxons. But A. D. 716, he fell a sacrifice to the malice of some Monks, who took him off by poison, for having always been an inveterate enemy to their order.

Ethelbald, who succeeded him, spent his whole life in contriving to quarrel with his neighbours: he was severely punished for his unsocial disposition, first in suffering a defeat by Cuthred king of Wessex; and finally in being murdered A. D. 755, by his own rebellious subjects.

Beornred, the principal insurgent, mounted the throne, but the nobles soon deprived him of his ill acquired dignity, and seated the celebrated Offa, nephew to the murdered monarch in his place. This prince possessed an insatiable thirst for conquest, and centered all his happiness in the glories which result from military achievements. Stimulated by this disposition, he ravaged the kingdom of Kent; slew its monarch with his own hand, subdued a people called the Hattings; over-run the territories of the West Saxon king, and rendered the Northumbrians tributary to him. By the interposition of Charlemagne, who had been solicited for that purpose, he made peace with the other Saxon kings; but to avoid inactivity, turned his arms against the Britons, and seized upon all the countries between the Severn and the Wye; then, as a check upon the Britons, he built the celebrated wall or fence, known by the name of Offa's Dyke.\*

Offa now made his son Egfrid coadjutor with him in the government, gave his daughter Ethburga in marriage to the West Saxon king Brithno, and repulsed the Danes who had invaded the kingdom with great slaughter. But though the splendor of his ac-

tions gave him a reputation superior to what any of the kings of the Heptarchy had ever acquired, yet the murder of Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, eclipsed all the glories of his reign, and will ever brand his name with infamy. This crime hung so heavy upon his conscience, that, agreeable to the superstition of the times, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to get absolution of the Pope. Here he again merited the reprobation of his people, for besides confirming the payment of Peter's Pence, by changing it from a donation to a tribute, he agreed to an annual subsidy of 365 maricuses, or rather a tax of a maricuse a day, which amounted to 136l. 17s. 6d. the maricuse being valued at 37 Saxon pence, or three half crowns of our present money.

Returning home, he founded the church and monastery of St. Alban, and having just completed it, died at Offly, A. D. 796, having reigned thirty-nine years.

Egfrid succeeded for a short space as sole monarch, but dying, was succeeded by Kenulph, who annexed the kingdom of Kent to his own dominions, and barbarously put out the eyes of Egbert Pren, the king of that country, whom he took prisoner. Kenulph was killed in a commotion raised by the East Angles A. D. 819, when the crown devolved to Kenelm, who was then only seven years of age. The royal infant was soon after murdered by his ambitious sister Quendrida, who mounted the throne in his stead. This unnatural wretch was, however, deposed by her own uncle Ceolwulf, who seized the reins of government into his own hands. Being driven from the throne by a faction, he was successively succeeded by Beornulph, Ludican and Wiglaf, who reigned two years each, and were respectively defeated by Egbert, king of the East Angles, who afterwards obtained the name of Egbert the Great, and who, in A. D. 829, annexed it to his own dominions, as he had most of the other kingdoms, in pursuance of his plan, which was to reduce all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy under one sole monarchy. This grand design put an end to any hopes which the Welch might conceive of again breathing the air of freedom in the plains they antiently possessed. The dissension of the Saxon kings, and their perpetual wars with each other, had long flattered their expectations, that the happy crisis would one day arrive, when they should be able to extirpate the Saxon race, and regain their antient liberty; but Egbert's plan of a general union of the Saxons, banished those pleasing ideas from their minds, and left them only the bitter reflection, that to their vices, they owed their miseries; for as a learned and eminent divine justly says, in their misfortune: "may be observed the miseries and desolations brought by Divine Providence on a vile, and degenerate nation, driven, when nothing else could reform them, out of a fair and rich country, into a mountainous, and barren corner by strangers and Pagans, so much more tolerable is downright infidelity in the eye of heaven, than the dishonouring the christian faith by such unchristian works."

### SECTION III.

#### *The Ecclesiastical and Civil History of the Saxons during the Heptarchy.*

THE Religion of the Saxon precursors to their conversion to christianity, was the most gross idolatry, and many of their notions were extremely absurd. They had a great opinion of the pretence

\* This Dyke, called by the Welch Clud Offa, was an intrenchment beginning at Breachy, over against Wulf Passage, on the Severn, and extending ninety miles from the mouth of the

Wye, to the mouth of the Trent. Hume observes, that the Welchmen paid the Danes, the sum of 100,000 sesterces for their hand.



to be obtained by casting lots, were fond of augury and divination, and extremely addicted to judicial astrology in general. When they were on the eve of a war, they would order a captive of the nation with which they were at variance, if such could be procured, to engage in single combat with a champion of their own, and from the decision of the combat, pretended to predict the success of the war itself. The very neighing of horses furnished their superstition with matter to prognosticate by, and many of those noble animals were kept at the public expence as prophetic assistants to the priesthood. But it is to be observed, that the presaging quadrupede was always of a white colour; for they imagined that black and ferret did not possess the powers of prediction.

The Saxons had a variety of idols, the principal of which were the following:

1. The idol of the sun, which was represented like a man half naked, holding a burning wheel close to his breast with both his hands. The face resembled the sun. This image was placed in a temple, solemnly adored, publicly sacrificed to, and had Sunday dedicated to it.

2. The idol of the moon, to which Moonday, or Monday was dedicated, had a singular appearance, being, though called a goddess, dressed like a man with a short skirted coat, a moon in her hand, and a close cap with long ears on her head.

3. Tuisko, to which Tuisk-day, or Tuesday as we now call it was dedicated, had a venerable beard, and was clad in skins, agreeable to the ancient simplicity.

4. Woden, was an idol instituted in honor of a valiant Saxon prince, and was looked upon as the god of victory. When the Saxons were successful in fight, they sacrificed the prisoners they took to this idol, and our Wednesday is derived from him, being anciently called Woden's-day.

5. Thor, the son of Woden and Friga, was placed in a large hall, sitting on a kind of couch, and covered with a magnificent canopy. A crown surrounded by twelve stars adorned his head, and in his right hand he held a scepter. He was deemed the god of the elements, and to him Thursday, anciently called Thor's-day, was dedicated.

6. Friga held a drawn sword in the right hand, and a bow in the left; she was the goddess of peace, plenty, love, and amity, and to her Friday, Friga's-day, or Frigedeag was dedicated. — This idol was usually represented as a goddess, though some have made it an hermaphrodite divinity, by ascribing to it the properties of both sexes.

7. Seater, or Crado, was represented as standing on the prickly back of a perch. — He had long hair, a long beard, was thin visaged, and had no covering on his head or feet. In his right hand he carried a pail of water, containing fruit and flowers, and a wheel in his left. His robe was tied by a girdle, which flew open both ways, to denote the absolute freedom of the Saxons: his standing with such ease on the prickly back of the perch, implied that his worshippers should pass through all perils and dangers unhurt; and his pail of water, containing flowers and fruit, signified that he would replenish the earth with rain, and occasion the greatest fertility. To him Saturday, anciently called Seater's day, was dedicated.

It is supposed that Tuisko, Thor and Friga were equivalent to the Mars, Jupiter and Venus of the Romans. But it must be confessed, that Tuisko resembles Mars less than he does Mercury, and Friga has a greater similitude to Diana than to Venus. — The Saxons had likewise a goddess whom they called Eosset, and who, as she presided over the month of April, it

is probable gave name to the festival of Easter. But their greatest favourite was Hertha, by whom they meant the earth. She was seated in a moveable temple, covered with sacred vestments, and had her residence for the chief part of the year in consecrated groves. At certain times, however, she was drawn by cows, and attended by priests through various parts of the kingdom; — wherever she came festivity appeared, and when she returned to the grove, her chariot was washed in the waters of a lake appropriated to that purpose.

Christianity was first introduced among the Saxons in the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent. That prince himself was no enemy to the persuasion, being married to Bertha, a christian princess. About the same time St. Gregory was advanced to the papal chair, and having long conceived the design of converting the English Saxons to christianity, he deputed Augustine, a Monk, afterwards known by the name of St. Austin, to conduct this great work. Augustine was attended by several other ecclesiastics, who set off from Rome in great spirits, but being soon discouraged by the fatigues of the journey, and some reports of the barbarities of those whom they were going to convert, they unanimously agreed to halt, and dispatched Augustine back again to Rome, in order to get excused from the undertaking. But the Pope, instead of dissolving them from their mission, sent the most earnest exhortations to them to proceed; intreating them not to be discouraged by real difficulties, or the report of dangers, but to persevere in a work which could not fail to end in their own eternal glory; and concluded with adjuring them by all means to obey St. Austin, whom he had appointed their Abbot.

Confirmed by the Pope's exhortations, or ashamed any more to recede from what they had so strenuously undertaken, the monks proceeded, and under the conduct of their leader, landed in the isle of Thanet, in Kent. The mission consisted of about forty ecclesiastics, and several interpreters from France. On their arrival, Austin sent a message to king Ethelbert, importing, "That he came from Rome to bring the promise of eternal felicity to all that would receive it." The king returned a polite answer, and ordered them to be supplied with all kinds of necessaries, but desired they would remain in the place at which they landed, where he would speedily pay them a visit.

The king, with his queen and courtiers repaired to the isle of Thanet, agreeable to his promise. Austin and his monks appeared before him, \* and were received with great cordiality. After seeing divine service performed, and hearing a pathetic sermon, the king addressed the monks in the following memorable words, "The doctrines and promises you bring, are indeed specious and inviting; but being new and uncertain, I cannot suddenly consent to quit the religion of my ancestors; but because you are strangers, and come from far countries, purely to communicate such things as you believe to be most valuable, you shall receive all protection and necessary accommodations, nor will I prohibit you from gaining what persons you can to the belief of your religion." He then appointed that they should reside in the royal city of Canterbury, gave them liberty to preach throughout his dominions, and amply provided for their maintenance. To the honour of these monks, then lives did not disgrace their doctrines; they conducted themselves with an apostolic purity of manners, and seemed to emulate the primitive christians in the simplicity of their conversation. The Saxons found the tenets they attempted to inculcate replete with universal philanthropy and benevolence,

H

volence,

\* It is remarkable that Ethelbert met Austin in an open field at this first conference, from a superstitious notion, that if he was

a sorcerer his charms could have no power in the open air, but beneath a roof they might be dangerous.



volence, and calculated to benefit and bless mankind. † Great numbers daily flocked to them to be baptized, and the king, at length, was won by their sanctity, and the purity of the precepts they taught, to become a christian.

In the year 598, Austin went to France, where he was ordained archbishop of the English nation, by Euthérius, archbishop of Arles. Returning to Britain, he sent two of his associates, viz. Laurentius and Peter to Rome, to give the Pope an account of his success, and obtain directions for his future conduct. He then rebuilt a temple, formerly erected by the Romans at Canterbury, established it as a see for himself, and called it Christ-church. East of the city, he erected a monastery, and persuaded the king to build the church of St. Peter and St. Paul for the interment of the kings of Kent, and archbishops of Canterbury. Afterwards informing Pope Gregory, that there was a deficiency of preachers in the island, that pontiff sent over Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufinian, who brought with them an archiepiscopal pall, sacerdotal vestments, altar cloths, several books, and a great number of relicks. The Pope likewise delegated to Austin, the power to ordain an archbishop of York and twelve suffragan bishops. Mellitus being one of the bishops, converted the East Saxons and their king Sebert, in honour of whose conversion Ethelbert built the cathedral church of St. Paul, London; and Justus, another of Austin's bishops, built the cathedral church at Rochester, and dedicated it to St. Andrew.

Having been thus successful in the conversion of the Pagans, Austin determined, if possible, to bring the British clergy to acknowledge the papal supremacy. He accordingly summoned the Welch clergy to meet him on the borders of Worcestershire, at a place which, in the time of the venerable Bede, went by the name of St. Austin's Oak.

Before the British clergy repaired to the place appointed, they enquired of one who led an anchorite's life, how they should know if Austin was a man from God—he replied, "If ye find him meek and humble, ye shall earnestly hearken to him, as having the truest marks of Christ's disciple; but if he carries himself with pride and haughtiness, regard him not, for he cannot then be a man from God."

Coming to the specified place of rendezvous, they found Austin diametrically opposite to the tokens by which they were to judge of his mission, for prosperity and advancement had been his ruin; the pastor was lost in the prelate, and the meekness which had originally procured him success, was sunk in archiepiscopal arrogance. The British bishops, therefore, absolutely refused to subscribe to any of the articles that he thought proper to propose, which chiefly tended to subject them to the see of Rome, and Dinooth, bishop of Bangor, in the name of the rest, addressed him in these words, "as to the subjection you require, be assured that in the bond of love and charity we are all subjects and servants to the church of God, to the pope of Rome, and every good christian, by word and deed to help them forward in the way of life; but other obedience than this we do not know to be due to him whom you term the Pope—yet this obedience we are always ready to pay him and every christian; besides we are governed under God by the bishop of Caerleon, whose duty it is to oversee us in all spiritual matters." Austin, highly exasperated at these expressions, pronounced the following denunciation against the Britons, "Since ye refuse to accept of peace from your brethren, ye shall have war from your enemies; and since ye will not preach the word of life to

"whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall meet with death." In order to have the prediction fulfilled, Austin persuaded the king of Northumberland to make war upon the Britons, but did not live to be a witness of their depredations, as he died in the ensuing year 605, and was succeeded in the archbishoprick by Laurentius.

Soon after the death of Austin, king Ethelbert summoned a mycel-synod, or grand council, in which, by the approbation of the nobles and representatives of the people, all the grants to the different christian churches in his dominions were confirmed. In 608 Laurentius brought the Scots to some conformity with him, particularly with respect to the observation of Easter. But Ethelbert dying, his son Eadbald, being a pagan, took the utmost pains to undo all that his father had done, and the nation relapsed again into paganism. Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, however, found means to convert the king to christianity, and knowing that the generality of the subjects would follow the example of the monarch, he did not despair of recalling the people back to the precepts of the gospel. Having in a great measure succeeded, Laurentius died A. D. 618, after which Mellitus held the see of Canterbury six years, and then was succeeded in 624 by Justus, bishop of Rochester. About this time, Paulinus baptized the king of Northumberland and his subjects, and many Mercians. Berinus in 634 was equally successful among the West Saxons, and the South Saxons were converted A. D. 686 by Wilfred, bishop of York.

Ferocious as the Saxons were, they had sufficient prudence to enact many excellent laws for the general welfare of the people, and the regulation of political and domestic happiness. The principal legislators were Ethelbert, Ina, and Offa. As the Codes of the two former have been handed down to us entire, and are in themselves extremely curious, we shall here insert them for the entertainment of the reader.

The laws made by Ethelbert, and engrossed in the Anglo Saxon language are these:

Let sacrilege be compensated twelve-fold, the theft of the goods of a bishop eleven-fold, the goods of a priest nine-fold, of those of a deacon six-fold, of those of a clerk three-fold, the violation of the peace of a church two-fold, and that of a monastery two-fold.

If the king call an assembly of his people, and any damage be done to them there, let it be repaid two-fold, and fifty shillings be paid to the king.

If the king is at an entertainment at any one's house, and any damage be done there, let it be compensated two fold.

If a freeman steal any thing from the king, let him compensate at nine fold.

Let him that killeth a man in the king's own city be fined fifty shillings.

Let him that killeth a freeman pay fifty shillings to the king for the loss of a subject.

If any one kill the servants of the king's master smith, or butcher, let him pay the ordinary mulct.

Let the violation of the king's patronage be compensated with fifty shillings.

If a freeman steal any thing from a freeman, let him repay it three-fold, let a mulct be imposed, and all his goods confiscated to the king.

If a man lie with the king's maid servant, being a virgin, let him compensate her virginity with fifty shillings.

If she be a grudging maid, let the compensation be twenty five shillings, if of the third rank twelve shillings.

Let

† The doctrine preached by St. Austin and his monks, was agreeable to the purity of primitive christianity, and untainted

by those errors and superstitions, which afterwards crept in to the great injury of religion and scandal of its professors.





ST. AUSTIN preaching under an Oak  
in the Isle of Thunes to the Saxons King  
ETHELBERT and his Queen BERTHA



Let the violation of the chastity of the king's viſu-  
alling maid be compensated with twenty ſhillings.

Let him that killeth a man in the city of an earl be  
fined twelve ſhillings.

If a man lie with a maid that is an earl's cupbearer,  
let him compensate her virginity with twelve ſhillings.

Let the violation of the patronage of a yeoman be  
compensated with fix ſhillings.

Let the violation of the chastity of a maid that is a  
yeoman's cupbearer be compensated with fix ſhillings,  
that of a yeoman's other maid ſervants with fifty  
ſcattas, and thoſe of the third rank thirty ſcattas.

Let him that firſt breaketh into another man's  
houſe be amerced fix ſhillings, the ſecond three ſhil-  
lings, and the reſt one each.

If any one lend another arms where there is a  
quarrel, though no harm be done thereby, let him be  
amerced in fix ſhillings.

If robbery be committed let it be compensated  
with fix ſhillings.

But if a man be killed, let the murderer compen-  
ſate his death with twenty ſhillings.

If a man kill another, be the ordinary muſt of an  
hundred ſhillings impoſed upon him.

If a man kill another at an open grave, let him  
compensate his death with twenty ſhillings, beſides the  
ordinary muſt which he muſt pay in forty days.

If the homicide fly his country, let his relations  
pay half the ordinary muſt.

Let him that bindeth a freeman pay twenty ſhil-  
lings.

Let the murderer of a yeoman's gueſt compensate  
his death with fix ſhillings.

But if the landlord killeth his chief gueſt, it ſhall  
be eighty ſhillings.

If he kills the ſecond fixty ſhillings, if the third  
forty ſhillings.

If a freeman cut down a hedge, he ſhall pay fix  
ſhillings.

If a man take away a thing kept within the houſe,  
he ſhall pay it three-fold.

If a freeman break over an hedge, let him compen-  
ſate with four ſhillings.

Let him that killeth a man make compensation ac-  
cording to the true valuation in current money.

If a freeman lie with a freeman's wife let him  
make amends by buying another wife for the injured  
party.

If a man prick another in the right thigh, let him  
compensate the ſame.

If he catch him by the hair let him pay fifty ſcatt-  
tas.

If the bone appear let him pay three ſhillings.

If the bone be hurt let him pay four ſhillings.

If the bone be broken let him pay ten ſhillings.

If both be done let him pay twenty ſhillings.

If the ſhoulder be lamed be it compensated with  
twenty ſhillings.

If he is made deaf of an ear let it be compensated  
with twenty five ſhillings.

If the ear be cut off let it be compensated with  
twelve ſhillings.

If the ear be bored through, let it be compensated  
with three ſhillings.

If clipped off, with fix ſhillings.

If the eye be ſtruck out let fifty ſhillings compen-  
ſate it.

If the mouth or eye be injured, let twelve ſhillings  
make a compensation.

If the noſe be bored through, let nine ſhillings be  
the compensation.

If but one membrane be bored, be three ſhillings  
the compensation.

If both fix ſhillings.

If both noſtrils be ſt, let each be compensated  
with fix ſhillings.

If bored, by fix ſhillings.

Let him that cutteth off the chin-bone, pay twenty  
ſhillings.

Let each of the four fore-teeth be compensated  
with fix ſhillings; for the one that ſtands next, four  
ſhillings; for the next, three ſhillings; for each of  
the reſt, one ſhilling. If it be an impediment to his  
ſpeech, twelve ſhillings; if the jaw-bone be broke,  
fix ſhillings.

Be the bruifery of a man's arm compensated with  
fix ſhillings; and the breaking it, with fix ſhillings.

If the thumb be cut off, let it be compensated with  
twenty ſhillings; the nail of the thumb, with three  
ſhillings; the fore finger, with eight ſhillings; the  
middle-finger, with four ſhillings; the ring finger,  
with fix ſhillings; the little finger, with eleven ſhil-  
lings.

For each nail, a ſhilling.

For the leaſt blemiſh, three ſhillings; for greater  
ones, fix ſhillings.

A blow on the noſe with the fiſt, three ſhillings.

If the noſe be wounded, a ſhilling.

If the ſtroke be black without the cloaths, let it be  
compensated with thirty ſcattas; if within the cloaths,  
with twenty.

If the midriff be wounded, let it be compensated  
by twelve ſhillings; if bored, by twenty ſhillings.

If one is made to halt, let it be compensated with  
thirty ſhillings.

If one wound the calves, let thirty ſhillings be the  
recompence.

If a man's thigh be broke, let twelve ſhillings be  
the recompence; if it is lamed, let the friends judge.

If a rib be broke, let it be compensated with three  
ſhillings.

If the thigh be pricked, for every prick be paid  
fix ſhillings; if it be an inch deep, one ſhilling; if  
two inches, two ſhillings; if above three, three ſhil-  
lings.

If a vertebra be wounded, let it be compensated  
with three ſhillings.

If the foot be cut off, with fifty ſhillings.

If the great toe be cut off, with ten ſhillings.

For each of the other toes, half the price, as for  
the fingers.

For the nail of the great toe thirty ſcattas, and ten  
for each of the reſt.

If a free woman, wearing her hair, do any thing  
that is diſhonourable, let her pay thirty ſhillings.

Let the compensation of a virgin be the ſame as  
that of a freeman.

Let the violation of the patronage of the chief  
widow of a noble family be compensated by fifty  
ſhillings, of the next by twenty ſhillings, of the third  
with twelve ſhillings, of the fourth with fix ſhillings.

If a man marry a widow that is not at her own diſ-  
poſal, let him compensate the violated patronage.

If a man buy a maid with his money, let her ſtand  
for bought, if there is no fraud in the bargain; but if  
there be, let her be returned home, and the purcha-  
ſer's money reſtored to him.

If ſhe bring forth any live iſſue, let her have the  
man's goods, if he die firſt.

If ſhe has a mind to depart with her children, let  
her have the half of his eſtate.

If ſhe have no iſſue, let her relations have the  
goods and the dowry.

If a man take a maid by force, let him pay fifty  
ſhillings to her firſt maſter, and afterwards redeem her  
according to his pleaſure.

If ſhe be before betrothed to another, let him com-  
pensate with twenty ſhillings.

If ſhe be with child, let him pay thirty-five ſhillings,  
and fifteen ſhillings to the king.

If a man be with the wife of a ſervant while her  
huſband is alive, let him make double recompence.

If



If a slave kill another slave, being innocent, let him compensate his death with all his substance.

If a servant's eye or foot be struck off, let it be compensated.

If a man bind another's servant, let it be compensated with six shillings.

Let the robbery of a servant be compensated with three shillings.

If a servant steal any thing, let him compensate the same two-fold.

The laws enacted by Ina in a Saxon parliament are as follow :

" Ina, by the grace of God, king of the West Saxons, by the counsel and advice of Centred my father, and Edde and Erkenwald my bishops, with all my eoldermen and sage antients of my people, as also in an assembly of the servants of God, have religiously endeavoured, both for the health of our soul and the common preservation of our kingdom, that right laws and true judgments be founded and established throughout our whole dominions ; and it shall not be lawful, for the time to come, for any eoldermen, or other subject whatever, to transgress these our constitutions."

1. If a servant do any work on a Sunday by command of his master, he shall be free, and his master shall be amerced thirty shillings ; but if he went about the work without his master's privity, he shall be beaten, or redeem the penalty : but a freeman, if he work on that day without the command of his master, shall lose his freedom, or pay sixty shillings : if he be a priest, his penalty shall be double.

2. The portion or dues of the church shall be brought in by the feast of St. Martin : he that payeth them not by that time, shall be amerced forty shillings, and, besides, pay twelve times their value.

3. If any, guilty of a capital crime, shall take refuge in a church, he shall save his life, and yet make recompence according to justice and equity : if one deserving stripes run to a church, the stripes shall be forgiven him.

4. If any one fight within the king's house or palace, he shall forfeit all his goods ; and it shall be at the pleasure of the king, whether he shall have his life or not. He that fights in a church, shall pay one hundred and twenty shillings ; in the house of an eolderman, or other sage nobleman, sixty shillings. Whoever shall fight in a villager's house, paying scot, shall be punished thirty shillings, and shall give the villager six shillings ; and, if any one fight in the open field, he shall pay one hundred and twenty shillings.

5. He that, on his own private account, shall revenge an injury done to him, before he hath demanded public justice, shall restore what he took away, and, besides, forfeit thirty shillings.

6. If a robber be taken, he shall lose his life, or redeem it according to the estimation of his head. We call robbers to the number of seven or eight men ; from that number thirty-five, a band ; all above, an army.

7. If a country boor, having been often accused of theft, be at last taken, he shall have his hand or foot cut off.

8. If any one kill another's godfather or godson, the satisfaction shall be according to his quality and circumstances : let the compensation due to the relations, and that due to the lord for the loss of his man, be both alike, and let the one encrease according to the circumstances of the person just as the other doth ; but if he be the king's godson, let him make satisfaction to the king as well as the relations ; but if his life was taken away by a relation, then let the money due to the godfather be diminished as it useth to be when money is paid to the master for the death of his

servant : if a bishop's son be killed, let the penalty be half so much.

9. If any Englishman, who has lost his freedom, do afterwards steal, he shall be hanged on the gallows, and no recompence made to his lord : if any one kill such a man, he shall make no recompence on that account to his friends, unless they redeem him within a twelvemonth.

The different kingdoms of the Heptarchy were limited monarchies, the sovereigns being accountable to the general assemblies of the states. The crown was elective as well as hereditary, for the people, or rather their representatives, would often oppose the lineal succession, and fill the throne with a person approved by the voice of election.

The services performed by the nobility were honorary, civil and military ; honorary in attending his person, military in coming armed at the head of their vassals and tenants into the field, and civil in trying causes in his name within their districts.

The trials were then as now, by jury, and equity was so far regarded, that in trials between the Britons and Saxons, one half consisted of English and the other of Welchmen.

Learning, during this period, was at a very low ebb, few but the nobility and clergy knew how to read, the former of whom never, and the latter very seldom, were acquainted with any but their native tongue. A priest, who could translate latin into the Saxon language, was deemed a miracle of erudition, and a squire who could write his own name, was thought a prodigy of literature.

It is observable, that our Saxon ancestors always repaired to the assemblies of the states compleatly armed. A priest presided upon these occasions, and possessed such authority, that it was a capital crime to interrupt him after he had called silence, or to speak without his permission.

None were allowed to wear armour, or what was equivalent to represent the people, but such as were approved of by the grand council of the nation. Hence knighthood originated, and representatives were afterwards called knights of the shire.

Husbands did not receive dowries with, but settled money on, their wives. If a woman proved false to the marriage bed, the husband might, if he thought proper, strip her naked, cut off her hair, and turn her out of doors in that condition ; if this did not gratify his revenge, he had a right to have her severely whipped through the town, and then turned totally adrift.

Rents were more frequently paid in kind than cash, that is, in corn, cattle, cloaths, &c. than current coin, and the lord of the Glebe had a right to prescribe the particular quantity which the tenant was obliged to pay annually ; free tenures called bockland or bookland, that is, such as were grantable by deed, were alienable by will, but the land held by tefage, was an absolute inheritance for all the sons, to whom it descended equally. The people were divided into three classes, viz. nobles, freemen, and slaves, and degradation was the consequence of marrying out of any particular class. The Saxons in general were great drinkers, and did not deem drunkenness disgraceful. Malt liquor was then common, and indeed favourite beverage, as it is a present ; nor were they greater drunkards than gamblers, for many, after having gamed away their property, and even wives and children, would stake their own freedom, and run the chance of becoming the slave of their antagonist to gratify this pernicious passion. And here we cannot help observing, that though the modern English have retained away most of the virtues of their ancestors, they still retain the two beforementioned vices, and practice them with as much avidity as ever. They were as much addicted to sudden starts of passion, and



**Explanation**  
Cities are distinguished by Roman Capitals as  
County Towns in Italic Capitals as  
Borough Towns in Print as  
Market Towns  
Great or Direct Post Roads  
Cross Roads

LONDON  
DERBY  
Windfor

(A New and)  
Accurate MAP of  
ENGLAND  
By T. Bowen.



British Statute Miles  
0 10 20 30 40 50





and as sudden fits of generosity, and from the sallies of anger would make hasty transitions to the meltings of humanity; and indeed this humorous disposition is still a marking characteristic of the English nation. They had no pompous funerals, yet, as now, inscribed the tombs of the defunct with an eulogium of their actions when living. For capital crimes,

hanging and drowning were the consequential punishments; but smaller offences were atoned for by fines. In short, considering the rudeness of the times, many of the laws were salutary and equitable, and some of their political institutions would have done honour to more polished ages.

## B O O K IV.

*From the Establishment of the English Monarchy under one Sovereign, to the Norman Conquest.*

### SECTION I.

#### EGBERT THE GREAT.

THE clouds of adversity for many years obscured this sun which was doomed to break forth in meridian lustre, and by the union of the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy into one great monarchy, to eclipse the fame of his most renowned ancestors.

This young hero having fled to the court of Charlemagne, then the politest in Europe, in order to delude the malice of Brithric, king of the West Saxons, there formed his ideas to future greatness, and sketched out the noble plan of an universal English monarchy.

His fortune began to take a favorable turn A. D. 800, on the death of Brithric, when the West Saxons unanimously sent a deputation to invite his acceptance of a crown to which he had a lineal claim. On his first accession to the throne of the West Saxon kingdom, he carefully concealed his grand design, and disguised the sentiments of ambition behind the veil of disinterestedness.----Instead of seeming to aspire to conquest, he appeared the candid mediator between the other kings, and became so respected for his prudent decisions, that they appealed to his award upon all occasions. By thus obtaining their confidence he gradually rose to an ascendancy which he did not seem to aim at, and from an adviser became a dictator, before his royal contemporaries were sensible of his encroaching authority over them.

The perpetual inveteracy of the Britons against the Saxons in general, and their peculiar prejudice in disfavour of himself in particular, furnished Egbert with an opportunity of commencing his military exploits. Accordingly, in 808, he marched against the Cornish Britons, the most hardy, and courageous tribe of those people, and the most furiously tenacious of their independency; the conflicts were frequent and bloody, and the war carried on with great spirit on both sides, till the genius of Egbert prevailing, the Cornish Britons were vanquished, and Cornwall was added to the dominions of the conqueror.

During this contest the Welch had afforded great assistance to the Cornish Britons, which so irritated Egbert, that he entered Wales with fire and sword, and the whole country waste, wrested from them the province of Gwyneth, and made a law, which enacted, that if any Welchman presumed to pass Offa's Dyke, the offence should be capital.

The success of Egbert's arms now awakened the attention and excited the jealousy of the other Saxon kings. The king of Mercia, as the most powerful, determined to stem this rapid tide of conquest before it should overwhelm or engulf his own dominions.

And the dread of Egbert's military talents had such an effect as even to reconcile antipathies; for the Mercian Saxons and Britons, who had hitherto cordially hated each other, now entered into an alliance offensive and defensive, and formed a confederacy to crush the aggrandizing power of this formidable warrior.

The first operations of the confederates were to invade Devon and Cornwall, in order to wrest from the conqueror his new acquired territories.---But they failed in the execution of their plan by the superior skill of Egbert, who totally routed the Britons in a battle fought A. D. 824, and soon after defeated the Mercians near Wilton.

Egbert then turned his arms against the kingdom of Kent, when Baldred, the pusillanimous king of that district basely deserted his dominions, without the least endeavours to oppose the invader, who annexed them to his own territories. This rapid success so much intimidated the South-Saxons and East-Saxons, that they thought proper to acknowledge the conqueror, who increased his own dominions by the addition of theirs. The East Angles being tributary to the Mercians, Egbert spirited them up to a revolt, and supplied them with every thing necessary to render it formidable. Beornulph, king of Mercia, marched at the head of his forces to bring back the insurgents to a sense of their duty, but engaging them he was slain in the action. Ludican, who succeeded him, was assassinated soon after, when Wiglaf being elected by the people in his room, found himself unable to make head against Egbert, who seized upon the kingdoms of the Mercians and East Angles, A. D. 825; but at the intercession of the pious abbot of Croyland, he made the conquered king his deputy, and suffered him to rule his dominions in the character of Viceroy.

The only kingdom of the Heptarchy which now remained unconquered was Northumberland, and this unhappy state had been long distracted by intestine broils. Ealdred, the then reigning king, from the bad situation of his private affairs, and the little dependence he had upon the fidelity of his subjects, did not think proper to oppose a prince of Egbert's power and military genius, at the head of a formidable army mured to conquest; he, therefore, with more prudence than magnanimity, resigned his kingdom to the fortunate conqueror, only stipulating to govern in future as a deputy, that which he had heretofore ruled as a king.

Egbert having thus successfully arrived at the ultimate purpose of his ambition, convened a general assembly of all the states of the kingdom to meet at Winchester, when, by the unanimous consent of both clergy and laity, he was solemnly crowned king of England, A. D. 829. At the same time it was enacted, that all that part of the island, to the south of the



the river Tweed, known hitherto by the name of South Britain, should be called England. This appellation included Wales, which having been conquered by Egbert, was deemed a subordinate province of England. And here it may not be improper to observe, that the name of England had been used in common conversation ever since the days of Ina, but was never authorized by a public instrument till on the present occasion.

Egbert was now in the zenith of his glory, when his repose was disturbed by an invasion of the Danes, who, A. D. 831, landed in the isle of Sheepy, in Kent, and committed vast devastations wherever they came; having made a considerable booty they returned home. The ensuing year they came back again with a more formidable force, and landed in Dorsetshire. Finding no opposition, they determined to penetrate into the country for pillage.

Egbert collected together a small force to oppose the invaders, but in so doing shewed more spirit than prudence, and committed the greatest error in generalship, of which he had been ever guilty. For unhappily contemning the enemy without being acquainted with their numbers, or sensible of their discipline, he trusted an affair of the utmost importance to a handful of men not equal to the enterprize. Hence he met with a defeat, in which two noblemen, named Osinond and Duddle, the bishops Herefrith and Wigferth, and many of his troops were slain.

Two years after, A. D. 835, the Danes revisited England, and were joined by the Cornish Britons, who thought this an excellent opportunity of throwing off the English yoke. But Egbert, who now acted with more circumspection, came suddenly upon the confederate armies of the Danes and Britons, and defeated them with great slaughter, which freed England for some years from their disagreeable visits. At length, after reigning twenty-seven years as principal king of the Heptarchy, and ten subsequent years as sole monarch of England, he paid the debt of nature A. D. 836, and having resigned his glories to the grave, left the crown to his eldest son Ethelwolf.

## SECT. II.

### ETHELWOLF.

**E**GBERT, on his death bed, warned his son Ethelwolf not to become a slave to that indolence which seemed to predominate in his temper. For this prince having been educated in a monastery, previous to the death of his elder brother, had contracted the sloth so incident to a monastic life, which naturally presented to the presence of the father, an idea of the subsequent impolitic apathy of the son.

The Danes, encouraged by the indolent disposition of the king, made several descents in England. Some landed at Southampton, and were defeated; others made a descent at Portsmouth, and were more successful in their enterprize and depredations. At Merclwar they were again successful, and the following year entered Lindsey, East England, and Kent, and penetrated as far as London itself. The next year, with thirty fine large ships, they landed again, encountered the forces of Ethelwolf in the same place where they had defeated his father, and again proved successful. But landing a subsequent time in the ninth year of his reign, they were defeated by earl Eamund, which gave a respite of six years to the nation from their intrusions. About the same time, this inactive monarch dismembered the kingdom which his father had taken such pains to cement, by giving to his son Athelstan the provinces of the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and Kent, in order to call himself a monarch possible of the cares of government, and

still to put the regal authority more out of his own power, he made his tutor Swithen bishop of Winchester, and joining with him Alltan, bishop of Sherborne, he committed to their mutual care the administration of all public affairs.

In the year 851, the Danes again invaded the kingdom, but were conquered by land both in Devonshire and Kent; and at sea, Athelstan defeated their fleet, and took nine of their ships. A. D. 852, however, they returned again, sailed up the Thames, and committed great depredations, till they were defeated by the English forces at Oakley, in Surry.

A. D. 853. The Welch took up arms, but were soon reduced to obedience; and the same year the Danes renewed their depredations by attacking the coasts of Kent and Surry, when the respective governors of those counties were defeated, and the invaders had leisure to compleat a settlement they had already began in the isle of Thanet.

Bishop Alltan, who was a man of abilities, and had really the good of his country at heart, told Ethelwolf that his kingdom would never be safe, or his person secure, unless he acted with more vigilance, paid greater attention to public affairs, and kept a proper force on foot to oppose the Danish invaders. But bishop Swithen, who was a worldly interested prelate, and a most artful sycophant, persuaded the weak monarch that there was no manner of occasion to let national affairs interrupt his beloved repose, that he should trust all to the prayers of the clergy, and that if he would but give largely to the church, there was no manner of occasion to be at the expence of keeping an army. The infatuated prince believed all these absurdities, and being resolved to trust more to the beads of his monks than the swords of his troops, he called a great council of state at Winchester, and gave to the church a tythe of the profits of all lands in the kingdom, free from every kind of deduction; this famous tythe tax, signed by the archbishops, bishops, abbots, abbesses, and deputed seculars of England, hath been known ever since by the name of **THE GRANT OF KING ETHELWOLF.**

About this time the king sent his son Alfred, a child of five years of age to Rome, where he was confirmed and anointed by pope Leo IV. On the return of the prince, Ethelwolf very imprudently determined to make a journey himself to Rome. Taking the young prince with him, he indiscreetly put his design into execution A. D. 855, without settling any of the affairs of his kingdom, or even appointing a regency. Benedict XIII. who had been lately made pope, received him very courteously, and at the same time took advantage of his extreme weakness, by persuading him to extend the tax of Peter's pence throughout the whole of his dominions, and to put the tax for the support of lights in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul under better regulations.

Having wasted the space of a whole year at Rome, he set off on his return to England, but passing through France, he unfortunately fell in love with Judith, the beautiful daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald, and giving way to his dotage he married her, and imprudently conferred on her the title of queen, which was entirely contrary to a popular West Saxon law, enacted on account of Brithnot, benighted by his wicked queen Ethelburga. This indiscreet step inflamed the discontent of his people, and added to the disgust they had long conceived against him on account of his impotent administration.

At length some of the nobility and prelates entered into a confederacy to depose him, and place his son Ethelbald upon the throne, but others of a more cool and dispassionate disposition, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, brought about an accommodation.



when the old king consented to be satisfied with Kent, Essex, and Surry, and to resign the rest of the kingdom to his son. This partition re-established the peace of the nation, and Ethelwolf at length enjoyed repose till his death, which happened January 13, A. D. 857. Previous to his demise, he bequeathed his paternal patrimony to all his children, and his regal domains to his two eldest sons, with this distinction; that Ethelbald should still enjoy the territories already assigned him, and Ethelbert those which had been retained by Ethelwolf himself. If one died the survivor was to succeed to the whole, and in case of the death of both, the third son to be the next heir.

## S E C T. III.

*Ethelbald and Ethelbert conjunctively.*

**T**HE two brothers now began their reign over their respective departments, but Ethelbald held the superior rank. The reign of this prince was remarkable only for an atrocious crime which he committed, and his subsequent penitence; for growing enamoured of the beauty of his step-mother Judith, he married that princess; but being convinced of his incestuous crime, by bishop Swithen, he repudiated her, and passed the remainder of his life in contrition for his fault. He died in 860, and was first buried at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, but afterwards removed to Salisbury.

## S E C T. IV.

*Ethelbert singly.*

**ETHELBERT** now succeeded to the whole monarchy of England, and was beloved for his equity and moderation. The Danes again invaded England, and landing at Southampton, proceeded as far as the city of Winchester, which they burnt; but the king's troops coming up, put them to flight with great slaughter, and pursued them to their ships. They were afterwards expelled by the inhabitants of Kent from their lurking places in that country. This prince reigned only six years, and died A. D. 866, to the great regret of his subjects, by whom he was universally esteemed.

## S E C T. V.

## E T H E L R E D.

**ETHELRED**, the third son of Ethelwolf, succeeded to the throne agreeable to the will of that monarch, though Ethelbert had left behind him two sons named Eadlhelm and Ethelwold.

In the commencement of this monarch's reign, the Danes began a more formidable invasion of England than ever. Prompted by their own avarice, and invited by a treacherous English nobleman, named Bruern, they landed in East Anglia, made a truce with the inhabitants, and contracted for a number of horses to mount their men and bear their baggage. In the beginning of the ensuing spring, they penetrated as far as York, and defeated the two governors, or tributary princes of Northumberland, named Osbert and Ella. In 868, they pursued their course towards Nottingham, took the place, and there wintered. His most terrified Burgh, the prince of that country, that he represented his case in the most pathetic terms to Ethelred, and implored his speedy assistance. Ethelred determined to lose no time in

freeing the nation from such merciless invaders; and therefore, having assembled what forces he could get together, and being joined by Edmund, the tributary king of the East Angles, he, with his brother Alfred, marched in order to form a junction with the Mercians. This being effected, Ethelred laid siege to Nottingham; but not being able to force it, he consented to a truce, and suffered the Danes to depart in safety, when they retired accordingly to their cantonments in Yorkshire.

A. D. 870. These barbarians broke the truce, passed the Humber, ravaged Bardney, Peterborough and Ely, and destroyed all the monasteries as they went. But here the memorable conduct of Abba, abbess of Coldingham, ought not to be forgot, who, to prevent herself and the nuns of her abbey from becoming sacrifices to Danish violation, persuaded them to cut off their noses and upper lips, and by her own example induced them to perform the dreadful operation. The Danes beholding their shocking appearance, were so exasperated as to set the monastery on fire, when all those virtuous ladies perished together in the flames. These inhuman ravagers then turned their arms against the East Angles, and having defeated them at Thetford, most barbarously murdered their king Edmund, by tying him to a tree as a butt or mark, and then shooting him to death with arrows; from the burial of whom, the town of St. Edmund's-bury takes its name. Proceeding towards Reading, they were opposed by Ethelred and Alfred, and at length coming to a decisive action on Ashdown in Berkshire, the English obtained a memorable victory, principally through the intrepidity of young Alfred. The Danes, besides many common soldiers, lost five earls and a king.

Fourteen days after this battle, another was fought, in which the English had rather the disadvantage. Two months subsequent to this action, the armies again engaged, but the chronicles of those times are rather dark, with respect to the prevailing party. They however insinuate, that the Danes lost the greatest number of men in the conflict, but that the English met with the greatest misfortune in the death of Ethelred, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, and did not long survive, as he died April 23, A. D. 871, and left the kingdom to his only surviving brother.

## S E C T. VI.

A L F R E D *the* G R E A T.

**H**istorians have very justly considered this prince as the most perfect and amiable character recorded in profane history, and the English are more obliged to him than to any other monarch who ever sat upon the throne of Britain. To him we owe the restoration of the lustre of the English church and state. He was at once the fountain of true justice, the father of his people, and the encourager of literature. He was an admirable grammarian, a persuasive orator, an accurate historian, an excellent mathematician, an elegant architect, and the best Saxon poet then living. His learned labours were held in the highest estimation, he translated many valuable works from the Greek and Latin languages. In particular he translated into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, "Barnes de consolatione, Bede's ecclesiastical history, and Gregory's pastoral." His original compositions were remarkable for the profoundest erudition, and most elevated marks of genius; and while they tended to public utility, displayed the classical purity of language, nor was his disposition in-

ferior

\* The following anecdote concerning Alfred hath been handed down to us: At five years of age he was unable to read, but obtained that qualification by the following incident. He was one day expressing his admiration of a beautiful book, which was

elegantly bound, and the letters finely embossed with gold and various colours. The queen his mother being present, told Alfred and one of his brothers, that the book should be the prize of him who could peruse it by rote. Armed with emulation, Alfred applied



ferior to his abilities. His fiery temper, which rendered him extremely intrepid in dangers, was temper'd by the softest milk of humanity; he was generous with judgement, abstemious without the least tincture of parsimony, affable with dignity, and the sweetness of his disposition yielded to nothing but the equity of his soul, which suffered no consideration whatever to impede the strict course of justice.

This excellent prince at the early age of twenty two years mounted a throne, \* surrounded by difficulties, and began to sway the scepter of a kingdom exhausted of treasures, desolated by the repeated depredations of robbers, while many of its most fertile parts were in the possession of a set of powerful but lawless barbarians.---Such a situation would have staggered the fortitude of a soul less intrepid and enterprising than Alfred's; but stimulated to a greater degree of assiduity by surrounding dangers, he determined to relieve his country or perish in the attempt.

Alfred had scarcely been a month on the throne, when he found himself compelled to oppose the whole power of the Danes before he had time to collect together a proper army.---He therefore, through unavoidable necessity was obliged to engage their forces with only a handful of men whom he had hastily assembled.---In the commencement of the action the English had the advantage, and obliged the Danes to quit their ground; but the latter finding by the pursuit the inferiority of their enemies in point of numbers, rallied, and charging the English again, overpowered them merely by being more numerous. This engagement, however, so fully convinced the Danes of the superior generalship of Alfred, and the spirit with which the English troops would always behave under such a commander, that they gladly consented to a truce, and agreed to quit the kingdom. But returning the ensuing year, they marched to London, and having entered into a kind of treaty with the Mercians there took up their winter quarters.

A. D. 874. They proceeded northward, and wintered at Yorksey, in Lincolnshire, subduing all the places wherever they came, and spreading devastations around whatever spot they chose for their head quarters.

Alfred now considered that the expulsion alone of these invaders would be only a temporary benefit to his kingdom, as they would soon inevitably return; but to prevent their invasions by opposing their armaments at sea, could be the only method of rendering the nation an essential service. Warmed by these reflections, he was the first English monarch who conceived the truly patriotic and noble design of build-

ing an English Navy, and employing the natural strength of this kingdom in its defence. This laudable resolution he immediately put into practice by the construction and equipment of a number of galleys, which drew but little water, but were admirably calculated to protect the coasts. This naval armament, A. D. 876, met with, and defeated a fleet belonging to the enemy, which so terrified the Danes who were possessed of many places in the kingdom, that those in Exeter agreed to evacuate the western parts of England. They were, however, long in the performance of their promises, and probably would have broken through the solemnity of the treaty, had not king Alfred's galleys defeated another of their fleets, consisting of an hundred and twenty sail of ships near Sanwic, in Dorsetshire. This blow determined them to keep their word, and they accordingly marched into Mercia. By this junction of forces, the Danes were exceedingly numerous and powerful in the midland, and northern parts of the kingdom, which encouraged them to think they should be able shortly to drive Alfred from those parts of his dominions which he yet possessed, and at length totally to extirpate the English.

Fraught with these sentiments, and knowing that Alfred's forces were extremely weak, they resolved to distract his operations by obliging him either to a division of what few troops he had, or to leave some important parts defenceless.

Pursuant to this plan, the Danish general Haldane, A. D. 878, invited over more of his countrymen, sent two fleets to make separate descents upon the western parts of England, while himself at the head of an army penetrated as far as Chippenham. This deluge of barbarians bore down all opposition, and so greatly terrified the people, that Alfred found it impossible to assemble a sufficient force to give them any check. Many of the English fled to the continent, or to Wales, numbers were murdered, and the rest thought fit to submit, or rather to revolt to the pagan ravagers.---In these desperate circumstances, and thus universally deserted, Alfred was compelled to seek his personal safety in privacy; and to exchange his regal habitation for an obscure recess. Having disposed of his family to persons on whose circumspection and fidelity he could rely, he wandered about the swampy parts of Somersetshire in disguise, and at length took shelter in the hut of a cowherd in the isle of Athelney, \* where, to conceal the dignity of the monarch, he submitted to become the domestic of a clown.

applied to his learning with such avidity and diligence, that he could soon not only read the book, but repeat it, and ever after retained such a relish for learning as in time rendered him a blessing to this nation, and the greatest ornament of the age in which he lived. The example of the king gave encouragement to others, so that in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries the following learned men flourished in England. 1. Alcuin, or Albinus, abbot of St. Augustine's monastery, in Canterbury, who going ambassador to France, taught Charles the Great logic and the mathematics during his residence in that country, and likewise persuaded him to found the university of Paris. 2. Swithen, bishop of Winchester, commonly called St. Swithun. 3. Hubert, bishop of Eath Anghy, who was murdered by the Danes. 4. Johannes Scottus Eriugena, who taught Alfred the liberal arts. 5. Grimball, abbot of Winchester. 6. Aelfric, bishop of St. David's in Wales, who wrote the life of Alfred. 7. Werfred, bishop of Worcester. 8. Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, in Alfred's time. 9. Dunstun, a herdsman, whose great abilities recommended him to the notice of Alfred. 10. John, the monk of St. David's. 11. Wulfy, bishop of London. 12. Neatu, or St. Neota. 13. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, in the time of Edward the Elder. 14. St. Dunstan, successor to Odo. 15. Alfred, archbishop of York, who translated the Saxon Homilies. 16. Edmund, bishop of Durham. 17. Ethelwald. 18. Oswald. 19. Wulfstan, &c.

1. He was the first who crowned King of England, which ceremony was performed at Winchester.

\* Athelney is a small island, or rather Peninsula, formed by the confluence of the rivers Thame and Parret, and situated near

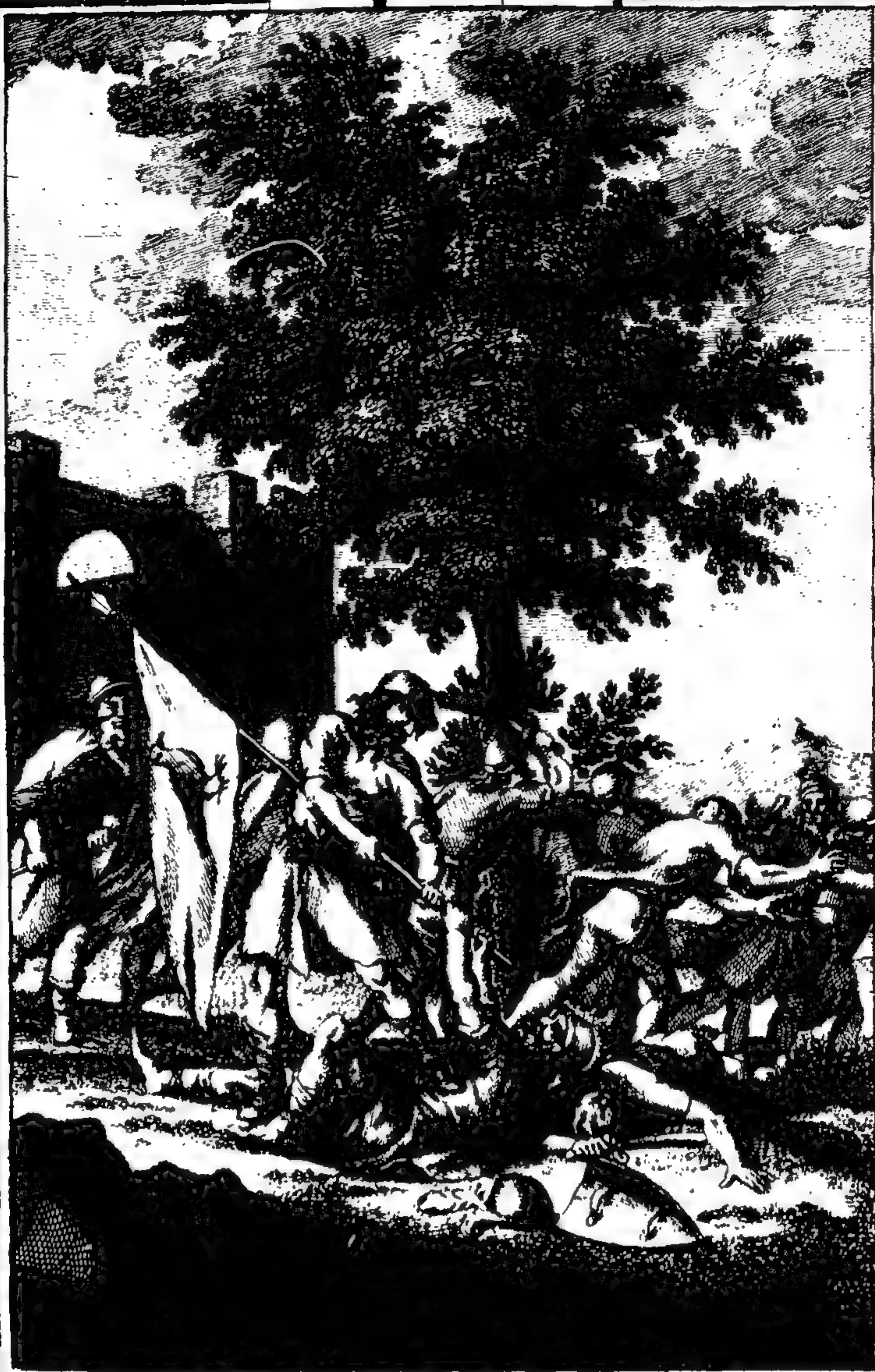
Taunton in Somersetshire. It does not contain above two acres of solid ground, and in Alfred's time was covered with trees, briars, thorns, &c. So that the cowherd's cottage had but one narrow winding path leading to it, and that was hid by the circumjacent woods in such a manner as to be very obscure. Alfred found himself under a necessity of letting the cowherd know who he was, but the man's wife was kept in total ignorance of the quality of her royal guest, which gave rise to the following whimsical occurrence. Looking upon the king in the light of a common domestic, the one day ordered him to mind some cakes which she had placed before the fire Alfred being busied in doing something to his bow and other weapons, happened to let the cakes burn, which so enraged the good woman that she rung an unmerciful peal in his ears, and among other expressions told him that he was ready enough to eat the cakes when baked, though he would not take care of them while baking.---This gave rise to a Latin mockish distich, which may be thus rendered into English.

Sirrah, what cou'dst you give the cakes a turn,  
But like a blockhead suffer them to burn,  
Was ever woman try'd at such a rate,  
I've a great mind to break your scurvy pate.  
'Tho' you can't mind the cakes for half an hour,  
Yet when they're done, you're ready to devour.

While the king was in exile here he had occasion not only to experience the fidelity, but likewise to observe the genius of the cowherd, whose natural abilities were so great, that as soon as the king regained his dominions, he drew him from obscurity, and



Engraved for  
*Rapin's History of  
England.*



*Odin, Earl of Devon, taking the  
DANISH REAFIN,  
or Great Military Standard.*





Engraved for  
Russell's History  
of England.

ALFRED  
the Great, forming a Code  
of LAWS, and planning  
the Division of England into  
COUNTIES.

W.C. delin.

White sculp.



The only considerable person whom he confidentially entrusted with the place of his retreat was Odun, earl of Devon, of whose fidelity he had received various and unquestionable proofs. This nobleman had gained some advantages over the enemy and had particularly distinguished himself by having taken from them their reafin, or royal standard. Alfred at length determined to emerge from the place of his retreat; but first he sent for all his nobles whom he thought proper to trust, and having consulted upon the most probable means of checking the power of the Danes, it was agreed to collect together what forces they could, and assemble with all possible expedition at a place called Buxton in Selwood Forest, Wiltshire.

Before he would determine to venture a general engagement, he resolved to undertake a private expedition, in order to inform himself of the real strength and situation of the Danish camp. This enterprize he undertook in the disguise of a harper, attended by only one person. In this itinerant character he so much delighted the Danes by his singing and playing, that he was introduced to their king's tent, by which he had an opportunity of making all the observations he desired. On returning to his people, he represented the continual drunkenness and remissness of the Danes, and the unguarded state of the camp, and proposed to attack them on one of their festivals, when it was probable, from their supposed security, that they would all be in a state of intoxication. This plan was approved and unanimously agreed to by all the English nobles, who immediately prepared to execute it with vigour.

Accordingly, A. D. 879, Alfred proceeded with the greatest secrecy to the Danish camp at Yattendon, on the borders of Hampshire, which he impetuously assaulted, and forced the lines with a great slaughter of the enemy. The fugitives who had escaped the sword, fled to a fortified castle at some distance, where they were near perishing by famine; for Alfred, to make the most of his victory, closely pursued them, invested the fortress, and cut off every supply of provisions. This obliged them to capitulate, which they did upon the following conditions: that they should either quit the kingdom immediately, or turn christians. In consequence of this determination many of them quitted the kingdom; and to make up for their ill success in England, plundered the coasts of France and Flanders with their usual rapacity and cruelty. The rest, with their leader Gutheren, were baptized, king Alfred himself standing godfather to the latter, and giving him the name of Athelstan. Essex and East Anglia were allotted by Alfred for the residence of these new converts, which their chief was to hold of him as a feudatory, and to govern by a code of laws, written purposely by Alfred himself on the occasion. In 881, however, a large body of Danes sailed up the river and landed at Fulham. But finding that their countrymen, who were become christians, did not chuse to join them, and that Alfred was in full march towards them, they halted to their ships, and made a precipitate retreat.

A. D. 882. Four Danish piratical vessels infesting the coast, Alfred took the command of his fleet in person, and defeated them; two of the ships escaped, but the other two being taken, the crews were condemned and put to death as pirates. From this time the Danes gave Alfred a respite till A. D. 885, when they landed in Kent and laid siege to Rochester; but the vigilant Alfred collected his forces in great haste, marched to the relief of Rochester, compelled the

pagans to raise the siege, and obliged them to retire to their ships. Finding that these invaders still infested the coast, and that the christian Danes of East Anglia, contrary to the solemn treaty made between them, began to assist their countrymen in a clandestine manner. Alfred augmented his navy, and engaged a fleet of sixteen Danish ships near Harwich, when he took or destroyed them all.

Alfred being enraged at the treachery of the Danish converts, and sensible that he never could be secure from invasions, while London remained in their hands, determined, as they had already broken the treaty, to deprive them of that important place. Accordingly, A. D. 886, he made himself master of that city, and appointed Ethelred, earl of Mercia, his son-in-law, to the government thereof.

Having thus far succeeded in expelling his enemies, securing his dominions, and establishing his authority, this glorious monarch turned his attention to the enacting of wise laws, and promulgating salutary regulations for the benefit of his subjects in general. Among other things he ordained that the assembly of the states should be held in London, by which that city first became the metropolis of the kingdom; and at the same time, to render it worthy of this distinction, he embellished it with several magnificent public edifices.

The next great object of concern was the literature of the kingdom, which he found at a very low ebb indeed, for very few of his subjects could read English, scarce a priest understood Latin, as we find from the king's own words in an epistle which he wrote upon the subject to Wulfsig, bishop of London, which, as it is deemed a great curiosity, we shall insert entire for the satisfaction of the reader.

King Alfred to Wulfsig, bishop of London.

"Alfred, king, wisheth greeting to Wulfsig, bishop, his beloved and friend-like, and thee to know I wish, that to me it cometh very often in mind what manner of wise men long ago were throughout the English nation, both of the spiritual degree and of the temporal; and how happy the times then were among all the English, and how the kings, which then the government had of the people, God and his written will obeyed; how well they behaved themselves both in war and peace, and in their home-government; how their nobleness was spread abroad, and how they prospered in knowledge and in wisdom: also the divine orders how earnest they were, as well about preaching as about learning, and about all the services they should do to God; and how men from abroad, wisdom and doctrine here in this land sought; and how we the same now must get abroad if we would have them, so clean has learning fallen among the English nation, as that there have been very few on this side Humber that were able to understand the English of their service, or turn an Epistle from Latin into English; and I wot there were not many beyond Humber that could it: there were so few, as that I cannot bethink me of one of the south side of the Thames, when I first came to reign. God Almighty be thanked, we have ever a teacher in pulpit now; therefore I pray thee that thou do, as also I believe thou wilt, that wisdom, that God has given thee, be flow all about on them thou canst bestow it: think what punishment shall for this world befall us, when as neither we ourselves have loved wisdom, nor left it to others, we only loved the names that we were Christians, and very few of us the duties. When I minded all this, methought that I saw, before all was spoiled

placed him under the care of proper tutors. When this adult pupil made such a rapid progress in literature, that some years after Alfred made him bishop of Winchester. And to commemorate his own retirement, built a monastery in Athelney, the foundations of which were discovered in 1674 by some labourers. The word Athelney is only a corruption of *Athelney*, or the

*Isle of Athelney*, an earth given to the place, on account of Alfred, citing a council of his principal nobility there, to which he made a discovery to the English of his retreat, and which proved to the propitious moment in which his good government began to prevail.



spoiled and burnt. how all the churches throughout the English nation stood filled with books and ornaments, and a great multitude of God's servants; and at that time they wist very little fruit of their books, because they could understand nothing of them, for that they were not written in their own language; so they told us, that our ancestors, that before us held those places, loved wisdom, and through the same got wealth, and left it us. A man may yet here see their swath, but we cannot enquire after it, because we have let go both wealth and wisdom, for that we would not stoop with our minds to the seeking of it. When I thought of all this, then wondered I greatly that their godly wise men, that were every where throughout the English nation, and had fully learned all those books, would turn no part of them into their own language: but I then again quickly answered myself, and said, they weened not that ever men should become so reckless, nor that this learning would so decay; therefore they willingly let it alone, and wot that here would be the more wisdom in the land the more languages that we understood. Then I called to mind, how that the law was first found written in the Hebrew speech; and after that the Greeks had learned it, then turned they it into their own speech wholly, and also all other books: and then the Latin people, a little after they had learned it, they translated all, through wise interpreters, into their own language; and all other Christian people have turned some part thereof into their own tongue. Therefore, me thinketh it better, if you so think, that we also some books, that be deemed most needful for all men to understand, into that language turn that we all know; and that we bring to pass, as we easily may, with God's help, if we have quietness, that all the youth of free-born Englishmen, such as have wealth that they may maintain them, be committed to learning; that while they no other note, can they first learn well to read English writing; afterward let men farther teach in the Latin tongue those that they will farther teach, and have to a higher degree. When I minded how this learning of the Latin tongue heretofore was fallen through the English nation, though many could skill to read English writing, then began I, among divers and manifold businesses of this kingdom, to turn into English this book, which in Latin is named *Pastoralis*, and in English *The Herdsman's Book*, some time word for word, some time understanding for understanding, even as I learned them of Plegmond my archbishop, of Aelfer my bishop, and Grimbold my mass-priest, and John my mass-priest: after that I had learned of them how I might best understand them, I turned them into English, and will send one to each bishop's see in my kingdom; and upon each there is a style that is of fifty marks: and I command, on God's name, that no man the style from the book, nor the books from the minister, take; seeing we know not how long there shall be so learned bishops as now, God be thanked, every where there are. Therefore I would they should always remain in their places, except the bishop will have them with him, or that they be lent some whither, until that some other be written out."

To remedy this evil, Alfred founded the University of Oxford, A. D. 886, by erecting three Colleges, the first for grammarians, the next for philosophers, and the third for theologians, or divines; and that this seminary might not be deficient with respect to proper masters, he invited Grimbold and John the monks from France, and the learned Aelfer from Wales. He then put himself to great expences to

procure books from various parts, in order to furnish a suitable library; thus was every thing effected for the advancement of learning, which wisdom could dictate, and prudence execute.

These were not the only great works which employed his attention. for this truly patriotic monarch formed a code of salutary laws, gave the memorable blessings of trials by jury, fortified the principal places in his dominions, erected various castles and churches, built several new towns, and to promote commerce, furnished many of his subjects with ships and money to trade to foreign parts. He likewise encouraged foreign manufactures and artificers of all kinds to come and settle in his dominions, established a national militia, divided the kingdom into counties, tythings, hundreds, &c. and, in fine, changed the whole of the constitution for the better, and gave a new face to the nation. These wise regulations were productive of such admirable effects throughout the nation, that probity became general, and the integrity of the people was such as gave cause to the writers of that age to affirm, that if a person had dropped a purse of gold in the highway, it would remain untouched till the real owner came to seek it.

The kingdom had now been happy within itself, and free from foreign invasion for the space of eight years. But A. D. 893, the Danes paid another visit to England on the following occasion: The emperor Arnwolf having gained several advantages over them in France, obliged them to retire to Boulogne, from whence a great part of them embarked in two hundred and fifty ships, and sailing for England, landed near Rye, in Suffex, and soon after made themselves masters of the fort of Appledore, while another party, who came in eighty ships, sailed up the Thames, landed and built a fortress for their security at Milton.

Alfred, who was in East Anglia, no sooner received intelligence of this formidable invasion, than he prudently exacted an oath of allegiance from the christian Danes whom he deemed his subjects, and took hostages for their fidelity upon the present emergency. Having taken this discreet step, he assembled his forces, and so disposed them as to prevent the junction of the two parties of the enemy.

The invaders not being joined immediately on their arrival as they expected, by the Danes resident in England, sent their ships to the isle of Mersey, and then fancying themselves secure in the superiority of the numbers, which far exceeded the English, they determined to ravage the country by force of arms as usual, and afterwards to secure themselves for the winter.

Early in the spring, A. D. 894, king Alfred attacked the largest body of the Danes at Farnham in Surrey, put them to flight and took all their baggage. The fugitives retired to their ships, and sailing up the Colne, they landed at a place called Brickley in Essex, where they strongly intrenched themselves. In the meantime, Alfred was informed that Hasting, the leader of the other party, had left Milton and proceeded to Beamsfield, where he had strongly fortified himself, and that the Northumbrian Danes, having broken their oath of allegiance, had revolted, and with a fleet of an hundred and forty ships, were ravaging the northern and southern coasts of the west of England. This alarming intelligence induced the king to leave a body of troops for the protection of London and the neighbouring parts, and with the rest to proceed westward to the relief of Exeter, which he now received advice was closely invested by a party of the volunteers. On the appearance of Alfred the industry of the king

\* Alfred's book containing the civil divisions of the kingdom gave rise to, and was the ground work of, William the Conqueror's famous book of a Charter called *Doom's day book*.



siege of Exeter, and fled with precipitation to their ships, when making the best of their way to Beamsfleet they joined Hasting's. This Dane, assuming the chief command, proceeded to ravage the Mercian counties, but the garrison of London taking the advantage of his absence, sallied out of that city, attacked Beamsfleet and carried it by assault. Here, besides the garrison, they took the wife and children of Hasting's, and sent them prisoners to Alfred. This worthy monarch no sooner understood who these captives were, than he generously returned them to Hasting's with this noble message, "I am determined, at the hazard of my life to oppose the foreign and domestic foes of my country: but women and children should be spared from the horrors of war—I therefore return your wife and children, as none ought to be retained in captivity, but such as are capable of committing hostilities." As Alfred was upon his return from the west of England, Hasting's thought proper to sue for peace and solicit his clemency. His request was granted by the amiable monarch, with a more ready condescension than strict policy might perhaps allow. But Alfred's humanity always superseded his resentment, his first maxim being the preservation of his country, and his next to prevent the effusion of human blood.

But the faithless Dane deemed a breach of promise absolutely necessary where it coincided with his interest, and looked upon an oath itself as only a temporary tie, which might be broken with impunity when an eligible occasion presented. Possessed with these infernal sentiments, it is not surprising that he sought another opportunity of coming to a rupture with Alfred, that he might reimburse himself for his recent losses with a little beloved plunder. Having strongly fortified Shoebury, in the hundreds of Essex, and being considerably reinforced by the gradual influx of the fugitive Danes from the other parts of the kingdom, he determined to throw off the mask, and begin his depredations without delay. Proceeding northwards, he made a junction with the Northumbrian Danes, and then turning towards the west, he penetrated to the Severn, and strongly intrenched himself at Badington, in Montgomeryshire. Alfred sent an army against the ravagers, commanded by three general officers, who being joined by a body of Welch, blocked them up in their camp. The Danes, at length reduced to the utmost extremity by famine, sallied out of their lines in a fit of desperation, with a design to cut their way through the besiegers. In this attempt many perished in the conflict, several others in the pursuit, and some crept into the covert of the woods. The latter, however, found means to elude the pursuit of the king's forces, and being joined by some more of their countrymen from East Anglia and Northumberland, they together proceeded to Chester, intrenched themselves again, and passed the winter in that manner. In the spring of A. D. 896, they retreated through Northumbria and East Anglia, seized on the isle of Mersey, and proceeding with their ships up the river, last fixed their station at Hertford.

The citizens of London were exceedingly uneasy to have an army of such inhuman ruffians so near them, and more particularly as it was about the time of harvest, fearing that they should be deprived of the fine crops that adorned the country for many miles round. King Alfred, to be a check upon the Danes, and calm the fears of his subjects, immediately marched toward Hertford, and encamped near that town,

in which situation he could observe the motions of the enemy, and protect the reapers from insult.

Affairs were in this position, when Alfred conceived a design of destroying the Danish fleet, by the following singular stratagem. He ordered several large trenches to be cut from the river to the low grounds, then drawing off the main stream, he turned it into the lesser channels, and by this ingenious device, the ships of the enemy were left a-ground. Astonished at such an expedient, and dreading the enterprising genius of Alfred, the Danes fled with the utmost precipitation; the English then got off what ships they could and burnt the rest. Alfred pursued the advantage the consternation of the Danes had given him, and followed them to the Severn, from whence they continued their retreat to Northumberland. Reflecting on the military talents of Alfred, and despairing of success, while a man of his abilities possessed the throne, they determined to quit the kingdom, and make up for their losses in England, by plundering some other nation. Being supplied by their Northumbrian friends with ships, they accordingly set sail for Normandy A. D. 896, after having been greatly diminished in their numbers, disappointed in their prospects of plunder, and obliged to carry away with them less property than they brought. Subsequent to the departure of these unwelcome guests, Alfred found no difficulty in punishing for their revolt, and reducing to obedience, the Danes of Northumberland and East Anglia.

Having now some leisure time, this excellent monarch turned his whole attention to put the navy of England upon such a footing, as to render the future designs of invaders abortive. In consequence of this resolution, he ordered several vessels to be built upon a larger construction than those of the Danes, yet they were so contrived, that the bulk did not impede their swiftness. He had scarce finished these, when he had an immediate call to use them, for a squadron of Danish ships appearing off the coast of Dorsetshire, A. D. 897, he ordered out nine of his new constructed galleys against them. A sharp engagement ensued, in which the Danes were defeated, and many of them taken prisoners. Alfred, in order as much as possible to deter these invaders from infesting the English coast, commanded that the prisoners should be proceeded against as pirates, and after condemnation hung up in Terrorem on the sea shore.

Alfred, after this, enjoyed three years of repose, which he employed in the most laudable manner, and dying October the 25th, A. D. 900, was buried at Winchester. He left behind him five children, Edward, who succeeded him, Ethelwald bred to literature; Ethelfleda, who was married to the earl of Mercia; Ethelgiva, abbess of the monastery founded in the isle of Athelney; and Elfrida married to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders.

From the concurrent testimonies of the most eminent writers, and Alfred's actions themselves, it is evident that he was the able general in the camp, the intrepid soldier in the field, the profound scholar in the university, the eloquent speaker in the senate, the sage politician in the council, the polite gentleman at court, and the worthy man upon all occasions. Hence from what we at first premised concerning Alfred, from his subsequent transactions, and from our eulogium at the close of our account, we shall wind up the whole by corroborating our former assertion, \* viz.

"That

\* Spelman thus exclaims concerning Alfred: "O Alfred, the wonder at a accomplishment of all ages, if we reflect upon his piety and religion, it would seem that he had never gone out of a monastery; if on his warlike exploits, that he had lived no where but in a camp; if on his writing and studies,

"that he had spent his whole time in an university; and lastly, if we repeat his administration of the affairs of his kingdom and subjects, one would think that his whole time had been employed in nothing else but exacting law, and promoting justice in his tribunal, courts, &c."



“ That he is the most perfect and amiable character recorded in profane history ;” for as no one ever discharged the offices of king, christian, general and politician with equal propriety, none can be set in competition with him in this respect. Before we quit the reign of Alfred, it may not be improper to observe, that he not only ordered all causes to be tried by a jury of twelve men, commanded that culprits who could not find sureties for their good behaviour should be committed to prison, instituted fairs, restrained the power of the nobles over their vassals and tenants, erected tything courts, put the wittenagemots or parliaments upon a better footing, &c. but formed an excellent code of laws, containing forty articles. The following we give as an abstract of his *principal* judicial maxims.

The Ist requires, as most necessary to all his subjects, that each keep his oath or pledge, his promise to observe the laws, and keep the peace. And if any should be compelled to swear, or deposite a pledge, whereby he may be bound to betray his lord, or unjustly to assist any person, he ought to break his promise rather than perform it ; but in case he hath engaged to perform any thing which might justly be done, and doth it not, his arms and all his personal estate shall be put into the hands of his friends, and he himself kept in the king's prison for forty days, till he undergo that penance which the bishops shall enjoin him, and also his friends and relations require of him : but if he hath not wherewith to sustain himself in the mean while, if his kindred are not able to provide him victuals, the king's officers shall do it. But if he resist, and be taken by force, he shall forfeit both his arms and his personal estate ; and if he be killed, nothing shall be paid as the value of his head. And in case he escape before his time, (viz. of forty days) be out, and be retaken, he shall be returned back again to prison for other forty days ; if he escape, he shall have no benefit of the laws, but be excommunicated from all Christ's churches : and if any man have been security in his behalf, he shall make satisfaction for it according to right, and do penance till he make such satisfaction as his priest shall appoint.

The IId bears the title of The Immunity of the Church.

The IIId is concerning the breach of the king's suretyship, by the payment of a mulct of five pounds of Mercian larger money ; but the violation of suretyship, or the peace, made to an archbishop, by a fine of three pounds ; and if any one break or forfeit the king's pledge, or recognizance, he shall make amends, according to right and the breach of the suretyship, to a bishop or ealdorman, by two pounds.

The IVth law is concerning the death of the king, or any other lord. If any one that either by himself alone, or by any other person, shall attempt against the king's life, he shall lose his life and goods ; but if he will purge himself, let him do it according to the valuation of the king's head. The same is also ordained in all judgments concerning other men, whether noble or ignoble.—Whoever conspires against his lord, shall lose both his life and estate, or else pay the valuation of his lord's head.

The Vth law is against fighters in the king's palace. If a man shall fight, or draw a weapon in his house, his life shall be at the king's mercy whether he will pardon him or not ; but if the offender flee, and he be taken, he shall redeem his life with the price of his head, or be fined according to his offence.

The VIth law ordains what mulct a man shall pay that kill a woman with child, which was to be according to the value of her head ; and he was also to pay for the child in her womb half as much as for a living one, according to the quality of a father.

The VIIth ordains what fine or amends every man shall pay to a husband for committing adultery with

his wife, which was to be increased according to the estate or quality of him against whom the offence was committed.

The XIth, what mulct a man shall pay that wantonly handles the breasts of a countryman's wife, or offers her any violence, as by flinging her down, &c. though he does not lie with her.

The XXVIth law appoints what mulcts shall be paid by those who kill in troops or companies ; and also to whom these mulcts were to be paid. If the slain innocent party were an ordinary person, that is, one whose head was valued but at two hundred shillings, he that slew him must pay the value of his head, and a fine besides to his kindred ; also every one that was in the company must pay thirty shillings : which penalty was still to be increased according to the value of the estate of the party slain, so that as to the penalty for the death of a man valued at twelve hundred shillings, every one that was present must pay an hundred and twenty shillings, and the manslaughterer himself the price of his head ; and a fine besides : but in case the whole company shall deny that he gave the mortal wound, all of them are to be impeached together, and to pay both the value and the fine besides.

The XXVIIth appoints what share of the mulct or satisfaction a man's kindred on the mother's side shall receive, in case he has no kindred on his father's side ; and what share those of his guild or fraternity shall pay, in case he have committed manslaughter in a quarrel, viz. the former shall pay a third part, and the latter, one half, of the price of the head of the party slain.

The XXVIIIth law was made against public defamers, or spreaders of false news ; whereby is meant spreaders of false news against the government : and commands that such a one, being convicted, should suffer no less punishment than the cutting out of his tongue, except he redeem it by paying of the value of his head, and even then, he was afterwards to be esteemed of no credit.

The XXXth ordains, that merchants, when they land, shall bring such as come on shore with them before the king's officers in solemote (or county-court,) and there declare their number, that they may be ready to produce them, to answer any thing that may be demanded of them in the said solemote : and that if they happen to bring many strangers on shore, that they also certify this to the king's officer in that said assembly, so that they may be forth coming.

The XXXIth inflicts upon him that shall put a ceorle's man, that is, an ordinary countryman, without any fault into bonds, a mulct of ten shillings ; upon him that beats such a one, twenty shillings ; if he hang him up aloft, thirty shillings ; if he cut off his hair to expose him like a fool, ten shillings ; if he shave his head like a priest, yet bind him not, thirty shillings ; and in case he only cut off his beard, twenty shillings ; but if he bind him and shave his hair like a priest, then sixty shillings.

The XXXIVth law imposes upon him that shall strike or fight in open court before the king's ealdorman, both the value of his own head and such a fine besides as shall be thought fit, and also an hundred and twenty shillings, to be paid to the ealdorman by him that by thus drawing his weapon shall make any disturbance in the solemote : if the ealdorman was not present, but the fact was done before his substitute or the king's priest, then a fine or amercement of thirty shillings.

The XXXVth ordains what satisfaction shall be made for breach of the peace in any other place, as, for example, he that fights in the home hall of a countryman, shall pay the said countryman six shillings ; if he drew his own sword but struck not, he shall pay as much ; which penalty also was to be increased according to the quality of the party.



according to the estate or quality of him upon whose ground the assault was made; so that if he fought in the house of one that was worth six hundred shillings, he was to pay three times as much; if one worth twelve hundred shillings, then the amends was to be twice as much as the former.

The XXXVth law, of burhlice, or breach of the peace in a town, confirms that part of king Ina's laws concerning that matter, in imposing upon the offender for the breach of the peace in the king's town or city, by setting the mulct of an hundred and twenty shillings; but if it be done in the archbishop's town, then ninety shillings; in that of a bishop, or eolderman, sixty shillings; in the town of a man valued at twelve hundred shillings estate, thirty shillings; but half as much if done in a village of one worth but half the sum.

The XXXVIth is that law concerning beland, by virtue whereof he that holds lands left him by his ancestors, was forbid to alienate it from his kindred to others, in case it could be proved, by writing or testimony, before the king or the bishop, his kindred being present, that the man who first granted them forbid him all alienation, and laid on him this condition.---This law is now altered, for entails can be cut off by fine and recovery; and we have too many instances of the caprices of imbecility, and the moroseness of peevish old age, disinheriting youth, for the very vices and follies which they themselves were addicted to in their younger days.

The XXXVIIth law, concerning quarrels or deadly feuds, which since it gives a strange licence for men to take satisfaction on their enemies, even without the presence of any officer, I shall likewise set down. First, it forbids any man to attack his enemy if he find him in his own house, except he first demand of him satisfaction; but, if he have force enough, he may besiege the house for seven days, yet he shall not assault him if he stay within; but if he will then surrender himself and his arms into the defendant's hands, he may keep him thirty days without hurt; but then shall leave him so to his kindred and friends. In case he fly to a church, the honour of the church is to be preserved. But if the defendant have not strength enough to besiege him in his house, he may desire the assistance of the eolderman; which, if he cannot obtain, he must appeal to the king before he can assault him. If any one by chance light upon his adversary, not knowing that he keeps himself at home, and he will deliver up his arms to him, he shall keep him safe thirty days, and then deliver him to his friends; but in case he will not deliver up his arms, then he may fight him; but if he be willing to deliver up himself and his arms to his enemy, and any other man sets upon him, such a man shall pay the value of his head if he kills him; or give satisfaction for the wounds, if any be given him, according to the fact, besides which he shall be fined and lose all that may fall to him by reason of kindred.

The XLth sets a certain valuation upon every limb and member, as well as upon every person from a king to a bond slave; of this see more at large in the laws of his successor Athelstan.

## S E C T. VII.

### EDWARD THE ELDER.

**E**DWARD inherited all his father's virtues, but not his abilities, and he was called the Elder from being the first of that name who ever wore the English crown.

His first uncasiness after ascending the throne was of a domestic nature. For Ethelwald his cousin pretended to the crown, as the son of Alfred's elder

brother Ethelbert. This prince raised some forces to maintain his claim, though Edward, besides having been appointed his heir by Alfred himself, and anointed king by the archbishop of Canterbury, had undergone the formality of an election by the people.

Ethelwald having got together some adherents and troops, seized upon the towns of Winborn and Twenonham, or Christ-Church in Hampshire, and boasted that he would maintain his claim at the hazard of his life; but he no sooner heard of the approach of Edward with an army, than he deserted his friends, and even his wife, and fled to the Northumbrian Danes. As these insidious subjects were very ready to embrace any opportunity of throwing off the Saxon yoke, they of course received Ethelwald with open arms, acknowledged him as king of England, and induced their countrymen of East Anglia to join them in revolting.

Edward, however, no sooner marched against them, than their spirits began to fail, and in order to avert the impending chastisement, they obliged Ethelwald to depart their country.—But this pretended loyalty, the effect of fear, did not satisfy Edward, who seized upon their principal fortresses as the most eligible method of securing their allegiance. The Danes did not submit without some resistance, which gave rise to the following remarkable occurrence: The king's sister Elfreda, the wife of the earl of Mercia, being a woman of exceeding great courage, threw off the weakness peculiar to her sex, and took upon herself the command of a body of troops in person, at the head of whom she signalized herself on various occasions, and was at once admired by the soldiers, and respected by the officers. Nor was this lady less celebrated for her wisdom and benevolence than her intrepidity; for her counsel was often as useful to her brother as her courage; and the many charitable foundations she erected sufficiently evinced her humanity. Indeed it was by her courage, principally, Ethelwald was driven out of the kingdom, and compelled to take refuge in Normandy.

Ethelwald, however, returned in 905, accompanied by a body of foreign troops, and having induced the Danes of East Anglia to join him, he began to commit the most cruel ravages, and penetrated as far as Badinstoke in Wiltshire, whither the king followed him. Ethelwald took the advantage of the Kentish men's having imprudently separated themselves from the rest of the army in search of plunder, to attack them with great impetuosity. — A bloody conflict ensued, in which, on the side of the English, fell the earls Sigulf and Sigelm, the abbot Earnwolf, and the king's thane Eadwald. Of the enemy, Eric, a Danish prince, and Ethelwald himself were slain. The Kentish men were overpowered by numbers, but the Danes had so little cause to rejoice at the victory, that they immediately after thought proper to sue for peace, which Edward concluded with them at a place named Eclford in Buckinghamshire.

The Danes were not now more sincere than formerly, and consequently the peace was no longer permanent than their own conveniences admitted. An insurrection accordingly ensued in the north, which so much exasperated the king that he ordered an army to march into Northumberland, and to put to death all of those perpetual disturbers who should be found under arms. This bloody mandate was obeyed by the troops with the most scrupulous punctuality, and great numbers of the refractory insurgents fell victims to the resentment of an incensed king.

These severities, however, did not alter the dispositions of the Danes, for those restless intruders hearing that Edward was busy in Kent, in manning a fleet of above an hundred sail of shipping, injudiciously concluded that he had disposed of the greatest part of his army on board the vessels, and that not having any



land forces to impede their progress, they might plunder with impunity. A resolution to ravage was no sooner adopted, than put into execution by these unthinking desperadoes; they began their depredations as usual, penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, and obtained a very considerable booty. But as they were retiring with the spoils, the English army overtook them at Tetnal in Staffordshire, defeated them with great slaughter, and deprived them of all their plunder.

A. D. 913. Elfreda became a widow by the death of her husband Ethelred, earl of Mercia. After having paid the proper respect to the memory of her consort, she took a survey of her extensive possessions, improved and fortified all the old cities and towns, and laid the foundations of some new ones. The Welch having made some incursions into her territories, she determined to chastise them, and collected her forces together accordingly. The Welch affected to ridicule an army commanded by a woman, but they had soon reason to repent of their ill-timed mirth, for that lady defeated them with great slaughter, obliged their king to fly to the mountains, took his queen and thirty-four of his nobles prisoners, and seized upon the town of Brecknock. Returning to England, and finding that the Danes had possessed themselves of Derby, she laid siege to that place and took it by storm. During the assault, her life was in imminent danger, and she had four of her best officers killed by her side.

A. D. 914. King Edward rebuilt and fortified the city of Hereford; and A. D. 915 he did the same by Witham, in Essex. The two ensuing years, being at peace, he employed his leisure time in a variety of public works, particularly in the restoration of Cambridge, which was greatly decayed; but Edward greatly embellished, and erected it into an university upon institutions similar to those of his father at Oxford.

A. D. 917. The Danes began another insurrection, but were defeated with great slaughter. Their incursions, however, made Edward perceive the necessity of fortifying Bedford, Buckingham and Towcester. Subsequent to this, earl Thurketill, the Danish leader, consented to quit the kingdom, and accordingly departed to France with all who chose to follow him.

A swarm of Danes from the continent invaded England again A. D. 918, under the command of Otar and Rohault. Sailing into the Severn they frequently landed, and committed many ravages upon the adjacent coasts, \* till they were defeated by the militia of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. Rohault, and Otar's brother, were slain in the engagement, and the fugitives fled into a wood, which was immediately invested by the conquerors. In this emergency the Danes, as usual, promised to depart the kingdom, and to give hostages for their performance of the agreement. Being suffered to retire to their vessels, they treacherously landed again in the night, and attempted to penetrate into the country. Being discovered in the morning by the troops, whom the king had judiciously stationed to guard the coast, the greatest part of them were cut off, and the few who escaped went and settled in Ireland. Though this success was pleasing to Edward, he met with a great affliction this year in the loss of his sister Elfreda, who died at Tamworth, in Staffordshire, to the unpeepable regret of the whole nation.

A. D. 920. The Danes landed in Wales, and pro-

ceeded as far as Chester, and the Welch revolted at the same time; but both parties were defeated by Edward's forces, and the two chiefs, viz. Leofred the Dane, and Griffith ap Madoc, the Welch prince were beheaded, and their heads placed upon the tower of Chester.

The king continued to improve the old, and erect new fortifications in many parts of the kingdom; when the Danes, while he was thus busied, made an attack upon Towcester, but were repulsed with considerable loss, and being pursued were totally defeated. Soon after, between Bernwood and Ailesbury, they attempted to follow the example of the king, by building a strong fortress at Tamesford, in Bedfordshire. Edward, however, laid siege to it, took it by storm, and put all who were in it to the sword. Shortly after this, he seized Colchester, which was in the possession of the Danes, and slew all who were found in arms. This severity occasioned a general revolt of the Danes, in consequence of which they met with a total defeat, and this obliged them again to a general submission.

A. D. 921. The Northumbrian Danes revolted again, and lacked the king of Scotland to assist them, who deputed his son with a considerable army, to accompany them in their ravages. These confederates were, however, defeated by prince Athelstan, the gallant son of King Edward.

A. D. 923. The English monarch took Stamford and Lincoln, and fortified both those places; during the course of the same year, all the Danish chiefs submitted, and swore allegiance to him; this was followed by the submission of the Welch princes and nobility, and even the king of Scotland consented to hold his crown as a vassal to Edward. Thus Edward possessed a more extensive and unlimited power in the island, than any of his predecessors had done, and spent the remainder of his glorious reign in securing and regulating the possessions he had gained. He died A. D. 925, and was buried by his father, at Winchester. In virtue and courage he was equal to Alfred, but inferior with respect to genius and learning. Alfred embellished, and Edward fortified, the kingdom; the former introduced literature, and built a royal navy; the latter added to and improved both; so that the English have infinite obligations both to father and son. The laws he made were few, and rather comments on those of his predecessors than new ones. He, however, made some regulations respecting commerce, that were suitable to the complexion of the times in which he lived. He was exceeding affable and benevolent, and remarkable for the humility of his temper, of which the following anecdote is a singular instance. "When Edward the Elder came to Aulden, Llewellyn, prince of North Wales, came to Bethelsty to treat about a peace; but refused first to cross the Severn, which, when king Edward heard, he took a boat, and rowed towards him. But the prince, who was then by the water side, when he saw and knew who he was, and off the rich robe he then had on, and which he had prepared purposely for the meeting, and entering the river breast high, and taking hold of the end of the boat, submissively said, 'Moll toge king, thy humility hath overcome my boldness; and thy wisdom triumphed over my folly. Come pray son, get upon this neck, which I, like a fool as I am, have lifted against thee, and then enter that land, which thy benign clemency hath this day made thine own, so taking the king upon his shoulders, and

\* In one of their excursions, they took prisoner Cuneleat, bishop of Lichenfeld in Herefordshire, who was afterwards ransomed by the king for forty pounds.



“ and setting him on shore, he made him to sit down  
 “ upon his own royal robe, and putting his own  
 “ hands between the king’s, he there did him ho-  
 “ mage.”

Edward, by his first wife Egwynea had three children, two sons, viz. Alfred, who died before him, and Athelstan, who succeeded him; and a daughter named Edgytha. His issue by his second wife Elfreda were Ethelwald, Edwin, and six daughters, four of whom were married, and two died single. The husbands of the married ones were the emperor Otho, Charles the Simple, and Hugh Capet, kings of France, and a French duke. His third wife Edgiva brought him Edmund and Edred, both of whom afterwards reigned, and two daughters one of the latter retired to a cloister, and the other was married to a French prince.

## S E C T. VIII.

## A T H E L S T A N.

**A**THELSTAN succeeded his father in the year 925, and was crowned at Kingston upon Thames. A conspiracy was formed against him, (on account of the illegitimacy of his birth) soon after his accession by a person named Alfred, who laid a plan to seize the king at Winchester and put out his eyes. But his design transpiring, he was apprehended and carried before the king, to whom he denied ever having had such an intention. As there was no positive evidence to prove him guilty, the king, according to the absurd custom of the times, sent him to Rome to purge himself from the imputation before the Pope. He, however, lost his life before he had an opportunity of going through his purgation; for walking up towards the altar of St. Peter, he suddenly dropped down in a fit, and being carried to the English College, expired three days after. The Pope deeming his sudden death a providential proof of his guilt, refused his body christian burial, till the pleasure of Athelstan should be known, who gave permission that he should be buried; but seized upon his estates, and settled them upon the monastery of Malmesbury.

This conspiracy was succeeded by an attempt which the Danes made to regain their independency. They were headed by two chiefs called Suthric and Ingwald, who were pleased to dignify themselves with the title of kings. Athelstan no sooner heard of this insurrection than he marched against the rebels with a considerable force, when Suthric thought proper to submit and implore his clemency. The king, who was good natured and generous, even to weakness, not only pardoned him on condition of his being baptized, but gave him his sister in marriage, which he imagined would conduce to conciliate his fidelity. Suthric died soon after, when Athelstan took his possessions under his own immediate administration, without admitting of any subordinate ruler. This exasperated Guthric, the son of Suthric, who raised a considerable force to regain what he deemed his patrimony. But Athelstan no sooner advanced towards him at the head of an army, than he fled into Scotland, and sought the protection of Constantine the king of that country. Athelstan sent a message to the Scotch monarch to deliver up Guthric as a rebel and traitor, which the latter absolutely refused, and a war between the two nations seemed inevitable. At length, by means of some of the nobility, an accommodation was brought about, and a conference agreed upon between the two kings. This occasioned Guthric to return into Northumberland, where, having privately gathered together some troops, he made an unsuccessful attempt upon York, in which he was taken prisoner, and finding means to escape, he went to sea, and passed the rest of his days as a pirate.

Anlaff, the brother of Guthric, having by the force of arms obtained considerable possessions in Ireland, was called the Irish king. This petty monarch, impelled by the inveterate hatred he had conceived against Athelstan, persuaded Constantine, king of Scotland, to declare war against him, and promised to join him with a considerable body of forces from Ireland. At the same time Howel, king of Wales, agreed to make a diversion in favor of the confederates. Athelstan being apprized of the impending danger, collected an army together with great diligence, and marching into Wales, he defeated the Welch; and, in order to punish them for their temerity, ordered them to pay a much heavier tribute than they had hitherto done. Athelstan then marched towards Scotland, when Constantine, not having been joined by Anlaff as he expected, thought proper to submit, and implore the clemency of the English monarch, who not only forgave him, but with his usual good-nature restored all the places his troops had taken. But the gratitude of the Scotch monarch was not equal to the generosity of Athelstan, for in the year 938 he formed another powerful confederacy with Anlaff and the Cambrian Britons. Their united forces embarked on board two hundred and sixteen ships, and landing at the mouth of the Humber, penetrated to Bromsby in Northumberland. Here Athelstan brought a great force against them, and at the same time sent a fleet to destroy their shipping. The two armies kept from an engagement for several days, watching the opportunity of gaining some peculiar advantage; during which interval Anlaff laid a scheme to seize upon, or assassinate Athelstan in the midst of his army. To effect this, he put in practice a similar stratagem to that formerly employed by Alfred in exploring the Danish camp. Disguised like a harper he securely entered the English lines, and was even introduced to play before the king, who handsomely rewarded him for the amusement he had received. A soldier in Athelstan’s army, however, recognized the features of Anlaff, and after his departure informed the king who he was. Athelstan blamed him for not having given more timely notice that he might have been apprehended in the camp; when the soldier nobly replied, “ My liege, I first gave my military oath to Anlaff; if I had therefore betrayed him, your majesty might justly have suspected the like treachery to yourself. But to evince my loyalty, I entreat your majesty to remove your tent, as I have no doubt but a design upon your person will be the consequence of Anlaff’s observations.” The king, after rewarding the soldier for his fidelity, took his prudent advice, and gave orders for the immediate removal of his tent. This precaution, in the sequel, appeared exceeding necessary, for a bishop coming into the camp soon after the removal of the king’s tent, and pitching his own in the vacant place, was the first who fell a victim to the furious attack made upon the English by Anlaff in the night. The alarm becoming general, Anlaff was repelled, but the next morning the engagement was renewed. The English forces were commanded by the king in person, Edmund his brother, and Turketil his prime minister. On the side of the enemy, king Constantine commanded the Scots, Anlaff the Irish, Froda the Danes, and Owen the Cambrian Britons. Athelstan, with a body of West Saxons, made a furious attack upon the Irish, already fatigued by their nocturnal attempt, and easily put them to the rout. Turketil, with the London militia, pierced the ranks of the Scotch, obliged them to retreat, and a decisive victory was at length obtained by the English. Five Danish princes, seven hundred officers, and a great number of private men were slain in the field; and the king of Scotland, Anlaff and Owen escaped with great difficulty to their ships. The English on their side lost Edmund and Ethelwin, Athel-



stan's two cousins, several good officers and many excellent soldiers. In fine, the historians of that age represent it as the most bloody engagement that had ever been fought in Britain. The success of the English fleet was equal to that of the land forces, and the destruction of both the army and navy of his enemies, gave to Athelstan a compleat triumph.

Athelstan now thought proper to chastise the Welch for having assisted his enemies. This he did and then effectually, ordered their king Ludeval, and all the Welch nobles to attend him at Hereford, in order to do homage, swear allegiance, and pay a tribute. These humiliating conditions the Welch were obliged to comply with, and the tribute paid in consequence thereof consisted of twenty-five thousand head of black cattle, twenty pounds weight of gold, three hundred pounds weight of silver, and a great many hawks and hounds. Athelstan's next concern was to punish the Cornish Britons for the part they had taken in the late insurrections, after which he took possession of the islands of Scilly, and having annexed them to his dominions, sat down to enjoy the fruits of his various triumphs in the tranquil arms of peace.

The greatness of Athelstan's power, and the splendor of his fame, incited the principal princes of Christendom to court his alliance and solicit his friendship. Three of his sisters were severally requested in marriage; the first by the emperor Henry for his son Otho; the second by Hugh, king of France, for his son; and the third by the prince of Aquitaine for himself. The respective ambassadors from those princes, brought such a profusion of rich presents as had never before been seen in this nation, particularly a vessel of onyx, admirably carved; a gold crown curiously set with diamonds; the banner and sword of Constantine the Great, the hilt of the latter being overlaid with plates of gold, a variety of rich gems, costly perfumes, fine horses with elegant caparisons, &c. &c.

This great prince died at Gloucester, A. D. 941, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign; and left behind him a character inferior to none of the English monarchs, Alfred excepted. Historians agree, that he was learned without being pedantic, polite without being frivolous, magnificent without profusion, generous without ostentation, and pious without superstition; he was an able general, a brave soldier, a consummate politician, a sedulous encourager of commerce, a sincere friend, a forgiving enemy, and an indulgent master. His disposition was so amiable, that he won the affections in peace of those whom he conquered in war, and was equally formidable in the field and cabinet. He was not greater in his military and political, than in his legislative capacity, being considered as the best civilian, and most elegant Saxon writer of the age; as his laws are equally salutary and curious, we shall present our readers with the following abstract of them.

The III<sup>d</sup> law requires, that if one conceals a thief, he shall pay the value of the thief's head, and the thief himself shall not be spared, who, if he contumaciously make resistance, or fly for it, shall find no favour. A thief cast into prison shall stay there forty days, and then, after the payment of an hundred and twenty shillings, be discharged; but his kindred must give security for his future good behaviour: after which, if he steal again, they must either pay the value of his head, or bring him back to prison. And in case any one resist, he shall pay to the king, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own head, and if any stand by him (defend him) he shall pay to the king one hundred and twenty shillings.

The V<sup>th</sup> law is against witchcrafts, enchantments, and such like deeds that procure death: that if any one by them be made away, and the thing cannot be

denied, such practicers shall be put to death: but if they endeavour to purge themselves, and be cast by three fold ordeal, they shall lie in prison an hundred and twenty days; which ended, then their kindred may redeem them by the payment of an hundred and twenty shillings to the king: and farther, pay to the kindred of the slain the full valuation of the party's head; and then the criminals shall also procure sureties for their good behaviour for the time to come. The same punishment shall be inflicted on incendiaries, and such as rescue thieves: nay, such as endeavour to rescue them, though no man be wounded in the attempt, shall pay an hundred and twenty shillings to the king.—As for enchantments mentioned in this law, the Saxon word is *Liblacum*, which signifies the art of conjuration, or witchcraft; not all in general, but that sort of it called properly fascination or enchantment, used by certain ligatures, fasciæ, or bands.

The VII<sup>th</sup> ordains concerning simple ordeal; that if one, accused several times of theft, be cast by it, and have nobody to be surety for him, he shall be sent to prison, and thence freed by his kindred, as before said.

The IX<sup>th</sup> forbids any commutation of goods, unless in the presence of the king's reeve, the priest of the town, or the lord of the soil, or some other creditable person, under the penalty of thirty shillings, and the forfeiture of the things charged, to the lord of the soil: and if any shall bear witness, he shall be infamous, and no credit given to him ever after, and also shall forfeit thirty shillings.

The XII<sup>th</sup> confirms the first part of the laws of king Edward the Elder, decreeing that no man buy any thing out of a town, which exceeds the value of twenty pence; and within the town, unless in the presence of the port-reeve or some other creditable person, or else in the presence of the king's sheriff or justice, in solemnote.

The XIV<sup>th</sup> appoints, through all the king's dominions, that one and the same money be current: and that it shall not be coined out of some town; and if any minter or coiner shall debase the coin, he shall lose his hand, which, being cut off, shall be affixed to the workhouse: if any be accused of adulterating money, and will purge himself, he shall by the ordeal of hot iron cleanse his hands of such wickedness; but if by ordeal he be cast, then he shall be punished as now was said. Then follow the places appointed for public mints, viz. at Canterbury there shall be seven minters or coiners; whereof four for the king, two for the bishop, and one for the abbot: at Rochester there shall be three; whereof two for the king, and the third for the bishop: at London, eight, at Winchester six, at Lewes two, at Hastings one, at Chichester one, at Hampton two, at Werham two, at Exeter two, at Salisbury as many, and in every other great town one.

That which follows commands, that for every plough a man shall keep two well furnished horsemen.

The XVII<sup>th</sup> forbids horses to be transported, except such as are sent abroad as free gifts or presents.

The XX<sup>th</sup> law enacts, that if any one absents himself from solemnote three, he shall be punished a contumacious against the king, if so be that the holding of the assembly was declared a sevennight before, in such case, if he refuse to do right, and pays not mulct to the king, the ancient men of the country are to go and seize upon all that he hath, and take security for his appearance.

The XXI<sup>st</sup>, in confirmation of a former law, requires that no person receive another man's man (as this law words it) into his family without leave first obtained of his master, he that doth otherwise shall restore the man, and pay the mulct of contumacy against



*Engraved for Rufiel's  
History of England!*



Wale delin.

Ormerod sculp.

**(ATHELSTAN ordering the BIBLE)**

*to be translated into the Saxon language.*



against the king. And no man is to put away his men, accused of any crime, till they have first made satisfaction.

The XXIVth is concerning traffic, and, in confirmation of former laws, ordains, that if a man buy any thing with witness, which another man challenges for his own, the seller shall make it good and secure the bargain, whether he be bond or free. But on the Lord's day no market shall be held, under penalty or for seizure of the wares, and a mulct of thirty shillings besides.

In the year 928 he held the Synod of Greatly: The canons instituted were nine in number. The subsequent is the substance of the chief of them, with their remarkable introduction.

"I Athelstan, king, by the advice of Wulfhelm my archbishop, and other my bishops, command all my reeves, in the name of the Lord and his saints, that they do in the first place give tythes of all my estate, both of the living stock and of the fruits of the earth; and that all the bishops do the same of all that belongs to them; and also my aldermen and reeves: and my will is, that my bishops, and aldermen, and reeves give this in charge to all that are subject to them, and that they do it effectually by the time that we here fixed, that is, the Beheading of St. John Baptist. I Athelstan, king, declare to all my reeves, with advice of archbishop, bishops, and servants of God, that it is my will, that, for the forgiveness of my sins, ye always feed one poor Englishman; and give him, from two of my farms, every month an amber of meal and a gammon of bacon, or one ram worth four-pence; and one shroud every year, for the twelve months' wear: and that ye set at liberty one that has, for his crimes, been condemned to slavery; for the mercies of Christ and for my love, with the testimony of the bishop in whose district it is: and if the reeve withhold it, let him pay thirty shillings as a satisfaction; and let the money be distributed to the poor who dwell in the town where this omission was made, under the testimony of the bishop."

The IIId article commands the magistrates to put the laws in execution against such as were convicted by all the circumstances of a trial by ordeal.

The IIIId is against witchcraft, and robbers infesting the highways.

The IVth regulates the number of mints.

The Vth prescribes the circumstances and ceremonies of the ordeal trial, by which a person may be known to be guilty or not. In this canon the priests are spoken of, as having fixed and settled places; and the accused person is permitted to have the consecrated bread.

The VIIth orders the bishops to assist the judges in the execution of the laws, and to sit upon the bench with them.

The IXth and last canon inflicts a fine upon such magistrates as should be found remiss in their duty, which fine was to be paid to the bishop of the diocese in which such magistrate dwelt.

Annexed to the laws of king Athelstan is the valuation of mens' heads, which was then considered according to the following estimate:

The king's	30,000	Head	Thrimfas, or pieces of silver of about three shillings value.
An archbishop, or earl's	15,000		
A bishop or alderman's	8,000		
A general's, knight marshal, or field marshal's	4,000		
A mafs - thane, or secular thane's	2,000		
A peasant's	267		

The one half of these fines went to the kindred of the deceased, and the other half to the public treasury. This king likewise ordered the bible to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon tongue for the benefit of the common people.

Before we quit the reign of Athelstan, it is necessary to take notice of the only imputation with which his character has been stained, viz. The murder of his brother Edwin. This, some writers tell us, was occasioned by Athelstan's jealousy of the virtues and personal accomplishments of Edwin, as well as his unquestionable legitimacy of birth; several writers say, that he was drowned by order of the king; others, that being exposed in a rotten bark, without sails, oars, or provisions, and with only one servant, he was stimulated by despair to jump into the sea, where he perished. But the most authentic historians affirm, that the accusation is a falsehood, and William of Malmesbury positively asserts, that the whole tale took its rise from an old ballad.\*

## S E C T. IX.

### EDMUND THE FIRST.

AS Athelstan died without issue, he was succeeded by his brother Edmund, who, A. D. 941, was crowned at Kingston upon Thames. Being only eighteen years of age at his accession, the Danes deemed his nonage a fair opportunity to make another attempt for independency. In consequence of these sentiments, they invited to their assistance Anlaf the Irish king, and Olaus, the sovereign of Norway, when both those princes uniting their forces, landed in Northumberland, and being joined by the English-Danes, Anlaf took upon himself the supreme command. The confederates having overrun Northumberland, pursued their rout into Yorkshire, took the city of York, and then penetrated into Mercia.

The young king, having been informed of their rapid progress, assembled what forces he could, and marched expeditiously towards the north. Having retaken many places from the enemy, and properly secured them with English garrisons, he proceeded to West Cheshire, where he came up with the main body of the confederate army, and immediately prepared for battle. A bloody engagement ensued, which was fought till night parted the combatants with equal success on both sides; when Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, and Wulfstan, archbishop of York, brought about a most shameful accommodation, for a peace was concluded on the following terms; that Edmund should have all that part of the kingdom to the south of Watling Street, and Anlaf all the residue to the north.

charge him likewise with the murder of his brother Eadred, though that prince not only lived after him, but reigned a king of England, subsequent to his death.

Edmund then fled from Dover to the coast over against the island of Anglesey and passed through London, Dunstable, Towcester, Abington, &c. and crossed the Severn near the Wrekin, in Shropshire.

\* Antient writers have been fond of imputing the death of prince, of the blood to the jealousy of reigning princes; in some instances they have even done so, in others they have only substituted their suggestions for facts, as we believe hath been the case with respect to Athelstan. But the most singular circumstance is, that the Scotch historians, through a mean national partiality, are not content to accuse Athelstan with the death of Edwin only, but



northward of the same. The artful Anlaff, by bribes, and a promise of becoming a christian, won the venal archbishops to his interest; and they in return, persuaded the young king to subscribe to articles derogatory of his honour, and repugnant to his interest. Anlaff and Reginald were soon after baptized, and Edmund was obliged to be content with a dismembered part of his own native kingdom.

The young monarch, however, was soon sensible how infamously he had been imposed on, for A. D. 944 he raised a powerful army, expelled both Anlaff and Reginald from Northumbria, and subjected the whole country to his own controul.

The petty prince of Cumberland having assisted the Northumbrians in their revolt, Edmund deprived him of his territories, and gave them to Malcolm, king of Scotland, subject to this condition; that he should assist the English upon all emergencies, and join his own with their forces, both by sea and land, to repel all foreign invaders.

After this, king Edmund reigned in peace, beloved by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours, till the hand of a ruffian deprived the nation of a most worthy and promising prince, his death being compassed in the following manner:

On the 6th of May, A. D. 946, the king and principal nobility repaired to Prickle-church, in Gloucestershire, in order to keep the feast of St. Augustin in the most solemn manner. During the entertainment, the king observed at the end of the table, one Leof, a notorious criminal, who had been banished a few years before for his mal-practices. Being naturally of a rash disposition, he flew at the fellow in order to give him manual chastisement for his presumption in appearing there. Leof, thinking his death inevitable, and determined to sell his life as dear as possible, drew out a short dagger and gave the king a mortal wound, of which he presently expired. The nobles assaulted the murderer, who defended himself with the most undaunted fury, till being overpowered by numbers, he was cut to pieces. At the time of this fatal event, the king was only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and seventh of his reign. His body was buried at Glastonbury, St. Dunstan being then abbot; and the town where he was killed was confiscated, and given to the monastery in which he was interred, that a certain number of masses might be sung for his soul.

## S E C T. X.

### E D R E D.

**E**DRED, the brother of the late king, was elected to the throne, as that monarch's two sons, Edwy and Edgar, were then infants, the eldest being only four years of age. Edred was therefore crowned at Kingston upon Thames, assumed the reins of government accordingly, and was the first sovereign of this country, who, in his public writings, styled himself king of Great Britain, or Monarch of all England.

The Northumbrians, whom neither gratitude could bind, or oaths restrain, no sooner heard of the death of Edmund than they openly revolted. By pretending to aim at freedom, they sought every opportunity of shaking off all obedience to regal government, and with the claim of independency disguised their propensity to commit all manner of depredations. Edred, on being apprized of their motions, raised an army and marched towards the north with great alacrity; but being a prince of a most humane disposition, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, he was willing to try the most lenient before he proceeded to coercive measures. To effect, if possible, an amicable accommodation, he deputed the celebrated Turketil to receive their oaths of allegiance in his name. The

king's benevolent purpose succeeded, that able statesman prevailed upon the chief Northumbrians to return to their duty, and the king of Scotland, who had insidiously spirited on the revolvers, thought proper to submit, and take an oath of fealty, in order to avert the impending vengeance of the justly incensed Edred. Peace being thus to all appearance restored in the north, the king began to march southward with his forces. But he was no sooner gone than the faithless Northumbrians broke the oaths they had so lately taken, invited Anlaff again from Ireland, and A. D. 949, once more appeared in open rebellion. Wulstan, archbishop of York, treacherously joined this confederacy, which at length became so considerable as to threaten a dangerous revolution. Anlaff was for some time the commander of the combined forces, but his haughty, and tyrannical disposition soon displeased the Northumbrians, and co-operating with their own natural inconstancy, induced them to depose him from the chief command, which they bestowed on Eric a Dane.

Edred having raised a considerable army, marched towards Northumberland, and on his approach, Edric, in a dastardly manner, fled into Scotland. The Northumbrians finding themselves thus deserted by a man whom they had so highly favoured, and even dignified with the title of king, made the most abject submissions to Edred, professed the profoundest penitence for their treachery, and promised the most inviolable fidelity for the future. The king imprudently believed them sincere, received them again into favor, and with a degree of weakness, politically unpardonable, restored Eric to the dignity from which he had fled. Thinking their fealty fixed by the infinite obligations they owed him, and measuring their gratitude by his own beneficence, Edred thought himself in perfect security, and began his march back again in a very incautious manner. Eric observing the want of suspicion, and total relaxation of discipline in the English army, determined to avail himself of a negligence so invitingly convenient. Impelled therefore by the blackest treachery, he sallied from York and assaulted the rear of Edred's forces at a place called Casterford. The English, however, collected themselves with great expedition, formed a compact body, and being animated by the intrepidity of Edred, repulsed their enemies with considerable slaughter. The injured monarch, exasperated at this ingratitude, determined to lay waste the country with fire and sword. But the wily Northumbrians, dreading his vengeance, and wishing to appease his wrath, accused Wulstan, archbishop of York, and Eric, their prince, with being the sole cause of the late treacherous proceedings. To convince them sincerely, they sacrificed the latter to their own security by murdering him, and seizing the former gave him up to the power of the king. Upon these concessions, the calm monarch forgave these insidious people, but prudently deprived them of all fortified places. Wulstan was committed close prisoner for some time, but at length released through the clemency of Edred; and peace being restored throughout the nation, this prince disbanded his forces.

Edred soon after fell into a languishing distemper that terminated in his death, which happened on the 23d of November, A. D. 955. This prince mingled the greatest clemency with the most intrepid valour, and felt more pleasure in forgiving than conquering. He had many accomplishments, and few faults. The romans indeed inform us, that in some particulars he was superstitiously weak, and rapaciously tyrannical to Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury. To this haughty prelate he committed all his affairs, both spiritual and temporal, and even intrusted him with considerable sums of the national treasure. On his death bed the king sent for Dunstan, in order to give him directions for



Engraved for Russell's  
History of England



EDMUND I.  
the last of the House of Wessex  
with the Nobles



for the disposal of the money; but the prelate, that he might have an opportunity of keeping it to himself, procrastinated his attendance till the monarch expired; by which embezzlement, he was afterwards enabled to outvie the principal nobility in luxurious living.

Though Edred had two sons, viz. Bertfrid, and Elfrid, yet Edwy, the son of his brother Edmund was placed upon the throne, having been only previously excluded on account of nonage, and now being deemed fit to reign.

## S E C T. XI.

## E D W Y.

**E**DWY was only fourteen years of age when he ascended the throne, but the majesty of his mein, the beauty of his features, and graces of his person beggared all description. Indeed his exterior form was so universally admired, that he was called *Puncalus*, or *Peculiarly Fair*. But the mind of Edwy did not correspond with his person, he had the susceptibility of a woman, rather than the fortitude of a sovereign, and being of a licentious disposition thought little of sacrificing his dignity to his pleasure. His weakness degenerated into vice, and his vices, as is usually the case, became the instruments of his destruction.

On the day of his coronation he gave a very imprudent specimen of his disposition, by stealing from his nobles in the midst of their festivity to indulge his passions with the lady Ethelgiva and her mother. These ladies, it appears, were equally remarkable for their attractions, the daughter displaying those charms in bloom, which in the mother were ripened into the maturity of beauty. The heart of the young monarch was forcibly impressed with the captivating images of both, and the ladies were so politically discreet as to wish rather to manage his affections between them, than to lose him totally by a professed rivalry. The behaviour of the king was considered by his nobles as an unpardonable flight, yet none chose to undertake the office of representing to him the absurdity of his conduct, till the abbot Dunstan, exasperated by his levity, offered to bring him back again to the hall of entertainment. Penetrating to the place of his seclusion he drew him reluctantly, and by force from the scene of dalliance. The ladies were exceedingly nettled at such apparent insolence, and the nobles were astonished at this cavalier treatment of a crowned head, while the young king blushed repentment against the prelate.

The consequence of this singular occurrence was an inveterate hatred which Edwy conceived against the monks in general, and Dunstan in particular. Indeed it must be confessed, that if the behaviour of the king was unprincely and impolite, that of the prelate was audacious and overbearing. The first may find an excuse in the indelicacy of youth, but the motives of the latter can only be imputed to the imperious dictates of arrogance. Edwy being urged by his favorite ladies, and stimulated by his own desire of revenge, cited Dunstan to give an account of the treasures entrusted to him by the late king, which he not being able to do was banished to Flanders.

The ecclesiastics in general were alarmed at the king's proceedings, and Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, thinking the young monarch only a tool to his passions, determined to sacrifice the ladies to his resentment, on a pretence of their having made the king their instrument. As this prelate was exceeding powerful, and the king had been so careless as not to provide proper guards for his own personal security, Odo found it an easy matter to seize Ethelgiva in the

palace. Edwy not having either sufficient authority, or force to protect her, she was dragged to the house of the prelate, who, equally insensible to her charms and supplications, ordered her beautiful face to be branded with hot irons, and not contented with this savage asperity, he condemned her to be banished to Ireland. What became of the mother, history does not inform us; but from the disposition of Odo, it may naturally be inferred, that she partook in some measure of the rigour extended towards her daughter.

The king saw with extreme vexation that Odo was too powerful for him to attempt to punish him for his audacity. However, to give some vent to his resentment, he wreaked his vengeance upon the monks, whom he expelled his territories. Thus the inconsiderate monarch and haughty prelate continued to mortify each other, till the latter spirited up prince Edgar to an open rebellion against his brother.

Edgar was a prince of an enterprising genius, and an ambitious spirit. The archbishop, therefore, found but little difficulty in persuading him to revolt. His own aggrandizement, and the approbation of the clergy overbalanced fraternal bonds and natural allegiance; and the sanction of the Northumbrian and Mercian forces confirmed him in the design of dethroning his brother Edwy. In A. D. 957, the rebellion became too powerful to be easily suppressed, and the weak monarch, instead of exerting a suitable spirit, fled to Gloucester, and immured himself within its walls in a fit of despair. Edgar took advantage of this irresolution, and summoned together the principal nobility, both spiritual and temporal. As the nation in general was prepossessed in his favour, he was unanimously elected to the sovereign authority, and his brother declared incapable of any longer reigning. The unfortunate Edwy survived this popular injustice about two years, and then dying of a broken heart A. D. 959, his body was interred at Winchester, in the new monastery.

## S E C T. XII.

## E D G A R.

**E**DGAR, during the life of his brother, winked at his remaining possessed of a trifling part of his patrimony, and on the death of Edwy became the sole monarch of the kingdom.

Edgar dreading the disfavor of the clergy, the final rock on which his brother had split, did all he could to conciliate their affections, and as a prelude to his future favors, recalled Dunstan, and loaded him with obligations, making him first bishop of Winchester, then advancing him to the see of London, and afterwards promoting him to the archbishopric of Canterbury. He then turned his whole thoughts to the most laudable thing which can possibly engross the attention of an English monarch; that is, the improvement of his navy, the only absolute bulwark, and real strength of this kingdom. A fleet of 3800 ships was accordingly fitted out by his command, to cruise round the whole island, and secure it by a formidable floating fortification. This truly patriotic work, and the favor of the monks, have secured his reputation from, or at least counterpoized the innumerable slanders which would have otherwise been thrown upon it.

Having, with such prudence, secured his dominions from foreign invasion, he determined, as much as possible, to prevent domestic insurrections. The principal objects of his jealousy were the ever restless Northumbrians, whose strong holds he garrisoned with troops on whom he could depend. It is true, these people assisted him in deposing his brother; but this very reason rendered him suspicious of what designs their natural inconstancy might induce them to en-

tertain



ertain against himself. So just is the old proverb, that those who love the treason, hate the traitor; and such in all ages hath been the reward of treachery.

In order to secure Kenneth, the third king of Scotland in his interest, he allowed him to do homage for, and hold in vassalage, the country of Lothian, and city of Edinburgh. This induced Maccuse, king of the Isles, the chief, or Galloway and Dinnal, and the petty princes of Wales to submit to his sovereign authority, and sue for his protection. Thus was Edgar considered in strength, riches and policy, as one of the most considerable monarchs in Europe; many princes sought his alliance, all commercial states courted his friendship, and were happy to trade under his auspices; his cruizers cleared the northern parts of the world from pirates, his prodigious fleet rendered him the most formidable naval power in the universe, and it was now that England was first considered as Mistress of the Ocean.

The powerful Edgar at length thought proper to summon his vassal princes to do him homage; in consequence of which order they all repaired to Chester, being eight in number, viz. Kenneth, king of Scotland, Malcolm, king of Cumberland, Maccuse, king of the Isles, with Dufwal, Griffith, Huwald, Jacob, and Judehall, petty kings of Wales. Having received the usual homage, Edgar went into a royal barge, and was rowed up the river Dee by these eight tributary kings, another barge containing the principal nobility, attending the triumph; in this manner he proceeded to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, where, having heard a complimentary oration, he returned with the same ostentation to his palace.

England and Wales being greatly infested with wolves, Edgar, in the year 961, conceived the laudable and patriotic design of entirely freeing this country from those dangerous and destructive animals. To effect this, he changed the tribute paid annually by the Welch in money, and cattle, to the payment of three hundred wolves heads yearly; which expedient proved so successful, that in a few years, the whole breed was extirpated, and this island totally cleared from those voracious creatures.

Impartiality now obliges us to relate some things which eclipse the glories of this great monarch's reign, and appear as foils to the shining parts of his character. The poet may draw characters as he pleases, but the candid historian is obliged to take things as he finds them, and to dress them in the colours of truth, though the object should be rendered less favorable to the light.

The principal accusation against him is the rape of Wulfida. This beautiful lady his inordinate desires led him to pursue into a cloister, from whence he took her by force, and compelled her to become his concubine. For this offence the archbishop Dunstan enjoined him a seven years penance. At another time coming to Andover, he was informed of a young lady of singular beauty who resided in that place. The mere description of her charms inflamed him to desire possession; the admonitions of the archbishop, and late prescribed penance, were forgotten. — He therefore sent to inform her mother that he intended to pay the young lady a visit; the virtuous matron, unable to contend with so much power, and unwilling to be accessory to her daughter's prostitution, determined to deceive the amorous monarch by a stratagem: to effect this, instead of her daughter, she introduced her maid servant to the king's bed in the dark, as darkness was a stipulation in favor of the supposed young lady's modesty. — In the morning, before the dawn could permit him to discover the deception, the girl attempted to steal from him as she had been previously commanded by her mistress. The king overhearing her, demanded why she meant to leave him so soon, when the girl innocently replied,

that she was obliged to go and do the work her mistress had ordered her. The king, from this expression, immediately perceived the imposture, and at first was transported with rage; when the girl fell upon her knees, and entreated the monarch to free her from the cruel tyranny of her lady, as a recompence for having sacrificed her virtue to him. At length, recollecting himself, he thought the affair beneath his resentment, turned the whole into a jest, and being highly pleased with the girl herself, he took her to court with him, and attached himself to her with a degree of constancy, little to be expected from one of his fickle disposition, as we find he kept to her only till his marriage with the beautiful Elfrida broke off the connection. The circumstances preceding the marriage was likewise too singular to be omitted, as they coincide with the above examples in conferring the character which is universally given of this monarch. Elfrida, the daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devonshire, was so exceedingly beautiful, that it was impossible to behold without loving her. Her father, sensible of the danger to which her captivating charms would expose her, had educated her in a most recluse manner. His precaution, however, could not prevent Edgar from being apprized of her attraction; his emissaries were lavish in their applause of her person, features, and accomplishments. The king's passions were inflamed, and interested by the description, he therefore sent his favorite Athelwald on a visit to the earl of Devonshire, that he might have an opportunity of seeing the lady, and informing him if she merited the encomiums passed upon her.

Athelwald no sooner beheld the lovely Elfrida, than he became the captive of her charms, and instantly determined to sacrifice the fidelity he owed to the king to the passion he had conceived for the lady. Fraught with these sentiments, he deceived the amorous monarch by representing Elfrida as totally unworthy of his regard, and so far from being a beauty, that she could scarce be deemed tolerable. The passions of the king, which was founded only on the inflammatory eulogiums of his courtiers, vanished with the forbidding description of his favorite. This tranquil appearance Athelwald determined to improve to his own advantage, by insinuating in the most artful manner that the lady, though unworthy of the notice of a great monarch, was on account of her immense possessions, a desirable object for a subject; and at length craved the king's permission to marry, in order to improve his own fortune by the addition of her wealth and estate. Edgar not in the least suspecting the perfidy of his favorite, freely gave his consent, when Athelwald found no difficulty in gaining the lady, as her father approved of the match on account of the reputed power of the bridegroom with the king.

Edgar was soon apprized of the whole affair, when, being determined to punish the breach of confidence in his favorite, it occurred to him to dissemble as Athelwald had done; in consequence of which he one day informed Athelwald that he intended to take the pleasure of hunting upon his estate, and to repose himself at least one night at his house. Athelwald was greatly alarmed at this intimation, but knew of no feasible excuse to prevent the intended visit, and therefore turned his whole attention to elude the king's resentment. — Informing his wife of the affair, he entreated her to disguise herself so as to conceal her beauty, and render her charms less conspicuous. The lady, now still sensible of the affront put upon her attractions, and not considering that love was the occasion, came to a resolution of sacrificing her husband to her ambition. Regardless of her conjugal vows, and forgetting her duty, instead of disguising her charms she let them off with all the blandishments that art could bestow, and decorated her person with every elegance that taste could invent. The king, no longer







sooner saw her than he became a victim to a thousand irresistible graces, she triumphed in his heart, and her husband's ruin, which he had before surmized, was now fully resolved on. The king, however, still dissimbled his purpose, in order to be the more secure of his revenge; and taking Athelwald with him to hunt in Harewood Forest, he there gratified his resentment by running a lance through his body.---A natural son of Athelwald's happened to pass by at the same time, to whom the king sternly said, "How do you like this game?" To this demand the dastardly sycophant unnaturally replied, "What pleases your majesty ought not to displease me." Finding the obsequiousness of the youth, Edgar placed him about his own person, and conferred on him many favors. Agreeable to the absurd superstition of the times, Edgar, to make the widow amends for the loss of her husband, married her himself, gratifying thus his own libidinous passion, under the sanction of an act of justice; and she, with an equal affectation of piety, built a nunnery on the spot where her husband was murdered, in order to expiate her share of the horrid crime. With such ridiculous retaliations did the ignorance of those fallacious times abound.

The king, though in some particulars thus licentious himself, did all in his power to prevent intemperance in others. He took great pains to restrain drunkenness, which was then a reigning vice; and for this laudable purpose ordered that silver pins should be fixed to the sides of the cups and pots at certain distances, beyond which it was unlawful to drink at one draught. His next care was to make a reform in the manners of the clergy, whose lives were so exceeding scandalous as to give great offence to the people in general; this great work he entrusted to the conduct of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester.

Edgar had filled the throne fifteen years before he was crowned, which was owing to his continual debaucheries; for by a law then in being, the use of the sacred unction to persons under ecclesiastical censure was absolutely forbidden, and Edgar was so perpetually committing offences, and doing penance for them, that no previous opportunity could be found; however, the ceremony was at length performed at Bath, on Whit Sunday, A. D. 973, by the archbishop Dunstan. In a short time after, an insurrection happened in Wales, where Jago, a Welch prince, having deposed his brother, the son of the latter drove the usurper from the throne, and restored his father. Jago applied to Edgar for assistance, who interpoling in the affair, the dispute was at length compromised, and the country divided between the two brothers.

Edgar died in the prime of life, only two years after his coronation, on the 8th of July, A. D. 975, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and only the thirty-third year of his age.

The reign of this monarch was the most splendid of any, previous to the conquest, and his life a strange mixture of virtues and vices. He was brave, magnificent and generous, an excellent scholar, profound politician, and admirable legislator; but at the same time, he was ostentatious, vain, lascivious, and revengeful. His stature was low, and his make slender, but he possessed great strength, spirits, and activity. The following anecdote, respecting his personal courage, deserves mention. Kenneth, king of Scotland, who was of a gigantic stature, made use of some sarcastic expressions concerning Edgar's diminutiveness. The English monarch, being apprized of this, one day walked out with Kenneth and drew him to a private place, when pulling out two swords, which he had concealed beneath his garments, he presented one of them to the Scotch king, telling him at the same time, that having heard of the improper freedom he had

taken with respect to his person, he thought proper to convince him, that a great soul might reside in a small body, and that a gigantic stature ought to be no protection for insolence. Kenneth was both astonished and alarmed at this address and challenge, and being daunted at Edgar's greatness of soul, begged pardon for his indiscreet expressions, and made such an apology as appeased Edgar, who, upon his submission, easily forgave him.

We have no doubt but Edgar's character would have been painted in much darker colours by the monks, (the only historians of those times) had he not been so great a friend to their order: For, in a convention, of the clergy, he addressed himself to the monks in general, and the archbishop Dunstan in particular, in an oration that at once evinced his eloquence, and his respect for the regular clergy of the church; which, as it is a curiosity, we shall here present to our readers:

"Since God hath pleased, most reverend father, to shew his goodness to us in a remarkable manner, it is most reasonable that we should exert our endeavours to make a suitable return; and since he has given us so large a command, it is our duty to employ our authority to his honour, and bring our subjects to the observance of his laws. Now as it is my office to inspect the conduct of the laity, to take care that there be no stop upon justice, to punish the sacrilegious, to correct the ungovernable, to protect the weak against the mighty, and to deliver the poor from him that is too strong for him; so I am likewise concerned to promote the interest of the church, to enquire into the behaviour of the clergy and religious, to see that they manage themselves suitably to their character; whether they are careful in the administration of their office, and constant in their instructions; whether they are moderate in their refreshments, regular in their habit, prudent and equitable in deciding the causes that come before them.

"And, under favour, reverend father, if you had looked thoroughly into these matters, we had never had the dissatisfaction of receiving so scandalous a charge against the clergy: and here not to mention their failings in the shape of the tonsure, not to mention this, I say, what effeminacy do they discover in their habit, what haughtiness in their gesture and motion, what licence in their discourse and conversation: and are not these all signs that things are terribly out of order within? Then as to the business of their function, with what negligence is the divine service performed: they will scarce vouchsafe their company at the holy vigils; and when they enter upon the most solemn parts of religion, they appear with a foreign air, and fall short of the gravity of the occasion. I am sorry to say how excessive they are in their entertainments, how much they are governed by an intemperate appetite, and what lengths they have taken in libertine practice; thus the encouragements of religion are perverted, and the bounty of princes abused. Had our ancestors foreseen their liberality would have been squandered away thus profusely, and spent upon luxury and disorder, they would certainly have held their hand. And if all their misbehaviour had been private and unobserved, the case had been more tolerable; but, alas! the crimes break out into public notice, and the scandal grows notorious, and yet, methinks, the liberty is strangely connived at and overlooked by the prelate: would not the sword of Levi, would not the zeal of Simon, be seasonably drawn and exerted upon this occasion? Where is the spirit of Moses, who punished the idolatry of the golden calf in his own blood and relation? Where is Phineas's lance, to punish debauchery and execute justice without delay? And yet we see the severity of zeal, this sudden revenge, was acceptable to God Almighty.



Almighty. What is become of St. Peter's indignation and censure against simony and covetousness? You that are the priests of the most high God, ought to copy the proceedings, and be governed by the precedents, of him you represent. It is high time to appear against those who have broke through the rules of duty and religion. I have Constantine's, and you have St. Peter's sword; let us join our force, and unite our respective authorities, that by employing the spiritual and civil power in the same cause, and being thus assistant to each other, the lepers may be discharged the camp, the holy sanctuary may be cleaned, and the sons of Levi put into the temple ministrations: of Levi, I say, who was governed by no partialities to his relations; who said unto his father and his mother, I have not seen him, neither did he acknowledge his brethren. Awaken your discipline, therefore, I beseech you, that we may not repent our bounty, nor be sorry for our kindness to the church; let the disrespect shewn to the reliëts of the saints, let the prophaning the altars with unsuitable approaches, provoke you to animadversion, and do not suffer the piety of our ancestors to be defeated any longer. You know how much my father, grandfather, great grandfather, &c. have lessened their royal revenues, and exhausted their exchequer, in religious benefactions.

"Most reverend father Dunstan, I desire you would raise your imagination upon this occasion: pray look up to heaven a little; fancy you see my father in his station of glory, glittering among the stars, and ready to launch himself from the sky; imagine you hear him deliver himself to you in this language of expostulation and complaint: "O venerable father Dunstan, you used to suggest serviceable advice to me about the building of churches and monasteries; you prompted my piety upon all opportunities, and assisted in the execution of the project; I pitched upon you particularly for my pastor and spiritual father, for the guardian of my soul and the inspector of my behaviour; and did I not always comply with whatever you suggested? Did I not always prefer your advice to patrimony and treasure? How frankly have I laid out my fortune on your proposals; my distributions of charity were always ready, when you called for them. If land or privilege was desired for the church, it was done as soon as mentioned; if you complained the monks or clergy were short in their conveniencies, they were immediately supplied by the court. You used to tell me, that the best use of money was to spend it upon the church and poor; that such liberalities would prove immortal in the benefit, help towards an atonement for our failings, and prove the greatest charities to the giver. And is it not an intolerable misapplication, that this holy revenue should be expended upon women, and misemployed for the support of vanity and unnecessary figure? What can you answer to such a charge as this?"

"I am convinced (says king Edgar) most holy father, that this is none of your fault: when you saw a thief, you confined not unto him, neither have you been partaker with the adulterers. No, you have entreated and menaced, but all to no purpose: and these words signify nothing, it is time to rise in your discipline, and come to blows. For this purpose you shall be sure not to want the countenance of royal authority: you have likewise Ethelwald and Oswald, the right reverend fathers of Winchester and Worcester, ready to assist you. I give you three a joint commission for this purpose, and refer the management wholly to you, it is your part, therefore, to exert the episcopal authority in conjunction with that of the crown, to expel the disorderly clergy from the monasteries, and put in such as live regularly in their place."

Edgar enacted some salutary laws, both ecclesiastical and civil.

### *Of the Ecclesiastical.*

The Ist is concerning the immunities of the church, and about paying tythes out of the lands of the thanes, as well as of those of ecclesies, or countrymen.

The IId is concerning the payment of tythes and first-fruits, as well where a thane had a church with a burying place, as also where he had not.

The IIId appoints the times the tythes should be paid at; and what remedy was to be had in case they were not paid at the time when they were due.

The IVth ordains at what time of the year Peter-pence should be paid, and the penalty that should be incurred by those that should neglect to pay them in accordingly.

The last ordains every Sunday to be kept holy, and to begin at three o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday, and to end at break of day on Monday, upon the penalty appointed by the Judiciary Book.

The secular laws were as follow:

The Ist enjoins, that every man, poor or rich, enjoy the benefit of the law, and have equal justice done him. And for punishments, he would have them so moderate, that being accommodated to the divine clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto men.

The IId forbids appeals to the king in suits, except justice cannot be otherwise obtained; and if a man be oppressed, he may betake himself to the king for relief. And in case a pecuniary mulct be inflicted for a fault, it must not exceed the value of the man's head.

The IIIId imposes a mulct of an hundred and twenty shillings to the king, upon a judge that passes an unjust sentence against any man, except such judge will take his oath that he did it not out of any malice, but only from unskillfulness and mistake in judgment; and in such case he is to be removed from his place, unless he can obtain favour of the king longer to retain it: and then the bishop of the diocese is to send the mulct imposed upon him, to the king's treasure.

The IVth commands, that whosoever maliciously shall defame another man, whereby he receives any damage, either in body or estate, so that the defamed party can clear himself in those reports and prove them false, then the defamer's tongue shall be cut out, or he shall redeem it with the value of his head.

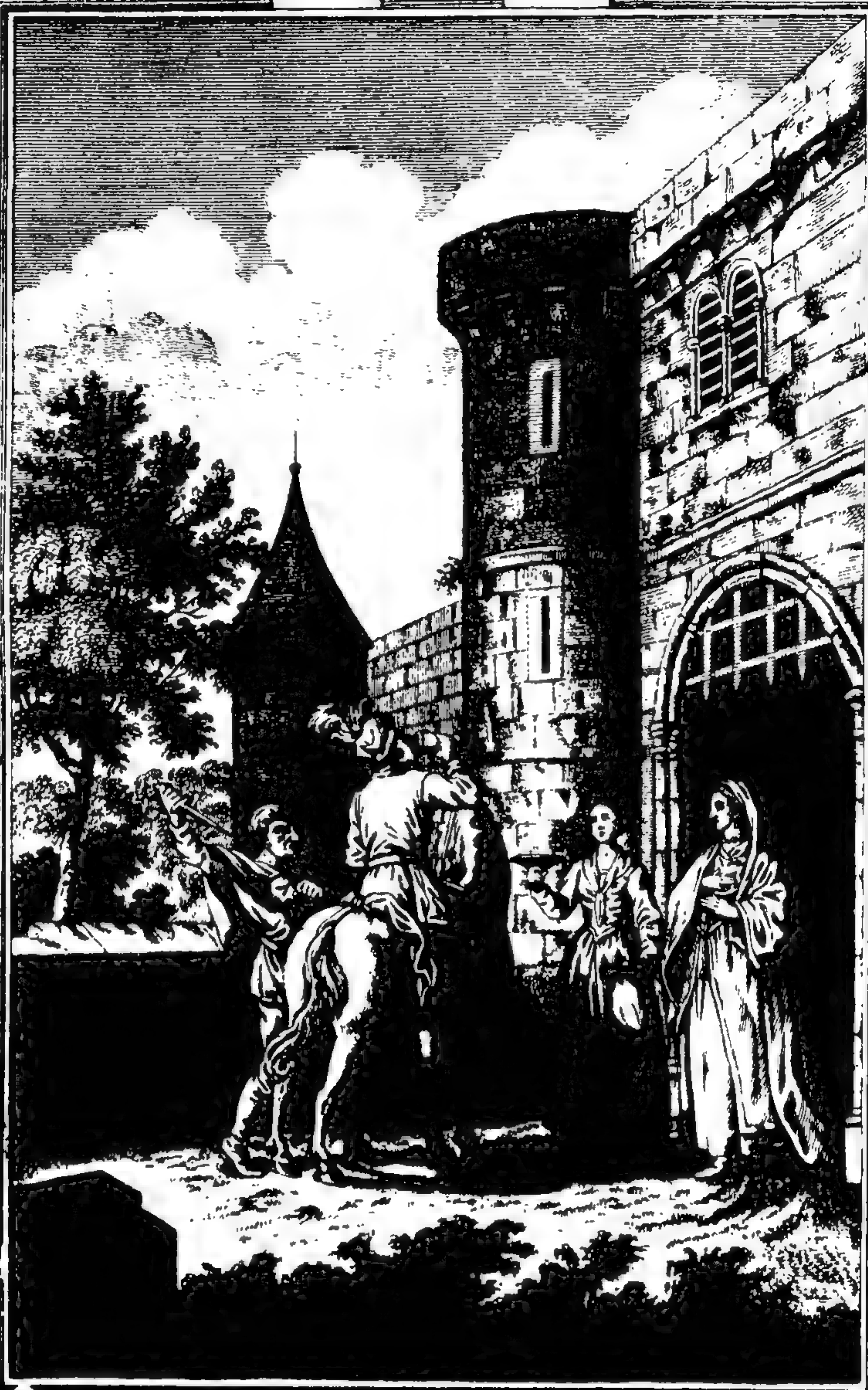
The Vth is to the same effect as in another law we have formerly cited, commanding every one to be present at the witenagemote, or assembly of the hundred; and farther ordains, that the hingemotes, or assemblies of the great town, or cities, be held thrice a year; and the shiregemotes, or the general meetings of the whole county, twice; whereat were to be present the bishop and the alderman, the one to teach the people God's laws, and the other man's.

The VIth requires that every man find surety for his good behaviour; and in case any man commit a crime and fly for it, the sureties should undergo what should be laid upon him. If he fly for nothing, and be taken within a twelvemonth, he should be brought to justice, and then the sureties should receive back what they had paid on his account.

The VIIth ordains, that when any one of the hundred is again accused of a crime, and absent from the witenagemote, or public meeting, that the court shall go where he dwells, and take notice of his appearance, if they may be had; but if they cannot get them, then they should take his land, goods, and seize on all his estate, when of this age, and



Engraved for *Russell's*  
*History of England.*  
( )



( EDWARD the MARTYR )  
( Assassinated. )



party having received such a share as should satisfy him, the one half of the remainder should go to the lord of the soil, and the other half to the hundred. And if any of that court, being either akin to the party, or a stranger to his blood, refuse to go to put this in execution, he shall forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the king. And further, that such as are taken in the very act of stealing, or betraying their masters, should not be pardoned during life.

The VIIIth and last ordains, that one and the same money should be current throughout the king's dominions, which no man must refuse: and that the measure of Winchester should be the standard; and that a weight of wool should be sold for half a pound of money, and no more. The former of these is the first law whereby the private mints to the archbishops and several abbots being forbid, the king's coin was only to pass.

Edgar had issue by his first wife Ellseda, Edward, who succeeded him on the throne; and his second wife Emma bore him two sons, viz. Ethelred, who afterwards became king of England, and Edmund, who died when he was only four years of age. He had likewise a natural daughter by Wilfrida, the lady whom he stole out of a nunnery. This child, whose name was Editha, was afterwards a nun in the same cloister from whence her mother had been taken, and became equally celebrated for the graces of her person, as for the piety of her soul.

### SECT. XIII.

*Edward the Younger, commonly called Edward the Martyr.*

ON the demise of Edgar, two powerful parties were formed, the one in favor of Edward, and the other of Ethelred. Dunstan was at the head of the former, and the queen Dowager Ellfrida of the latter; but the archbishop and the monkish party prevailed. In consequence of which Edward was crowned at Kingston upon Thames, being then but little more than fourteen years of age. And Ellfrida with her son Ethelred retired in disgust to Corfe-Castle, in Dorsetshire.

This reign was not remarkable for any thing but the feuds between the monks, and secular clergy, the appearance of several comets, a malignant disorder which destroyed a great number of cattle, and a dreadful famine that greatly distressed the land. As for many disagreeable circumstances immediately followed, it was usually surmised that they were supernatural portents of the untimely death of the king, and the subsequent miseries in which this nation was involved.

The young king being one day hunting near the castle, to which the queen Dowager had retired, grew fatigued with the chase, and determined to call on his step-mother Ellfrida, to whom he had always borne the greatest affection, and shewn the utmost respect. On his arrival at Corfe-Castle, she pressed him to enter, in order to repose himself; but the king, unwilling to alarm his attendants, whom he had dropped in the chase, replied, that he would not at that time alight, but only just refresh himself with a cup of wine, as he was exceeding thirsty. The wine was brought, and the cruel Dowager not being able to entice him into the castle, gave private orders to a ruf-

fian to assassinate him while he was drinking. The villain too effectually performed his commission, by giving the king a mortal stab just as he was lifting the goblet to his head. The unfortunate monarch finding himself wounded, clapped spurs to his horse, and rode away at full speed. The loss of blood, however, soon rendered him so weak that he fell, and his foot catching in the stirrup, he was dragged a considerable way, and expired in that miserable condition. His horse at length stopped of itself, and the king's corpse much bruised and defaced, was found by some of Ellfrida's domestics, who had traced it by the blood, and interred privately at Wareham, in Dorsetshire. But Duke Eller, who had been privy to the murder, stimulated by the horror of his conscience, afterwards had it taken up, and royally interred at Shaftesbury, in the monastery founded by Alfred. This fatal catastrophe befel the young monarch A. D. 979, in the eighteenth year of his age, and fourth of his reign. All that we know of this prince's character is, that he was of a humane, and meek disposition, had always behaved with the most profound respect to Elfrida, and shewed the greatest affection for her son Ethelred. But he placed himself entirely under the direction of the monks, whom he implicitly obeyed upon all occasions. In fine, so hamlets was his life, and such his affection for his murderers and her offspring, that her guilt appears greatly aggravated from his innocence, and the simplicity of his conduct.

Duke Eller not only felt the poignant stings of conscience with the extremest severity, but soon after fell a martyr to a most loathsome disease, being eaten up by such a profusion of vermin as neither a continual change of garments could eradicate, or the power of medicines destroy. And Ellfrida, the principal in this black affair, soon beholding her guilt in all its horrors, founded two \* monasteries, into one of which she retired, and passed the remainder of her days in all the miseries of corroding reflection, and corporal mortifications.

### SECT. XIV.

#### ETHELRED II.

AFTER the fatal catastrophe which befel the unfortunate Edward, young Ethelred ascended the throne. He was at first opposed by Dunstan, but at length that prelate thought proper to acquiesce, and to crown him, which ceremony he performed on the 14th day of April, A. D. 979. This young monarch, who had not reached his twelfth year at the time of his coronation, was remarkable for the beauty of his person, and weakness of his mind.

The Danes, who had not disturbed England for several years past, thought the present an excellent opportunity to renew their depredations. They were well informed that the king was young, inexperienced, weak, and ill beloved by the generality of the people, on account of the crimes of his mother. Add to these motives, the Welch had revolted, and there was an universal depravity, and an imprudent supineness throughout the nation. The combination of these circumstances appeared to their practical imaginations in too favorable a light to be neglected, and this land of plenty was once more doomed to be the scene of the most horrid barbarities.

In the year 980 the Danes began their invasion in seven large ships, by ravaging the coast of Dorsetshire, and

\* One of these monasteries was at Amblesbury, and the other at Wherwell, near Andover, in Hampshire. To the latter of the two was that Ellfrida retired.



and plundering the isle of Portland. Another party committed similar depredations at Southampton, and then proceeding to the coast of Cornwall, they landed at several places, but were equally barbarous and rapacious every where. To encrease the miseries brought on the nation by these inhuman foreigners, some domestic misfortunes happened at the same time; in particular the city of London was burnt to the ground; and the king having a difference with the bishop of Rochester, instead of turning his arms against the Danes, laid siege to the prelate in his own city.

Dunstan siding with the bishop, denounced vengeance against the king, unless he drew off his forces immediately, which Ethelred refused, without an hundred pounds were sent him to reimburse him for his expenses and trouble. This was a very capital sum in those days; Dunstan, however, thought proper to send it, but at the same time it was accompanied by this menace: "Since you have respected money more than God and religion, the calamities formerly denounced shall speedily arrive, though not till after my own death." With respect to the impending calamities, it did not require either a prophetic spirit, or great penetration to foresee them, for any person of common understanding, who knew the state of the nation, the posture of public affairs, the distractions in the council, the divisions of the people, the disaffection of many of the nobles, and all the clergy, and the incapacity of the rulers, might very naturally expect the fatal consequences which ensued.

The Danes burnt Watchet, in Somersetshire, A. D. 988, and the ensuing year were unsuccessfully opposed by the brave Goda, earl of Devon, who was unfortunately slain in an engagement with them. This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury; Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, archbishop of York, died soon after, when the demise of these three finally terminated the contests between the regular clergy and the seculars.

A. D. 991. The Danes again appeared upon the coast of this devoted island, after having given the natives a respite of two years, and under the conduct of their leaders Justin and Guthermund, burnt the town of Ipswich, in Suffolk. Brithnot, duke of East Anglia marched against them with what forces he could collect upon such an emergency, but being defeated, and slain, the country lay open to the merciless invaders. In the mean time Ethelred supinely neglected every means of defence, and instead of having recourse to courage and conduct, sought his safety in the most infamous and absurd expedient that could enter the mind of a king; for Dunstan's successor, the archbishop Serenus, in conjunction with the dukes Alfrith and Ethelward, having advised the weak monarch to bribe those with gold, whom he could not beat with iron, he unfortunately took their temporizing advice, and instead of bravely opposing them by the sword, he basely paid them ten thousand pounds to quit the kingdom. This ill judged bribe was extremely pleasing to the Danes, as it at once allured them to the expectation of future loans, and furnished them with the means of encreasing their naval armaments.

Those who thro' indifferen bribed a foe,  
Court their own ruin, and invite their woe.

Being incited by this success, the Danes appeared again on the English coast in 993, with an augmented force. The king, fully convinced of his former error, sought to repair it by getting together a formidable fleet with all imaginable dispatch, which was destined to block up and destroy the Danish navy in any port where they might take shelter. This design was laudable in itself, yet it in a great measure manifested their indifferen of the misadvent of the monarch, who in repenting of one error, committed another equally per-

icious. Having fitted out a fine navy, he unfortunately gave the chief command of it to Alfrith, duke of Mercia, whom he had some time before banished, on suspicion of treasonable practices, and lately recalled without being convinced of his innocence. This nobleman was of an implacable temper, and secretly bearing a mortal hatred to the king, he determined, on the present occasion, to sacrifice the public good to his private pique, and to gratify his own resentment by the ruin of Ethelred. Replete with these infamous sentiments, he informed the Danes of all the king's designs; when alarmed by the intelligence of this traitor, they collected together their ships, and stood out to sea to avoid the impending danger.

Alfrith, to keep up appearances, affected to pursue them, but as soon as an engagement seemed inevitable, he basely revolted to the enemy, by which the destruction of their whole fleet was prevented. The rest of the officers in general were exasperated at this treachery, but the commanders of the London and East Anglian squadrons in particular, were still determined, if possible, to strike some important blow. They accordingly bore down upon the Danish fleet, when a bloody engagement ensued, in which a great number of Danes lost their lives, one of their ships was taken and the treacherous Alfrith very narrowly escaped being made a prisoner.

Swein, king of Denmark, having collected together a formidable fleet, joined his powers to those of Anlaff king of Norway, and they in conjunction invaded England, A. D. 993, and committed great ravages in the northern parts of the kingdom.

The king having assembled a considerable body of forces, with his usual infatuation which was truly astonishing, gave the command of them to Frithegista, Godoin, and Frena, three noblemen, who were all of Danish extraction, and well widders to the invaders; and these, as might be naturally expected, betrayed their troops to the enemy, by whom many of them were cut to pieces and the rest put to flight. Swein and Anlaff then sailed up the Thames in conjunction, and landing near London, they invested that city, which was then scarce recovered from the effects of the dreadful conflagration which had so recently destroyed it. But the citizens behaved gallantly, and bravely repulsed the besiegers, which so irritated the Danes, that they vented their barbarous fury on the adjacent parts, committing great outrages in Kent, Essex, Suffex, and part of Hampshire. Having during their depredations collected together a great number of horses, they mounted the whole of their combined forces, and threatened in that manner to traverse, and lay waste the whole kingdom.

In this crisis, Ethelred summoned a council, when it was again imprudently determined to make use of the same expedient, which had already proved so fatal, and 16,000*l.* together with an annual tribute, was offered the enemy to quit the country. These terms being such as they wished for, and all they wanted, the invaders gladly embraced them, and retired to their ships which were at Southampton, till they could be fulfilled. During the interim, Anlaff paid a visit to Ethelred, who persuaded him to become a christian. Immediately after his conversion he swore never more to invade England, and it is but justice to his memory, to say he most religiously kept his oath.

The money being paid, the invaders left England; but A. D. 997, Swein returned again with a considerable force, and landing in the west of England, ravaged the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and afterwards entering South Wales, proceeded in the same rapacious and cruel manner. Then turning southward, they penetrated into Kent, when Ethelred, being roused from his lethargy by the approaching danger, met them at Rochester, at the head of a body of forces, and gave them battle. The English being



inferior both in numbers and discipline, were defeated, and the barbarous Danes revenged themselves for this opposition on the people of Kent, who had acted with considerable spirit upon the occasion. The English fleet, during this important crisis, lay inactive through the dissensions of the principal commanders; and thus innumerable circumstances, foreign and domestic, seemed to be in a conspiracy to ruin the kingdom, when it was providentially relieved by an unforeseen occurrence. This was a difference that happened between the king of France and Richard II. duke of Normandy, the former having threatened the latter to dispossess him of his dominions, which menace occasioned him to solicit the assistance of the Danes, who were in England. And these barbarians, happy to fish in troubled waters any where, passed over into Normandy, in order to augment the plunder which they had seized in England.

After the departure of these intruders, a council was held, when it was unanimously agreed to enter upon coercive measures, and oppose the future operations of the Danes with spirit. An army was accordingly raised, but the fleet which ought to have been the principal object, seems to have been too much neglected, and the king suddenly affecting a fondness for military parade, paid all his attention to the land forces, and appeared to have but little regard for his navy, the most natural and only essential security of this island.

Ethelred, instead of securing the sea coasts in a proper manner, entered into a frivolous quarrel with Malcolm, who ruled Cumberland as a dependent on Greme king of Scotland; accusing him of having favoured the Danes in their late incursions. Having ravaged a part of Cumberland, the affair was compromised, a truce concluded, and matters at length amicably adjusted.

Ethelred then ordered all the ships which could be collected together to sail to West Chester, whither he intended to proceed with his army; and by the junction of the sea and land forces to enter upon some important enterprize. His designs, however, were rendered abortive by the inclemency of the weather, the generality of his ships being wind bound; and all that he could effect was to ravage the isle of Anglesey, which was then in the possession of the Danes.

The Danes having finished their business in Normandy, returned to England A. D. 1001, and denounced vengeance against the English for what their countrymen had suffered, while they were absent. Their threats they fulfilled with the most barbarous punctuality, and practised the most shocking cruelties to a merciless excess. At length, Ethelward, high sheriff of Hampshire, raised the militia of that county, and engaged the Danes at Alton; but, through the inferiority of numbers, his army was defeated, and himself slain.

The invaders then embarked on board their ships, and sailed to Exeter, where treachery again assisted them, and defeated the national expectation of a deliverance. For Paleg, being sent with an English squadron under his command, instead of opposing, most basely joined his force to the enemy. They then laid siege to Exeter, but being repulsed, began as usual to ravage the adjacent country.

Provoked by their depredations, the inhabitants of Devonshire and Somersetshire took up arms against them, but were defeated at Penne in the last mentioned county. The conquerors then burnt Penne, Clifton, and many other towns and villages, and mur-

dered so many people, that they seemed to threaten the extermination of the English race.

The Danes had now over-run all the southern parts of the kingdom, and the northern parts were inhabited either by Danes, or persons of Danish extraction; so the English, who were penned up in the midland countries, were between two desperate fires, and, at the same time, had many domestic traitors to fear, whose secret treasons were as pernicious as the others open devastations.

During all these transactions, Ethelred shewed not the least spirit, either to defend his own dignity or protect the lives and properties of his subjects; but sinking into a dastardly indolence, his despondency led him once more to try his former imprudent expedient of bribery, and to purchase future calamities, as he had already done those that were past. After some negotiation, it was agreed, that in consideration of the sum of 24,000*l.* the Danes should cease all hostilities, and never more molest the English.

This enormous sum, for such it must be deemed, considering the value of money at that period, was levied by means of a tax, called Dane-gelt, or Dane's-money, and this tax was the first land-tax known in England. It was raised by the owners of land being obliged to pay twelve-pence per hide, the hide being as much as could annually occupy one plough and maintain one family. On receiving this money, some of the Danish forces withdrew, and others thought proper to remain in England, and settle among the Danes, and persons of Danish extraction, who were already settled here; but although these did not commit open hostilities, yet they continued to act with the most over-bearing insolence, treating their English neighbours with great asperity, obliging them to labour for their support in idleness, and abusing their wives and daughters at their pleasure. Hence they were called Lordains, or Lord Danes, a term of reproach still subsisting in some countries to express a proud, lazy, insolent fellow.

Ethelred, instead of taking the opportunity of rendering the nation formidable, by animating his dispirited people, and being arduous to discipline them so as to be capable of defending themselves, sought to acquire additional strength by means of a foreign alliance. With this view he contracted a marriage with Emma, \* the beautiful daughter of Richard the second, duke of Normandy, with whom he had for some time been at variance; but the pope interposing, their differences were amicably adjusted, and this nuptial treaty confirmed the reconciliation. But all the advantages he expected to derive from this alliance were frustrated by a scheme that he adopted, which was imprudently cruel in itself and injurious to the nation.

This scheme was no other than a general massacre of all the Danes in England. The principal promoters of the bloody plan were Huma, Ethelred's general, a man of a vindictive and revengeful disposition; and Edric, duke of Mercia, whose whole life was consistent only in continual acts of treachery. These, with one Leofsig, of whom we know little, but that he bore an infamous character, spirited up the king to a deed which was to entail misery on his country, for Ethelred himself was too weak and irresolute to form any regular plan, or to persevere sufficiently to put it into execution.

These counsellors having brought the king to their purpose, he, with great privacy, wrote circular letters:

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to

\* The lady's mother was named Gunnor, and her extraction being Danish, Ethelred imagined it would induce the Danes to be more reasonable as well as faithful. By his marriage with the daughter of Normandy's daughter, he likewise flattered that the

ports of Normandy would be in future shut against the Danish fleets, to whom they had hitherto afforded a port of refuge and an asylum in their invasions of England.



to his subjects in the various parts of the kingdom, and enjoined them to be revenged of their oppressive enemies, by murdering every Dane, without distinction of sex or age, on the feast of St. Brice, November the 13th, A. D. 1002. the Danes of Northumberland and East Anglia excepted, these being deemed too numerous to be overcome by the few English in those parts.

The massacre was transacted with a rigorous punctuality; men, women and children fell the indiscriminate victims of the bloody mandate.—To implore mercy was vain, to seek for safety by flying to the churches as sanctuaries was equally fruitless, the devoted objects were either dragged from thence and murdered, or slain at the altars.

Some Danish young men having escaped from the carnage seized upon a vessel, and setting sail, soon reached Denmark, where they informed king Swein of these bloody proceedings, and particularly that his sister Gunildes, or Gunilda was among the slain.\*

The Danish monarch being exasperated to a degree of phrenzy by this disagreeable intelligence, bound himself by a solemn vow to wreak his vengeance on the English nation. He naturally hated the English, a trifle would have induced him to make an infraction of the late treaty, but this was too provoking a circumstance not to call down all his resentment.

Having fitted out a very powerful armament, Swein landed in England in the beginning of the year 1003. Cornwall was the first place where he began his depredations, in which he proceeded with such a savage degree of barbarity, as to evince that his thirst of revenge was insatiable and boundless. Penetrating into Devonshire, and carrying terror all the way, he soon appeared before Exeter, which city was betrayed to him by a traitor called Hugh the Norman, whom queen Emma had procured to be made its governor, and who was supposed to have carried on a treasonable correspondence with the Dane previous to his landing. Exeter having been plundered, and its fortifications razed to the ground, Swein proceeded into Hampshire, designing to penetrate eastward, and destroy whatever opposed him. Ethelred, however, had by this time so far shaken off his lethargic indolence, as to assemble an army in order to stop the invader's progress; but such was the fatal infatuation of this unfortunate monarch, that he not only forgave Edric, duke of Mercia, his former treacheries, but indiscreetly entrusted him with the command of this army.

This imprudent measure was attended with the consequences which might naturally be supposed to result from it: For the arch traitor Edric no sooner came within sight of Swein's army, than he pretended to be seized with a sudden indisposition, and feigning that he was unable to lead on his forces at that time to engage, he commanded a retreat; but the orders were designedly so ill concerted, and every direction he gave, purposely so confused, as to throw the English troops into the greatest disorder. Swein did not fail to take advantage of this confusion, for attacking them rear a front rout, instead of a retreat, ensued. This victory, gained with such facility, was followed by the destruc-

tion of the towns of Wilton and Old Sarum, both of which the Danes sacked and burnt; when winter coming on apace, Swein returned to his fleet, embarked, and set sail for Denmark. The ensuing spring, however, A. D. 1004, he again landed with an augmented force, burnt the city of Norwich, and prepared to continue his ravages, when Ulf-ketel, governor of East Anglia, to save the other towns of his district from conflagration, instead of raising the militia, and attempting to oppose the barbarians, had recourse to that pernicious expedient of bribery, the ill effects of which Ethelred himself had so fatally experienced. The Danes had no sooner got the money than, totally disregarding their promise, they burnt the town of Thetford, a place at that time of great importance.

Ulf-ketel, enraged at these insidious proceedings, now began to think of doing what he ought to have done before; that is, of opposing by force those whose faith could not be in any thing depended on.

Having hastily collected together some troops, he ordered one party to attempt the burning of the Danish ships, while he with the rest made an attack upon them, before they could have any notion that he intended to take such a step. Unhappily those who were entrusted with the charge of destroying the fleet failed in executing the governor's orders, but Ulf-ketel himself behaved with great spirit, for making an impetuous attack upon the Danes, a most bloody contest ensued, till the remarkable bravery of the English was compelled to yield to the vast superiority of the enemy; and the Danes obtained a dear-bought victory. The valour of the English upon this occasion rendered the pirates exceedingly circumspect in their future conduct, they in a great measure desisted from their depredations; and at the close of the year returned home without having done any very material mischief subsequent to the above engagement.

The ensuing year, A. D. 1005, a dreadful famine afflicted this unhappy land, and swept away multitudes of the inhabitants. As soon as this calamity ceased, the Danes again appeared, that the miseries of the people might be unremitting. Ethelred had now put himself at the head of an army; the knowledge of which, joined to the recollection of the spirit with which the English behaved in their last engagement, induced the Danes to act with greater precaution than ever. They sailed round the coast in order to harass the English troops, and whenever they thought Ethelred's army at too great a distance to come upon them suddenly, they made a descent, and acted with the usual rapacious cruelty. Thus were the English troops fatigued by continual marches and counter-marches, without being once able to come up with, or bring the enemy to an engagement.

Winter coming on apace, and the Danes having retired to the Isle of Wight, Ethelred thought proper to quit the field. His army, which consisted wholly of volunteers, disbanded of themselves, nor indeed were they to be kept together any longer, than while the danger was impending.

The politic enemy having got intelligence of the dispersion of the English forces made a sudden irrup-

tion

\* A judicious writer in speaking of this transaction says, no age or sex escaped, the women were butchered as well as the men, and the brains of children dashed against the walls. At London, in the time of this execution, great numbers fled to churches, but those sacred places were no security, for they were all without pity slain as they stood embracing the altars. And when the multitude found themselves masters, they proceeded to new barbarities, digging holes in the ground, put Danish women in them up to the waist, and then set fierce mallives upon them, which cruelly tore off their breasts. A popular fury, when backed by authority, knows no bounds, nor authority itself, when it has broken public justice. There were several Danes of the highest quality in the land, received upon the public faith as hostages, to

rantly the late peace; among whom was king Swein's sister Gunilda, wife to count Paleng, who several years before had come into England with her family, where she had received Christian faith; and being a woman of great prudence and temper, had often interposed to make peace between the two parties, and had now lately given up herself, her husband and children as hostages to king Ethelred. This promise he thought her to break, and for that he ordered her to be beheaded, which sentence she took with an unequalled bravery and courage, and at her death forthwith, "This day my blood would cost England dear, and would not be long avenged."



tion into Hampshire, at a time when such a thing was least expected. viz. about Christmas, A. D. 1006, when they ravaged that and the neighbouring counties, and not meeting with any opposition, penetrated as far as Reading in Berkshire, having burnt all the towns and villages as they passed; and then returned towards their fleet by another route, continuing to act in a similar manner as they proceeded. An army was raised in Wiltshire to cut off their retreat, but those parts being under the jurisdiction of the traitor Edric, he gave timely notice to the Danes to avoid the impending danger, who from this intelligence took such measures as to escape. They, however, still continued to harass the coast, which induced the weak Ethelred again to bribe them, in order to gain a temporary respite, with the sum of 36,000*l.* for they always rose in their demands, well knowing the king was better able to pay the money, than willing to oppose their arms.

The barbarous foes having once more taken their leave, Ethelred seriously set about building a formidable fleet to secure the kingdom from future invasions; accordingly, every three hundred and ten hides of land were taxed to furnish one ship. This was so salutary a measure, that the people cheerfully acquiesced therein, and willingly contributed to such an essential national defence. The years 1007 and 1008 were consumed in preparing the navy, and the whole being finished in the beginning of A. D. 1009, the largest English fleet hitherto known rendezvoused at Sandwich.

This powerful fleet being properly manned, there only wanted a commander in chief, when the unhappy Ethelred, still bent on his own ruin, with a degree of fascination not to be accounted for, instead of appointing as admiral a man of courage, abilities, and integrity, gave the command to Brightric, brother by blood to the faithless Edric, and like him, artful, ambitious, and treacherous.

Brightric, not to have any spy upon his actions, or the least controul on his power, accused Wulfnoth (a distinguished and brave officer) of treasonable practices to the king, in hopes of getting him removed from his command, and put to death.

Wulfnoth was conscious of his own innocence, but at the same time knew it would not protect him from the malice of such powerful villains as Brightric and Edric. Yielding therefore at once to the dictates of self-preservation and resentment, he sought his safety in flight, and at the same time induced twenty of the English captains to accompany him with their respective ships.

Being at the head of this squadron, Wulfnoth turned pirate, and by ravaging the coasts, he became as obnoxious as the Danes. Brightric was universally accused as being the occasion of this misfortune, and the dismemberment of the fleet. Thinking in some measure to repair the misfortune he had caused, or at least to turn the popular voice in his favor, he sailed in quest of Wulfnoth with eighty large ships under his command, when a storm arising, his fleet was dispersed, and Wulfnoth, before they could re-unite, found an opportunity to take, sink, or burn most of them. Thus were the largest, best, and most capital ships of this formidable armament rendered useless to those at whose expence they had been fitted out, either by desertion, or destruction, and those mighty preparations became of no avail through the chief command having been given to an overbearing traitor.

The Danes being informed of the disasters which had attended the English fleet, immediately put to sea with a powerful armament, and appeared on the coast of England in the summer of A. D. 1009. One squadron under Turkul, proceeded to Sandwich, where the troops disembarked, while another commanded

by Anlaff and Haming made a descent upon the isle of Thanet. The forces uniting, they began to burn and plunder, as usual, throughout the county of Kent, and the city of Canterbury itself would have suffered conflagration, had not the inhabitants redeemed it with a very considerable sum of money.

Alarmed by these proceedings, Ethelred drew together an army, and was just upon the point of attacking the plunderers as they were retiring to their ships with a very considerable booty; when the traitor Edric, ever solicitous to injure his country, persuaded him that it was much more prudent to let them pass unmolested than to hazard a battle; and, astonishing to recite! the unhappy monarch took this advice, and suffered them tamely to pass, laden with the spoils of his subjects. The Danes having thus reached their ships in safety, took up their winter quarters in the isle of Thanet, from whence they made frequent excursions, did considerable mischief, and even attempted several times to plunder London, but from thence the citizens always bravely repulsed them.

A. D. 1010. The Danes made a descent at Ipswich, where Ulf-ketel lay encamped with a small army. Subordinate in command to this brave general was Thurketyl Myranheafod, (or the Ant-headed) a faithless coward, who, as soon as the Danes began their attack, precipitately took to flight. This shameful retreat of the second in command struck the men with such a panic, that a general confusion ensued. In vain did the gallant general Ulf-ketel, and several brave officers attempt to rally them; the rout became general, when Ethelstan, the king's son, Ulf-ketel, several officers, and many private men, were slain.

The country now lying entirely open, and the Danes having seized a great number of horses, they mounted their troops, in order to extend their incursions with the greater facility and expedition; when they ravaged Essex, Huntingdonshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, &c. pillaging, burning and destroying a great number of cities, towns, villages, &c. Among these were the city and university of Oxford, on which account all studies ceased at the latter, till the year 1133. Then turning their arms towards the west of England, they signalized themselves by similar devastations.

A. D. 1011. The Danes renewed their ravages at pleasure, while Ethelred, without attempting in the least to oppose them, kept himself shut up in London. At length they determined to lay siege to Canterbury, when throwing in a number of red hot balls, several houses took fire, and while the inhabitants were busied in extinguishing the flames, a treacherous monk, named Almere, or Almar, who was said to be arch-deacon of the place, betrayed it into the hands of the enemy, who, as usual, exercised the most horrid cruelties, and afterwards burnt the city.

In speaking of the Danes laying siege to Canterbury, the ancient chronicles say, "that in twenty days they took it by the treachery of Almere the arch-deacon. Here they committed unheard of barbarities by way of sport and diversion: they slew some by the sword, threw others over the wall, others into the fire, infants torn from their mothers' breasts were either toll on spears, or had carts drawn over them, matrons and virgins were dragged about by the hair and ravished; Allage the archbishop was taken, wounded and imprisoned in a noisom place; Christchurch was burnt, monks, men, women and children were decimated, a hundred were killed, and the tenth reserved to a life worse than death: so that of the whole multitude there remained only four monks, and eight hundred men. They kept the archbishop prisoner for seven months, during which time those barbarous miscreants were visited with a plague in their



their bowels, of which two thousand perished miserably; and those who survived being grievously tormented, the christians took occasion to urge the delivery of the archbishop, but they still deferred it."

At this dreadful crisis, Ethelred summoned a council of the principal nobility, which was held at London, A. D. 1012, when no better expedient could be found, than the former pernicious and ineffectual one of bribing them to desist awhile from their depredations. Thus did they still imprudently attempt to allay the flame of avarice, by pouring on it the oil of bribery, which tended to feed, instead of extinguishing it. The Danes, as usual, rose in their demands, and the tribute was now fixed at 48,000*l.* which being paid, some of them returned home, but Turcul himself, with forty five ships remained at London, promising submission to Ethelred, and engaging to defend him from all enemies foreign and domestic, on the condition of only receiving subsistence and apparel; when the king was so imprudent as to consent to these proposals, and to retain the professed enemies of his country in his immediate service.

A. D. 1013. Swein landed again at Gainborough, when the Northumbrians, who were chiefly Danes, or of Danish extraction, made a voluntary submission. Having procured a sufficient number of horses to mount all his men, he proceeded southward without opposition, the people all the way submitting to him, and arriving at Winchester, the gates were thrown open at his approach, and he was received into the city with apparent satisfaction.

This uninterrupted success induced Swein to think that he should make an easy conquest of the whole kingdom; he therefore determined to strike his ultimate stroke, by getting the city of London into his possession, which, as the principal and most important place, he imagined would facilitate the subjugation of the other parts of the nation. Fraught with this idea, he bent his march towards London, but now his good fortune did not seem to attend him so closely as before, for he lost a great number of men in the Thames, and he was afterwards repulsed by the citizens of London with great loss; in one of the sallies he was near being made prisoner, and at length was compelled to retire to Bath with the remnant of his army. Enraged at their defeat, the troops wreaked their vengeance on the several defenceless towns as they passed, and spread terror wherever they came. The West Saxon nobility, and Ethelmar, earl of Cornwall, fearing to become the next objects of their cruelties, repaired to Bath, and submitted to Swein, instead of endeavouring to crush a flying army of barbarians.

The whole kingdom had now made submission to the Dane, London excepted, and that city he was determined at all events to force. Having augmented his forces by procuring fresh recruits, and being joined by many of the English who had submitted, he assumed the title of King of England, and prepared to lay siege to London.

The Londoners, deeming it the height of absurdity to think of resisting so formidable a power, when not the least shadow of expelling any success remained, and as the rest of the kingdom had revolted, thought the most prudent step they could take, was to send deputies to make their submission, and procure favorable terms before they had irritated the conqueror too far, or rendered it impossible to grant them eligible conditions.

In the interim, the unfortunate Ethelred went on board a ship, sailed to the Isle of Wight, and dispatched his queen Emma, with his two sons, Edward and Alfred into Normandy, to know if the duke her brother would give him a favorable reception, if he should find it convenient entirely to quit his kingdom. Emma succeeded in her embassy; Richard

was a prince of an intrepid and magnanimous temper, and sympathizing with the weak and unhappy monarch, he not only promised him a secure asylum, and perfect safety, but gave him some hopes that he would assist him in regaining his kingdom, and avenging his wrongs. Thus encouraged, Ethelred left his kingdom entirely to the mercy of the Danes, and passing over to Normandy, he made the best of his way to Rouen, the capital of the dukedom, where he was cordially and affectionately received by Richard, who contrived, by every means in his power to divert his melancholy, and cheer his drooping spirits. In fine he did his utmost endeavours to

" Pluck from his memory the rooted sorrow,  
" Raze out the written trouble of his brain,  
" And with a sweet oblivious antidote  
" Cleanse the foul bottom of that perilous stuff,  
" Which weighs upon, and galls the sickly heart."

And indeed, Ethelred was more pitied, and less despised by the English themselves, under the full weight of his complicated misfortunes, than while he was bringing them upon himself; compassion succeeded to resentment, and many who had frequently condemned, now sympathized with what they could not redress.

Some historians affirm, and particularly Speed, that Ethelred, just previous to his departure for Normandy, addressed himself thus to some principal persons among the English. " If I myself was void of a paternal regard for the defence of the kingdom, or the administration of justice; or even if ye yourselves were defective in courage for the defence of your native country; I should have brooded over my calamities in silence, and given myself up a prey to dejection. But as this is not the case, I have formed a resolution to rush into the midst of the enemy, and sacrifice my life to my kingdom and my crown. I am certain you must esteem that death to be honourable, which is purchased in defence of the liberties of our relations and posterity. Let us then, one and all, resolve to die in so noble a cause. I see that we are abandoned by Providence; and that our ruin is arrived to its crisis. We are not overcome by the swords, or courage of the enemy, but by the treason and perfidy of our friends. Our navy is betrayed into the hands of the Danes; our armies are weakened by the revolt of our officers; our designs betrayed to the adversary by our counsellors; who, instead of extricating us from our troubles, are continually persuading us to infamous treaties. I myself am disesteemed, and contemptuously termed Ethelred the Unready: your valour and loyalty is rendered ineffectual by the treachery of your leaders, and our poverty yearly aggravated by the payment of Danegelt, which God only knoweth how we are to redress, though it is our duty to make the trial. In vain do we purchase a peace with money, in vain do we oblige the Danes to confirm it by oaths. Regardless of God and man, they break through the most sacred sanctions, and pay not the least regard to equity, to the laws of war, or the laws of nations. So far are we from any prospect of an alteration in our circumstances to our advantage, that we have the greatest reason to fear the loss of our kingdom, and the utter extinction of the English name and reputation. See, therefore our enemies are not at a distance, and their swords are close to our throats; let us, by our wisdom and prudence, rescue ourselves from danger, or die courageously beneath our swords in the bowels of our enemies. Either of these expedients I shall adopt with the greatest readiness, in order to preserve the state, and snatch the nation from irrecoverable ruin.

If this speech was really made, it seems to have been the effects of dissimulation, as it is apparent from Ethelred's subsequent conduct that he intended



was rather to turn his back upon his enemies than to rush into the midst of them; and William of Malmesbury positively asserts, "That the submission of the Londoners to Swein was entirely owing to this inglorious resolve in the king, of whose degeneracy they were ashamed, and that they would have held out to the last, though all England had yielded to the conqueror, had not Ethelred abandoned them."

With respect to the conduct of Swein, the English had very little reason to be satisfied with it, as he was perpetually burthening them with impositions in order to pay his troops, reward his favorites and adherents, and gratify his own rapacious disposition. He did not, however, live long to plague the English, or enjoy his ill gotten power, for his death happened on the third of February, A. D. 1014, but the manner of it is variously related; some affirm that he was poisoned, others that he was choaked with rheum.

Florence of Worcester relates the manner of his death as follows: Swein, while he was encamped at Gainborough, called a general assembly of his great officers, to whom he declared his intention of sending out a party the next day to plunder and burn the adjacent monastery of Bradcestworth. Scarce had he uttered these words, when, on a sudden, he cried out with great vehemence, Help! help! fellow soldier! See! here is king Edmund coming to kill me! and so saying, he was instantly struck with a mortal blow by St. Edmund, and lay in great torment till the next morning, when he expired. But John of Timmouth, in his *Hist. auræ*, makes St. Edmund's ghost to have stabbed him with a dagger as he sat in his chair. William of Malmesbury says, that St. Edmund appeared to him in his sleep, and smote him while he was in bed, for answering him rudely; but all agree his death to have been occasioned by a blow, which he received from St. Edmund. Such are the reports of the old historians.

The most probable conjecture, however, is, that he was assassinated by the contrivance of some of his principal people, who, for political reasons, connived at the regicide's escape; and that the monks of St. Edmund's Bury, taking the advantage of the circumstance, invented the legend to do honor to their saint, and secure their monastery from future sacrilegious violations.

We have not ranked this prince under a separate head as an English monarch, for three reasons:

1. Because he was never crowned.
2. Because he was never acknowledged as such by a general assembly of the states.
3. Because no act of civil authority every passed in his name.

On the demise of Swein, two powerful factions divided the nation; The one consisted of the Danes, and those English who were well affected to them; the other was formed of the English nobles and commons, who were disaffected to the Danish government, and wished to throw off so disagreeable a yoke. The former immediately proclaimed Canute, the son of Swein, king of England. The latter were for recalling the exiled Ethelred; yet these were so well acquainted

with his disposition, that they determined to restore him only on certain conditions.

Ambassadors being sent to Normandy, they proposed to Ethelred the following articles, as the terms of his restoration, viz. That he should rule with justice, equity, and moderation; take the advice of none but wise, able, and honest counsellors; amend his government; and shake off that indolence which had been his continual bane.

Ethelred solemnly promised to perform all that was required of him; in consequence of which the ambassadors returned, Ethelred soon followed, and Canute was declared an out-law.

Ethelred was received by the English with every testimony of joy, when a numerous army being raised, he put himself at the head of it, and immediately marched against Canute, who was encamped at Gainborough. The latter not being in a condition to dispute his claim to the throne of England, thought proper to make a precipitate retreat, and having gained his fleet he set sail for Denmark, that he might take possession of the crown of that kingdom, which was now vacant by the death of his father. In this\* he acted with great prudence, for by attempting to secure that kingdom where he had the fewest friends, and but little prospect of success, he might have endangered the loss of both governments.

The fortunes of Ethelred were truly worthy of observation; fate seemed industrious for his good, while he appeared studious of his own ruin. The paths of equity, and propriety, were pointed out to him, and the cup of prosperity offered to his lip; but he chose to tread in the ways of vice and folly, and to imbibed the libations of adversity.---The measure of his calamities was at length complete, and the accumulated misfortunes which he had so long courted, now surrounded him; but his sufferings rendered him an object of pity, and Providence in an unexpected manner, snatched him suddenly from the abyss of woe, to lift him to the pinnacle of human glory. Hence, when the clouds of sorrow envelope us, let us not despair of again seeing the beams of joy.

- "To-day in snow array'd, stern winter rules  
 "The ravag'd plain.---Anon the teeming earth  
 "Unlocks her stores, and spring adorns the year.  
 "And shall not we while fate like winter frowns,  
 "Expect revolving bliss?-----"

We are sorry truth will not permit us to add, that Ethelred, by his subsequent conduct, shew'd either to merit the indulgence of Providence, or the attachment of his friends; for no sooner was Canute gone, than forgetful of his promises, and thoughtless of future consequences, he relapsed into his former errors. Contrary to his solemn vow, he gave way to his usual indolence; or if he was ever assiduous, it was only in contriving new taxes to oppress his people, and gratify his own avarice. In fine, experience had not eradicated his follies, and to his former crimes he now joined ingratitude, and breach of faith.

To leave nothing undone that might again insure his ruin, he either discarded, or slighted his best friends,

\* Concerning this occurrence, a modern author says, "We cannot in this place forbear expressing our surprise, that none of our English historians of those times should have assigned reasons for this sudden going off of Canute, who had never been worsted, and had still many strong places in the kingdom in his hands; but, though our English history is silent on this head, the Danish history accounts for his proceedings very clearly: for it informs us, that Canute had a younger brother, named Harold, who, having been made regent in the absence of his father Swein, seized upon the kingdom for himself. It was this that obliged Canute to leave England in so hasty a manner as seemed rather to proceed from his fears, than the effect of sound politics; which latter was however the case for what prince of common prudence would

have resolved to leave the kingdom of his ancestors in the hands of an usurper, for the sake of contesting a foreign crown in a country newly conquered, and whose inhabitants were determined to support their own prince, whom they had lately recalled at the expense of their lives, and fortunes? Besides, should the event of war prove unfavorable to him, what hopes could he entertain of having succours from Denmark, whilst the crown was in the hands of his brother? The subsequent conduct of Canute plainly evinced that the step he had now taken proceeded from very different motives to those of fear, which have been generally laid to his charge; for no sooner had he secured his affairs in the north, than he returned with his victorious army to England."



friends, and showered all his favors on the villainous Edric, whose treachery had been fatal to him so often. This arch-traitor, about this time, A. D. 1015, who was always contriving either to make the king injure himself or others, induced the weak monarch to add a crime of a private nature to his many public ones. The fact was thus: two noblemen, named Morcar and Sigeforth, who were of Danish extraction, but inviolable in their faithful attachment to Ethelred, had excited the envy or the resentment of Edric. Whatever were the motives of his malice, he resolved on their ruin; and to effect this, possessed the king with a notion that they corresponded with Canute, and had even a design upon his life. Ethelred, who was naturally timid and suspicious, lent a ready ear to this tale, and firmly believed its truth. As these noblemen were greatly beloved by the people, he thought that a public execution might not be altogether safe, but insinuated that he should be glad to have them taken off privately. Happy to find the king in this disposition, the nefarious Edric took the management of the whole affair upon himself: having given them a cordial invitation to his own house, he at once violated the laws of honor, hospitality, and humanity, by barbarously murdering them in the height of their festivity. Ethelred, not to be behind hand with his favorite in want of equity, immediately ordered the lady Elgitha, Sigeforth's widow, to be confined in the monastery of Mahmesbury, and then sent his son Edmund to seize on both their estates.

But Heaven did not suffer these crimes to go long unpunished, for Canute having taken possession of, and secured the crown of Denmark, returned to England with a powerful armament. He first appeared off Sandwich, and then sailing round the coast of Kent, he proceeded to the west of England, where having landed, he began to ravage Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire.

In the mean time Ethelred sent some forces against him, under the command of his son Edmund, but unhappily his infatuation so far prevailed as to give the false Edric an equal authority with Edmund, and join him in the command with the prince.

The armies no sooner came within sight of each other, than Edmund was informed that Edric had laid a dangerous plot to take away his life as soon as the troops should engage. This intelligence being credibly supported, the prince found it absolutely necessary, in order to preserve his own life, and save the army from destruction, to draw off that part which was more immediately under his command for their mutual security. This dismemberment of the army gave the Dane a manifest advantage, and the false Edric finding that his treason, and that his villainy could no longer be hid, even from the long blinded, and infatuated Ethelred himself, threw off the mask at once, openly joined Canute with his followers, induced forty ships of the fleet to revolt, and persuaded the West Saxons, with whom his interest was very great, to submit, and swear allegiance to the Dane.

Canute's forces being so unexpectedly augmented, and powerfully reinforced, A. D. 1016, he entered the Thames at the head of a fleet consisting of 160 sail, composed of the Danish navy, and the ships that had revolted to him at the instigation of Edric. Having landed, he penetrated into the midland, and western counties, and spread desolation wherever he passed. The gallant Edmund sympathized in the distresses of the people, and exerted his utmost endeavours to rouse the lethargic spirit of his father from that indolence and supineness, which had been his continual ruin.

Ethelred, unable longer to bear the remonstrances of his son, at length contented to take the field. This resolution was no sooner known, than multitudes flocked to the royal standard, not so much indeed

out of respect to the king as to prince Edmund, whose spirit and abilities the people honored, as much as they despised the cowardice and weakness of his father.

A formidable army was now assembled, when some Danish emissaries, who were still about the person of Ethelred, possessed his imagination with an idea that a plot was formed to assassinate him. Such an insinuation was sufficient to a prince of his suspicious and timid nature; he determined to leave the army; in vain did his son remonstrate, in vain did the noble and officers offer in the most solemn manner to swear allegiance to him, and ratify their oaths by defending him to the last drop of their blood. The panic-struck monarch basely deserted them at this important crisis, and flying to London, there immured himself within its walls.

The Mercians now declined fighting for a king who had refused to head them according to his promise; and the brave Edmund finding it impossible to withstand the power of the Danes through the suspicious pusillanimity of his father, and the defection of so great a part of the army, thought proper to retire northward to join Uthred, earl of Northumberland, who had collected together some troops in those parts. Having made his junction with those few who chose to follow him, they together ravaged the counties that had declared for the Danes. On the approach of Canute with his powerful army, to prevent these depredations, Uthred thought proper to submit, and Edmund retired to London. Canute, however, knowing the enterprising spirit of Uthred, and not thinking him sincere, thought proper to put him to death, and seize his estates, which he bestowed on one Eric a Dane, whose insolence afterwards obliged Canute to banish him. Edmund on his arrival at London, found the king his father dangerously ill, and on the 23d of April, A. D. 1016, that unfortunate monarch departed this life in the 50th year of his age, and 37th of his reign. His remains were deposited in St. Paul's cathedral, near those of Sebba, king of the East-Saxons, being inclosed in a chest of grey marble, supported by four pillars, and covered with a coped stone of the same.

Ethelred in his person was comely, fair, of a genteel address, and affable behaviour; in his intellects he was timid, irresolute, inconsistent, and indolent. His attachment to Edric marks his character with weakness, wilfulness and folly; and the massacre of the Danes stains it with wickedness, cruelty, and credulity.

His first wife Elgiva, an English lady, bore him four sons, viz. Edmund, who succeeded him, Athelstan and Egbert, who died young, and Edwy, who was afterwards banished at the instigation of Canute; and three daughters, viz. Edgitha, who married an English count that was afterwards slain in a battle against the Dane, Edgiva, who became the consort of that infamous traitor Edric, duke of Mercia, and Elfgiva, who was the wife of Uthred, earl of Northumberland.

By Emma, daughter of the duke of Normandy, his second wife, he had three children, viz. Alfred, and Edward, who, on the death of Ethelred were by their mother sent into her own country, and the lady Goda, who was first married to Walter, count of Mantes, and afterwards to Eustace, count of Boulogne.

#### S E C T. XV.

Edmund II. commonly called Edmund Ironside

**E**D M U N D was so much beloved by the English in general, and more particularly by the Londoners, that the latter unanimously determined to elect him for their king, (though Canute was



approaching to besiege the city of London, both by sea and land;) he was accordingly crowned by Livignus, archbishop of Canterbury. The rest of the clergy, however, did not act so honestly, for on being summoned by Canute to attend him at Southampton, they chose to follow the stronger party, and to be borne away by the prevailing current of the times.

Having left a strong garrison in London, Edmund marched into the west of England, where the generality of the people took the oaths of allegiance to him. In the mean time Canute proceeded to lay siege to London; having sailed up the river, he landed his troops at Greenwich, and marched directly to invest the city. Coming to the Surry side, he cut a deep trench, in order, as much as possible, to drain off the water from the river, by which means his ships lay almost upon dry land, and the convoys of provisions were easily prevented from coming to the relief of the besieged.

The citizens sustained the siege with great bravery, and Edmund began an expeditious march from the west, in order to relieve them. On the other hand, Canute acted with much vigour, and closely pressed the siege, but was continually repulsed by the gallant Londoners. Finding his endeavours to possess himself of the metropolis of the kingdom ineffectual, and hearing of Edmund's rapid advances, he thought it most prudent to draw part of his forces from the siege in order to put a stop to the progress of that gallant prince.

The two armies met at Gillingham in Dorsetshire, when a bloody engagement ensued, in which both commanders gave admirable proofs of their skill and courage. Victory at length declared for the English, when Canute retreated in tolerable order to Winchester, where having shut himself up, he issued his orders to another body of Danes immediately to lay siege to Salisbury.

Edmund hearing of this marched to the relief of Salisbury; and Canute, having been recruited by Danes and dissaffected English from various parts of the kingdom, directly followed him, when the two armies met at Sherston in Wiltshire.

Besides Danes, and Anglo-Danes, or persons of Danish extraction, Canute had in his army the men of Wilts and Hants, commanded by Ælgar and Ælmar, two powerful noblemen, and above all, the traitor Edric with a numerous party.

On the other hand, Edmund had many of the most respectable English nobility, and the principal inhabitants of Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, with many persons from other different counties.

Great expectations were formed concerning the fate of this battle, and each party was anxiously sedulous for the event. We shall take the description of the engagement itself from Simon of Durham, whose account is deemed at once the most striking and authentic.

On this occasion the opposite princes were well matched in courage, conduct, and experience, and both armies were nearly equal in strength, though the Danes had manifestly the advantage in point of discipline. Both kings chose then ground to the best advantage, each harangued his men in that strain which was most likely to animate to dominion and conquest, as the reward of toils and labour, or encourage to the preservation of liberty, then laws, then children, and then country. The trumpets giving the signal, each side made a short but awful pause, meditating on the part they were to act, and considering that on the issue of that day depended freedom or slavery, glory or ignominy, and that they were now to fall by the sword, or triumph in the deaths of their respective enemies. But the shock of battle soon banishing all reflections, a desperate

fight ensued, in which, rank closing with rank, disputed every inch of the bloody field with more than human rage. The gallant Edmund seemed present in a thousand places, and to stake a thousand lives on one cast. All his troops equally witnessed his valour, and equally trembled for his safety. Such, indeed, was the conduct and courage that he displayed on this occasion, that the fate of the day must soon have succeeded to his wish, had he not had Canute to encounter as an enemy; but the Dane's experience and the veteran boldness of his troops, enured to slaughter, and trained up in the art of death, for that time balanced the victory, and the ardour of both sides outlasting the day, the combatants unwillingly retired; and rather to meditate new revenge than for the purposes of repose.

Next day the fight was renewed with double fury, and Edmund's valorous efforts, seconded by the intrepid prowess of his gallant Englishmen, had already charmed victory over to their standard, when the traitor Edric bethought him of a stratagem which damped the ardour of those glorious assertors of their liberty, and for a while threw the advantage on the side of the Danes. He cut off the head of one Osmar, who nearly resembled Edmund, and raising it on the point of a spear, called aloud to the astonished English, "Yield! and save your lives! See here! the head of your king." This contrivance had for a while the desired effect; and the irresolute pause which this heart-wounding sight occasioned, gave the broken Danes an opportunity of rallying, and returning to the onset. But no sooner did this news reach Edmund's ears, than, throwing up his beaver, he flew like lightning to shew himself to his amazed troops, who instantly felt their former courage re-animated, and prepared to make their enemies pay dearly for the deceit they had put upon them: however, the advantage the Danes gained by this stratagem, enabled them to maintain the combat till darkness once more put an end to the fight.

Edmund, not discouraged by this disadvantage, determined to renew the fight the ensuing morning. But Canute, thinking proper to decline the engagement for many prudential reasons, made a precipitate retreat with all imaginable secrecy in the night, in order to join that detachment of his forces, which were then blockading London.

Edmund was sensible that Canute's junction with these forces would give him a great superiority of numbers; he therefore returned to the West of England, in order to augment his army with new recruits.

The traitor Edric now made a feigned submission to Edmund, and pretended to obliterate the remembrance of his former baseness by betraying to him the Danish councils, and serving his country with as much zeal and vigilance as he had hitherto served its enemies.

Edmund, though far superior to his father in abilities, unfortunately copied his weak example, in being too easily deceived by this wily and backneved traitor. He not only generously forgave him, but believed him sincere, and took him into his confidence.

Having recruited his army, Edmund marched to the relief of London, when the enemy raised the blockade, and divided themselves into two bodies, the one part going on board the ships, and the other proceeding to Brentford, where the troops encamped. Edmund pursued the latter party, crossed the river, in doing which many of his troops were drowned, and having attacked them with great fury, he put them to a precipitate flight.

As this victory cost him dear, he was obliged to return again to the west of England, in order to recruit his forces, and fill up his ranks, when Canute, taking the advantage of his absence, renewed the siege of



of London, and carried on his operations with redoubled vigour. The bravery of the Londoners, however, was such, that he found all his efforts ineffectual; exasperated with his repeated disappointments, he embarked on board his ships, and sailing round to the coast of Sussex, he ravaged that country in all the bitterness of despair. Proceeding then up the Medway, he treated the county of Kent in a similar manner, when Edmund, hearing of his depredations, arrived in Kent by hasty marches, and crossing the Thames with a strong detachment of troops, he came up to the enemy at Otford, attacked them with great intrepidity, and having slaughtered many, drove the remainder into the isle of Sheepy; when the traitor Edric, interposing and persuading him to discontinue the pursuit, he very imprudently suffered them to regain their shipping and escape to Essex, where they were joined by other Danish forces.

Edmund, however, overtook them at Ashdown, near Bitterica, in Essex, when a bloody engagement ensued, and the advantage at first apparently inclined to the English. But the villainous Edric, the bane of his country, seeing victory hovering over the standard of Edmund, determined to act with his usual treachery. With this view he drew off, and disordered the wing he commanded, which gave the Danes such a manifest advantage, that the English were defeated, and many nobles as well as private men were slain, while Edmund was obliged to secure himself by a hasty retreat to Gloucester.

Canute pursued the fugitive king and thought to take him while defenceless; but Edmund had raised another army with such astonishing expedition, that Canute was in the utmost consternation at being informed of it; he, however, determined to stake all upon one stroke, and to hazard a battle which might be decisive, and terminate the differences between the two competitors.

The two armies being in sight of each other, the traitor Edric stepped forth, and in a florid harangue, represented to the respective troops, the effusion of blood, which the contest betwixt the two kings had already occasioned, the carnage which was likely to ensue, the improbability of deciding their differences by pitched battles, sieges, or skirmishes, and at length, winding up the whole with an eulogium, on the personal courage of each, he proposed that their quarrel should be decided by single combat, and that the victor should unanimously be acknowledged as sovereign.

This speech met with universal applause, and the general cry was, "Let them either fight or agree." The two monarchs gladly embraced this mode of decision, and repairing to the isle of Alney, in the Severn, they prepared for the combat, while their respective armies were drawn up on each side of the river.

Having broken their spears, the royal combatants fought hand to hand with equal skill and intrepidity. At length, Canute perceiving that Edmund had greatly the superiority, both with respect to activity and personal strength, he proposed a partition of the kingdom between them. Edmund generously acceded to this proposal, and the two kings cordially embracing each other, both the armies were transported with joy at the sight, and sent forth the loudest shouts of approbation.

Having made a mutual interchange of cloaths and armour in token of amity, the treaty was formally concluded, when it was stipulated, that Canute should have all the northern parts of England, and that Edmund should have the city of London, all Wessex, East Anglia, and Essex, together with the title of supreme King of England.

The Danes by a treaty with the Londoners, were permitted to take up their winter quarters in the city.

But Edric, who beheld this amicable convention with a jealous eye, as his greatest pleasure seemed to consist in the destruction of his country, determined to prevent the happiness it was likely to enjoy; and more particularly, as he had reason to think that Edmund would now scrutinize into his actions, and call him to account for his perfidy. Fraught with these diabolical ideas, he employed two ruffians to assassinate the brave Edmund, who thus, A. D. 1016, fell a martyr to the consummate treachery of one of the greatest villains that ever disgraced the annals of this or any other country.

Edmund was courageous, generous, benevolent, patient, and strictly equitable; in short, he seemed born for the happiness of his people, had Providence been pleased to have extended the line of his mortal life. With respect to person he was comely, well made, and so remarkably strong, as to obtain the surname of Ironside. The detestable Edric was the first who carried the news of Edmund's death to Canute, who bountifully rewarded him, though he secretly hated him for his treachery, and equivocally promised that for what he had done he would exalt him above all the lords in England, which he afterwards did in a manner at that time little expected by the perfidious villain.

The remains of this prince were deposited by those of his grand-father Edgar, at Glastonbury. By his wife Elgitha, he left two sons, Edmund and Edward, and besides these a natural son named Edwy survived him. With Edmund fell the splendor of the Anglo-Saxons, after their monarchy had lasted 190 years from its establishment by Egbert the Great, 432 from the foundation of the Heptarchy, and 568 from the first arrival of the Saxons.

## SECT. XVI.

### DANISH KINGS

#### Canute the Great.

EDMUND being dead, Canute, with all imaginable expedition, convened an assembly of the nobles, and representatives of the people, to meet in the beginning of A. D. 1017, at London; when he proposed the two following questions to the members of the senate, to which he demanded an immediate, and explicit answer:

1. Whether in the treaty between the late king, and himself (to which they were witnesses) any stipulation had been made in favor of the deceased king's brothers in Normandy?
2. Whether in the said treaty there were any articles in favor of the late king's children?

To the first question an immediate answer was given, that no such stipulation was made; but with respect to the second, the tendency of which was so very obvious, the whole assembly remained silent.

Canute, however, insisted upon a categorical answer, when some of the members replied in this equivocal manner, "That if any such stipulation had been made, they were sensible that Edmund desired that Canute should be their guardian till they came of age." This mean evasion not satisfying Canute, he declared that he would not reign in right of another, and therefore positively insisted that they should swear allegiance to him, and entirely renounce the Cordic race. With these conditions, though exceedingly agreeable to many, they were all under the necessity of complying, as none chose to dispute the matter with a powerful and warlike king, who had a numerous and well-disciplined army ready to obey his call.

Things being brought to this issue, he divided England into four distinct governments, over each of which



which he placed a governor, viz. 1. Mercia, which was governed by the traitor Edric. 2. Northumberland, which was held by Eric. 3. East-Anglia, over which Turkyl presided. And 4. Wexsex, which he reserved to himself. Having made this disposition, his next care was to conciliate the affections of the English, to which purpose he publicly declared that he should make no difference between his Danish and English subjects, either with respect to personal favor, or public places. He then prudently published an edict confirming the old Saxon laws, in all parts of the kingdom, except Northumberland and its vicinity, where, as most of the people were Danes, or of Danish extraction, and had been used to be governed by the original laws of their country, a reservation was made in their favor. This refined policy gained Canute the hearts of most of the English, who were vociferous in their applauses of a prince of such integrity and justice.

Though thus fully secured in a kingdom, to which he had neither lineal, or equitable right, he was exceedingly uneasy concerning Edward and Edmund, the sons of the late king, greatly dreading that the people would at length be touched with compassion, and rne in their favor.

Being dubious how to act so as not to render himself obnoxious, or occasion a revolt, he at length determined to send them to the king of Sweden, with this message, "That he would confer an infinite obligation on the English monarch, if he would deal with them in such a manner, as to prevent their ever returning again to their own country." Shocked with the barbarity intimated by this message, and yet fearful of offending so powerful a monarch as Canute, whose paternal dominions lay so near his own, the king of Sweden thought it most prudent to shift the whole affair from himself to another. He therefore sent the young princes from his own court to that of Solomon, king of Hungary, who, greatly to his honor, cordially received the unfortunate exiles, placed proper tutors over them, and gave them an education suitable to the prospects they had been born to. "Edmund (says an accurate author) died in this court, but his brother Edward married Agatha, the queen of Hungary's sister, and daughter of Henry II. emperor of Germany, by whom he had Edgar Atheling, and Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland."

Although the legitimate offspring of the late king were removed, still his natural son Edwy was matter of umbrage to Canute; the many virtues, and rising popularity of this young prince gave him infinite concern; he therefore consulted the infamous Edric concerning the best method of quieting the perturbation of his mind. This traitor, hackneyed in the way of villainy, readily undertook to make away with the innocent young prince, and immediately employed one of his tools, named Ethelwald, to murder him. But this person not being quite so wicked as his master, still found pretences to delay the execution of the bloody project, till Canute growing impatient, trumped up a sham plot, in order to have some plausible pretext for banishing him the kingdom. The unfortunate youth being exiled, wandered about in a forlorn condition, but at length returning to England, he died, as some authors affirm through mere penury, whilst others insist that he was privately assassinated by order of Canute. It is, however, certain, that he fell a martyr to the suspicions of that monarch.

Thus were three obstacles to the repose of Canute removed, but there still remained two others, and the latter appeared still more dangerous than the former. These were Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred, who were now grown up to men's estate, and remained in the court of their uncle Richard II. duke of Normandy, a wife, politic, powerful, and brave

prince, who might, as Canute justly feared, endeavour to place one of them upon the English throne.

To avert this surmised evil, and prevent any future storm, Canute determined to secure the alliance of Richard, by double nuptials; he therefore demanded in marriage the duke of Normandy's sister Emma, and offered the hand of his own sister Hieltritha to that prince.

These proposals were too flattering to be refused, both were therefore acceded to by Richard, and the double nuptials were solemnized with great pomp towards the latter end of July, A. D. 1017. When Richard gave up the interest of his nephews to wed the sister of the Dane; and Emma barely deserting the ties of nature to her children, meanly consented to marry the professed foe to her late husband, and his whole family.

Having thus far succeeded in all his designs, Canute began to turn his attention towards the arch-traitor Edric, and very justly thought that a man who could be false to his own natural prince, and his native country, would never be true to a foreigner, and an usurper, and though he very well liked the treason which had benefited him, it was natural for him to detest the traitor, who, with his usual treachery, might injure him; he therefore determined, on the first opportunity, to punish the villain at once for his manifold crimes, and secure himself from the apprehension of his future malefactions. Edric was not long before he gave Canute an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on him, by treating that monarch, in the public council chamber, with a degree of insolence that was truly insupportable, and upbraiding him with not having sufficiently rewarded him for his many services. On being thus treated, Canute flew into a violent passion, and immediately ordered Edric's head to be struck off and fixed on the highest gate in London, that his promise of exalting him above all the lords in England might be literally fulfilled. Several other persons were put to death at the same time as accomplices with, and coadjutors of Edric in most of his villainies, particularly Norman, son of duke Leofwine, Ethelward, son of duke Aethelmer, Bright-ric, son of Alphage, earl of Devon, and Edric's own three sons.

A. D. 1018. Canute laid a tax of 82,000*l.* upon the nation to pay off the arrears of his fleet; the sum of 15,000*l.* of which was paid by the city of London only. This heavy subsidy the English patiently submitted to, as it was to relieve them from some very troublesome guests. The money was no sooner paid than Canute sent home his navy, forty ships excepted; which he retained as necessary to the national defence.

Canute was so pleased with the ready acquiescence of the English with this tax, that he convened an assembly of the states to meet at Oxford, where he passed an act to incorporate the English and Danes as one people, and re-established several of the most popular laws of Edgn, and Edward the Elder. These steps shewed his profound policy, conciliated the affections of the English, and enabled him to advance any of his countrymen, whom he might think proper, to places of trust and profit. He likewise enacted,

1. That no markets, fairs, or assemblies, should be held on Sundays.

2. That all christians should receive the sacrament at least three times a year.

3. That a married woman convicted of adultery should have her nose and ears cut off.

4. That a widow marrying within a year after her husband's death should lose her dowry.

Every thing being thus successfully adjusted in England, Canute turned his attention to the affairs of his own country, as a war had broken out between the Danes and Vandals, or Swedes. He therefore, in



A. D. 1019. went over to Denmark with a considerable army, one half of which was composed of English, who were under the command of Godwin, earl of Kent.\* Having refreshed his troops after their debarkation, he began his march towards the enemy, with whom, in the course of several days, he came up towards sun-set. The day being so far declined, he thought proper to encamp his army, designing to engage the enemy on the ensuing day.

In the night, earl Godwin determined to signalize himself by a very extraordinary action; he secretly drew off his English, and coming silently upon the enemy's camp, he attacked them with such impetuosity, at a time when they little expected such a visit, that they were routed with great slaughter.

In the morning, Canute was much astonished to find himself in possession of a victory, before he knew of an engagement; and this gallant action greatly endeared to him the English in general, and their leader, earl Godwin in particular; indeed he rewarded the latter by giving him his sister Thyrsa in marriage, and ever after distinguishing him with peculiar marks of affection.

Canute having successfully terminated this war, returned to England, A. D. 1020. when finding that some of the Danes, whom he had intrusted with the administration of public affairs, had been guilty of many oppressions, and acted in a very arbitrary manner, he determined to shew his regard for the English in their punishment, and accordingly, having summoned a great council to meet at Cirencester in Gloucestershire, he passed the sentence of banishment upon the duke of East-Anglia, as also upon Eric, duke of Northumberland. This act of justice and impartiality greatly increased the esteem the English had already conceived for him, and to win their affections still farther, he appeared to be deeply penetrated with grief for the vast effusion of blood, which his attempts upon the English crown had occasioned, and more particularly for the death of Edmund, for whose memory he affected to have the greatest veneration. To make some atonement, he therefore built and endowed a church at Ashdown, where one of his engagements with Edmund was fought; he likewise erected several monasteries, chantries, &c. where other battles had been fought, that prayers might be continually said for the repose of the souls of the slain. Camden says, "Among other benefactions he gave the port of Sandwich with all its issues and profits, to Christ's-church in Canterbury. He likewise founded a monastery of Benedictines in Norfolk, which from its situation was called St. Bennet's in Holme, (Holme, in the Saxon language, signifying a rising hill or gentle ascent.) Ieland, who saw this town and monastery, gives us a description of it, which claims our notice. This city, for its situation, exceeds any that the sun ever saw: it seems, as it were, to hang upon a gentle descent, and is washed on the east side with a little river. Its monastery is not less noble, whether we consider it with respect to its endowments, its extent, or its unparalleled magnificence. One might even take the monastery itself for a city, it has so many gates, some of which are brass, is adorned with so many towers, and has likewise a church which cannot be exceeded in grandeur, or magnificence. To this we may add three more churches, which are contiguous, and are, as it were, appendages to this, which are likewise admirable for their beauty and architecture. Canute enriched the monastery with very con-

siderable presents, brought in the monks with their abbot, granted it the whole town, as well as other estates for its maintenance, and offered his crown to the martyr. The pope gave it large immunities, exempting it from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, besides the offerings that were brought to Edmund's tomb, its revenues amounted to one thousand, five hundred and sixty pounds yearly."

A. D. 1021. Canute found occasion to banish Turkyl, who had been materially concerned in the murder of the archbishop Alfage, or Alphage, which was another transaction very grateful to the English, as the memory of that prelate was universally esteemed by them. A. D. 1022. he made a voyage to the Isle of Wight, in order to exercise his fleet, and A. D. 1025. he was under the necessity of again repairing to Denmark, to repress the Swedes, who had invaded that kingdom with a design to annex it to the crown of Sweden, while Canute was so earnestly occupied in the English administration. In this expedition as in the former, his army was composed of about an equal number of English and Danes; he was, however, defeated soon after his landing, by the Swedish generals, Wulf and Higlass, and compelled to return to England the same year. During the years 1026 and 1027 he made preparations for a still more important expedition, and A. D. 1028, he again set sail for Denmark, with an army of English and Danish forces, his design being to invade Norway, where a powerful party of malecontents were in his interest. Having landed, he proceeded with all imaginable expedition into that country; when Olaus, king of Norway, a timid and pacific prince, not expecting such a visit, nor being prepared to oppose it, consulted his personal safety in a precipitate flight to Sweden, from whence he removed for greater security to Russia. Canute, upon this resolution, seized the crown of Norway, and obliged the people to take oaths of allegiance to him.†

When Canute returned to England, A. D. 1029, he discovered a dangerous conspiracy, which had been formed against him by a Danish nobleman, named Hacum, who had married his niece Gunilda; but the effects of this were prevented by Hacum's being immediately banished, and several of the other conspirators put to death. This plot was succeeded by the prospect of a powerful invasion of England by Robert the son of Richard II. duke of Normandy, who, having succeeded to that dukedom, in A. D. 1030, took into consideration the injustice, which his cousins, Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred, suffered from the usurpation of the Dane. Resolving to interest himself in their behalf, he deputed ambassadors to wait on Canute, and to demand the dominions of those princes which were inequitably withheld from them. Canute, not being used to such haughty messages, dismissed the ambassadors with disdain, and Robert immediately prepared to give effect to his demands, by force of arms. A storm, however, obliged his fleet, first to put into Guernsey, and afterwards to return to France to relict. Nevertheless he ordered many of his lightest ships to scour the channel, and block up the English ports till he could fit out another navy, and raise a still more considerable army to complete his designed invasion. These preparations were no ways pleasing to Canute, the principal part of his Danish forces was in Denmark, and he had but a small squadron of ships in the English harbours. With respect to the English themselves

\* It is said, that Canute gave the command of the English forces to Godwin, not so much because he could confide in him, as because he did not chuse to leave so powerful and popular a nobleman behind him; and that he likewise associated with him several other English noblemen and gentlemen, whom he thought

might breed commotions, and be troublesome in his absence.

† Histories say, that the unfortunate Olaus made an attempt to regain his kingdom two years afterwards, but being slain by some of his own perfidious subjects, Canute remained king of Norway without a rival.



themselves, he could very well depend upon them, when they were to fight against the Swedes or Norwegians; but he knew too well their love for the Cerdic race, to imagine they would assist him in opposing two innocent and unfortunate young princes, who were descended from a long line of their natural sovereigns. These considerations induced him to temporize, and aim to ward off the impending blow, by means of a negotiation. He therefore proposed to resign one half of the kingdom in favor of the young princes; he however made so many artful delays, with respect to the ratification of this treaty, and procrastinated the time in such a manner, that the duke of Normandy was obliged to go to the Holy Land in consequence of a strict vow he had made, before the affair could be brought to a conclusion; when dying upon the journey, the dukedom of Normandy devolved to his son William (afterwards the conqueror of England) who was then only an infant of seven years of age, and consequently the design of doing justice to the offspring of Ethelred fell to the ground.

A. D. 1031. Canute gave many more donations to the church, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to obtain absolution of the pope for all his past offences. His journey, however, he made useful to the English in many respects; such as in purchasing of all the princes, through whose territories he past, an exemption from toll for all English merchants, pilgrims and travellers. In obtaining from pope John XIX. several privileges for the English students at the college at Rome. In procuring a remission of the fines (which were very exorbitant) heretofore paid by the English metropolitans, on receiving the sacerdotal pall, &c. &c.

Canute returned home again by the way of Denmark, from whence he dispatched Leignus, abbot of Tavistock, to the clergy, nobility and commons of England, with a letter, which, says a modern author, "Ought to be written in letters of gold," to inform them of his safety, and communicate to them some of the particulars of his journey. As this piece is deemed a great curiosity, we shall insert it here for the entertainment of our readers.

"Canute, king of all England, Denmark, and Norway, with part of Sweden, wisheth health to Ælnoth the metropolitan, and Alfrick of York; and to all bishops, primates, and to all the English nation, both nobles and commoners. Know ye that I lately undertook a journey to Rome, to pray for the remission of my sins; for the welfare of my kingdom, and that of the people subject to my government. This is a journey I had long vowed to make; but I still, till lately, was prevented by the exigencies of my kingdom and other causes. Now I humbly thank Almighty God, who has, in this life, granted me, according to my desire, leave, personally to venerate and adore the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, with whatever is holy or sacred, either within or without the walls of Rome. This I was the more inclined to effect, because I had learned, from wise men, that St. Peter had received from the Lord great power of loosing and tying, and that he was the key-keeper of heaven; therefore I thought it extremely convenient particularly to bespeak his patronage with God. Now be it known to you, that there was present with pope John and the emperor Conrade, a great assembly of nobles at the festival of Easter, who all of them received me with great honor, and made me particular presents. The emperor, especially, made me a great many presents of gold and silver plate, as well as of robes and apparel. I then conferred with the emperor, and my lord the pope, and the other princes who were present, with regard to the hardships of my people, both English and Danes; demanding that they might be upon more easy terms, that they might be more ac-

cure in their persons when on their journey to Rome, not meeting with so many obstacles, and being plagued with paying so many tolls upon the road. This was granted by the emperor and king Rodolph, and by all the other princes, who issued out orders that all my subjects, both merchants, and they who went to Rome on religious accounts, should be free from all molestations of tolls and impositions, both in their going and returning. I then complained before my lord the pope, and informed him, that I could not but take it very much amiss that my archbishops should be so much harrassed, and pay so great sums of money, whenever they went to demand their palls at Rome. Upon which the pope made a decree, that the like should not be done in time to come. Every thing which I demanded for the advantage of my people from the pope, the emperor, king Rodolph, and the other princes, through whose territories I passed, was most cheerfully granted, and confirmed even under the sanction of an oath, in the presence and under the testimony of four archbishops, twenty bishops, and a great many of the temporal nobility. I resolved, therefore, to pay my thanks to God, having thus succeeded in every thing I purposed. Now be it therefore known to you all, that I purpose to devote myself, in every respect, to God; to reform my life; to govern with justice and piety the people committed to my care; to distribute impartial justice; and if any part of my past conduct hath been inconsistent with the rules of justice, through the folly or inadvertency of youth, to amend the same, through the assistance of God. I therefore adjure and command all my counsellors, to whom I have entrusted the management of public affairs, upon no manner of account, either from the dread of my power or their affections for any one in power, be who he will, that they consent to any injustice, nor suffer my people to be harrassed. I likewise command all my deputies, and the governors of my people, as they value my friendship, or their own welfare, that they do injustice to no man, either rich or poor; but that every one, whether noble or ignoble, whether wealthy or needy, have free access to impartial justice, from which they are neither to deviate through royal favor, through their partiality for the powerful, nor for the sake of amassing money for me, nor for any other motive whatsoever; because there can be no manner of necessity for exacting money for me by unjust means.

"Therefore I am willing you should know, that returning the same way I went, I am now upon my road to Denmark, with the view of reconciling all differences between that nation and those who, if it had been in their power, would have deprived me both of my life and kingdom. But this they could not effect, because God confounded their devices by his grace, which preserved our royalty and honor, and brought to nothing all the forces of our enemies. Therefore, having settled peace with all our neighbors, and after ordering and composing our government in the east so that we may have nothing to dread from war, or the enmity of our foes, I design to come to England as soon as I can have a convenient convoy of shipping this summer.

"Now we have sent this letter before that all our people may rejoice at our welfare; for you yourselves are sensible that I never spared either my person or my pains, and that I never will spare them to promote the necessary felicity of my subjects.

"He then concludes with strict injunctions, that, before his return, all the dues to the church shall be paid, of whatsoever kind, threatening, that if any are unpaid, he will, when he returns to England, severely, and without favor to any one, punish the offenders."

It is but justice to observe, that Canute's future conduct was perfectly agreeable to what he professed in this epistle, so that he gained upon the admiration and



and esteem of the respective people of the different nations he ruled.

A. D. 1033. Canute entered into a dispute with Scotland, though it at length terminated without bloodshed; of the occasion and conclusion of this rupture we have the following account:

Duncan, grandson to Malcolm II. king of Scotland, and heir-apparent to that kingdom, held the county of Cumberland in fief of the English crown. Canute had repeatedly summoned him to come and do him homage for those territories, which Duncan had as often refused, alledging that Canute had no right to make such a demand upon him, inasmuch as his homage was due only to the English born kings of England. This answer was highly resented by Canute, who, soon after his return from his pilgrimage to Rome, set out with a powerful army to chastise the Scottish prince, and reduce Cumberland to his obedience.---Malcolm, siding with his grandson, brought his forces into the field, and prepared to give the English battle; and a bloody engagement was on the point of beginning, when the prelates and nobles of both armies interposed in order to prevent the effusion of blood; and an accommodation was brought about between the two kings, when it was agreed that Duncan, and the heirs of the future kings of Scotland, for the time being, should hold Cumberland, according to the original tenure, and do homage to Canute and his successors, kings of England, for that fief.

From this time Canute relinquished all thoughts of military glory, and resigned himself up to acts of devotion till his death, which happened at Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire, on the 12th of November, 1035. This monarch, who reigned over England nineteen years, was buried in the old monastery at Winchester. By his first wife Elfwina, daughter of Aelfhelm, earl of Northampton, he had two sons, viz. Swein and Harold; and Emma, his second wife, bore him a son named Hardicanute, and a daughter named Gunilda. Harold succeeded to the throne of England, Hardicanute to that of Denmark, Swein to that of Norway, and his daughter Gunilda was married to Henry III. emperor of Germany; of this lady the following singular circumstances are related by most historians, and therefore ought to remain still on record:

Being a lady of remarkable beauty, her husband grew jealous of her, and she being accused of adultery, a duel ensued, which was the usual method of trial in these ages. The accuser being a person of gigantic size, and extraordinary strength, no person was bold enough to undertake the vindication of Gunilda's innocence; till her page, who was but a stripling, in comparison of his antagonist, appeared in the list, and offered to engage her accuser. In the combat the youth having the good fortune to cut the sinews of his antagonist's legs with one blow, followed his advantage with so much vigour, that he felled him to the ground with another, and then cut his head off, which he presented to his lady. After Gunilda's honour had thus been vindicated by the valour of her English page, she thought it a proper time to show her resentment for the affront her husband had passed upon her by his credulity, and having renounced his bed, notwithstanding his entreaties to the contrary, turned nun at Bruges in Flanders. After her death, she was buried in the collegiate church of Donation, and her monument, in Speed's time, was then to be seen near the north door of that sacred edifice.

The character of Canute is so inconsistent with itself, that it is impossible to draw it in general terms; to do him justice, we must trace his actions, and characterize him differently at different periods. Some, dazzled by the rapidity of his success, and the variety

of his conquests, may think he merited the title of GREAT, by his victories, but

“ Glory by few is rightly understood,  
“ What's truly glorious must be greatly good.

We cannot help thinking, but if these very things are viewed with the eye of reason, and impartiality, Canute must then appear in the light of a murderer, robber, and usurper; an oppressor of innocence, and defrauder of orphans. But view him in the milder and less exceptionable parts of his reign, and there indeed he merits the title of Great. It is astonishing that a man, who waded through seas of blood, became familiarized to sights of horror, and trampled on every law, human and divine, to acquire a crown, should immediately, after obtaining his end, sink into the benevolent and placid being; and govern the kingdom he had so cruelly possessed himself of with justice, humanity, and moderation. It must be confessed he was a man of extraordinary abilities, brave, magnanimous, generous, and modest; of the latter virtue, we need no other proof than what is thus related by Huntingdon and Florilegus: One day as he was taking his recreation on the sea shore, at Southampton, accompanied by a train of courtiers, who were idolizing with the most fulsome flattery, placing him on a level with the greatest heroes of antiquity, and extolling his power as something more than human, he ordered a chair to be brought and placed on the beach while the tide was coming in, and sitting down, he, with a majestic air, thus addressed himself to the sea. “ Thou sea art a part of my dominions, and the land whereon I sit is also mine. I charge thee not to presume to approach any farther, nor dare to wet the feet of me who am thy sovereign.” But the sea, as Huntingdon expresses it, came rolling on as before, and, regardless of his admonition, not only wetted the skirts of his robes, but also dashed on his thighs. Upon which rising up suddenly, and turning about with a disdainful look to his followers, he bid them learn from the example before their eyes, that the title of Lord and Master belonged only to him whose voice the land and sea obey: and taking off his crown, which he would never after wear, he ordered it to be placed on the head of the great crucifix at Winchester.

Tyrrel has very justly observed, that it would have been happy for England if Canute had either never sat upon the English throne, or had continued on it much longer. And indeed it is singular, that power so badly attained should have been so well used, or that the rage of ambition should so easily meliorate into the milkiness of humanity. We may, however, conclude that Canute's ruling passion was ambition; though at different periods it was of a different nature. In the early part of his life, it was of the fierce, ungovernable, and false kind, which, according to the poet,

———“ Is but desire of greatness.  
“ And what is greatness but extent of power?  
“ The lust of power, a drop of the mind,  
“ Whole thrust encreases while we drink to quench it.”

But in his maturer years, experience taught him to find the substantial and true ambition.

“ For true ambition there alone resides  
“ Where justice vindicates, and wisdom guides,  
“ Where inward dignity joins outward state,  
“ Our purpose good, as our achievement great,  
“ Where public blessings, public praise attend,  
“ Where glory is our motive, not our end.  
“ Wou'dst thou be lam'd, have those high aims in view  
“ Brave men wou'd at, tho' scandal shou'd enure.”

S. F. C. C.



## S E C T. XVII.

## H A R O L D THE FIRST.

*Surnamed* H A R E F O O T.

**A**S Hardicanute had been appointed to the throne of Denmark, and Swein to that of Norway, previous to the death of Canute, it was natural to suppose that he reserved the kingdom of England for his son Harold; but as this was not specifically mentioned in his will, it occasioned the kingdom to be divided into three parties. The first, which consisted of the Danes and Londoners, were for the succession of Harold. The West-Saxons were for Hardicanute, and the rest of the people were for the restoration of the Cerdic race. With the latter party, queen \* Emma cordially coincided, together with several distinguished nobles. The most powerful person, however, was the celebrated Godwin, earl of Kent, a man to whom this character is given. "That he had all the vices of Catiline, without his immorality and impudence, all the ambition of Cæsar without those virtues which made it praise-worthy, and all the dissimulation of Tiberius, without his winning address." This nobleman had been so high in the deceased Canute's favour, that he left him sole executor to what personal fortune he bequeathed to his queen Emma, though, on many accounts he seemed to be a man but ill calculated for such a trust.

As the contests between the different factions ran high, a civil war was universally expected. Many people retired to the most sunny and inaccessible places, in order to secure both their persons and properties, when the threatened storm was prevented by the prudent advice of some persons high in the estimation of the public. A general assembly of the states being convened at Oxford, it was agreed to divide the kingdom between Harold and Hardicanute, it being stipulated, that the former should have the country, north of the Thames, and the latter to have all the remaining part; but this agreement was subject to an exception, in favour of queen Emma, who was made regent of Wessex, earl Godwin being appointed her subordinate lieutenant governor.

Alnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, however, refused to crown Harold, on account of Hardicanute's being the real son of Canute, and the other supposed to be spurious; for he asserted, "that Harold had been obtruded upon Canute, as his son, by the artifice of Elfwina, who had recourse to a false labour, (not being with child) in order to secure the affection of her husband, and had passed Harold, who was the son of a shoe maker, upon Canute for his own." On these accounts he laid the royal regalia upon the altar, and denounced the most bitter curses against any who should take them thence, in order to crown Harold. The latter, however, found means to soften him, and he at length consented, not only to remove the regalia, but to perform the ceremony himself.

Harold, however, soon forgot the compliance, but not the affront, for he ever after took a great deal of pains to persecute the whole body of the clergy, and as soon as he was upon the throne seized all his father's treasure, which, by the will of that monarch, belonged to queen Emma, and were deposited at Winchester.

Being now possessed of great riches, he found

means to bring over the powerful earl Godwin to his party, not only by the efficacious application of bribes, but by promising to marry his daughter, and declare her issue heirs to the crown. This formidable coalition prevailed, and Harold was acknowledged king of all England.

Things being thus settled, Emma, according to several manuscripts in the Cottonian library, which are now at the British Museum, found herself deprived, by this sudden revolution, of her regency, and her favorite son Hardicanute, of the crown of Wessex, soon perceived that all hopes of holding a share in the government were intirely at an end as to him, and therefore she turned her thoughts towards the bringing in one of her sons, by Ethelred, and place him on the throne, not doubting but she should be powerfully assisted in this design by the English, who wished to have a prince of the race of their ancient kings; but fearing earl Godwin's favour, she had recourse to dissimulation; with this view, she affected to renounce the interest of Hardicanute, and apply herself to acts of devotion; but in earl Godwin she had a person to deal with, who was not so easy to be deceived, and who, knowing her talents for finesse, was suspicious of this feigned indifference in a manner which he was sensible from his knowledge of her ambitious temper and her love she bore to her son Hardicanute, could not have failed of deeply affecting her: he therefore imparted his doubts to the king, insinuating, at the same time, that the crown was not safe on his head, so long as the children of Emma were living to dispute it with him.

This inference naturally laid the foundation of a plan to get the young princes into their power. To effect which, Godwin forged a letter in the name of queen Emma, inviting them to England, and chiding them with their indifference respecting their inheritance. This forgery had the desired effect, the princes were deceived by it, and Alfred, with a body of Normans, immediately embarked for England; Godwin met him at his landing, and the deluded young prince, thinking him entirely in his interest, embraced him with the utmost cordiality; at night, however, the young prince, and the greatest part of his followers, were put to death by the treacherous Godwin.

The next consideration was to evade the resentment of Edward and Emma, whom they did not doubt would take every possible method to be revenged for the death of young Alfred. They accordingly contrived to have the queen accused of treasonable practices, for which she was A. D. 1037, ordered to be banished the kingdom; when she retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who received her with great cordiality, and assigned Bruges for the place of her residence.

After two years this queen was visited by her son Hardicanute, out of Denmark, and they comforted themselves with the hopes of better fortune, that either the hearts of the English would relent, or the usurper by some other means finish his days or his reign. Harold on the other side, encouraged by possession, omitted nothing that might serve to exclude them, or any other pretenders; and accordingly provided himself with a fleet, the only bulwark of the island, for the furnishing of which every port in the nation was obliged to pay eight marks of silver to every fifteen ships.

A. D. 1038. A rebellion broke out in Wales, which was fomented by Gruffith Ilewellyn, who commanded the insurgents, and came to a battle with the

\* A late author, in speaking of queen Emma upon this occasion, says, with little joined the queen dowager Emma, who, after being far and the effects of ambition, in being twice queen of England, listened now to those of nature and justice.

and seemed to long to restore to her children, by Ethelred, those rights which her vanity had urged her to sign away from them by her marriage contract with Canute.



English and Danes; at Cross-ford upon the Severn, in which engagement he proved victorious; but another army being sent against him, he was defeated. This insurrection occasioned the celebrated law, which enacted, that every Welchman who should presume to pass Offa's Dyke without an especial permission, should have his right hand cut off.

The tyranny of Harold's nature, and his frequent acts of cruelty had rendered him obnoxious to the nation in general, when death relieved the kingdom from his sway by his \* demise, which happened, May the 18th, A. D. 1040, when he was buried at Westminster, leaving behind him neither wife nor child.

Hardicanute, who was with his mother at the time of Harold's death, immediately embarked for England, in order to avail himself of the favourable crisis, and take the advantage of the faction which interested itself in his behalf, before the popular tide should turn against him and force him from the stream of his hopes; he accordingly landed at Sandwich, on the 13th of June, A. D. 1040, and immediately received a spontaneous invitation from most of the English nobility and clergy, who seem to have sacrificed their real inclinations for the sake of avoiding a civil war, and preventing the consequent effusion of blood. Even earl Godwin, who had hitherto been his inveterate enemy, appeared among the number of his friends, and thus all parties seemed unanimously to smile upon his accession to the English throne.

## SECT. XVIII.

### Canute the 2d, or Hardicanute.

**H**ARDICANUTE's character had been represented in so amiable a light, that the English expected the greatest happiness under a reign, which promised to be so propitious; but they soon found that they had changed bad for worse, as Hardicanute had more vices than his brother, without any of the virtues of his father.

The first action of his reign was an unhappy piece of revenge against the dead: for he ordered the dead body of his brother Harold to be dug up, the head cut off, and the carcass thrown into the Thames. The mandate for this purpose was issued to Alfric, archbishop of York, earl Godwin, and Troubl the common executioner, who executed their commission with a most rigorous punctuality. The body being afterwards found by some fisher men, floating upon the water, was delivered to the Danes, who buried it in the church of St. Clement Danes, in the Strand, London. But Hardicanute being informed of this, ordered it to be a second time dug up, and again cast into the river, but being afterwards found once more, it was carried privately to Westminster, and there interred.

The next act of Hardicanute was still more unpopular, as it was a heavy tax laid upon the English to pay the fleet which brought him hither, and this was imposed at the time of a dearth. But the complaints of the people concerning this unreasonable tax, made no impression on Hardicanute, for the very next year, viz. A. D. 1041, he raised, by two other

imposts, the sum of 40,077l. These impositions occasioned a riot at Worcester, when two of the king's collectors, named Peader and Torstan, were killed, which Hardicanute revenged by sending a party of soldiers to lay waste the country in the vicinity of that city. The troops began their devastations on the 12th of November, and continued them to the sixteenth. On this occasion it is said, the inhabitants, foreseeing the fate which must attend their waiting for the arrival of these messengers of blood and desolation, seized upon and fortified a little island in the Severn, called Beveridge, resolving there to sell their lives as dear as possible, or to purchase their freedom; accordingly, when the king's troops, after having punctually obeyed their inglorious orders, prepared to attack this handful of resolute men, they met with so warm a reception, that after several unsuccessful attempts to drive them out of their fastnesses, the generals were glad to retire and leave them in the possession of their asylum, which they rebuilt, and, in a short time, restored with double lustre.

It was about this time that Hardicanute sent an invitation to his brother Edward, then in Normandy, to come over to England; and on his arrival he treated him with great affection and cordiality; and at the same period he sent his sister Gunilda to Germany, to consummate her nuptials with the emperor Henry III. to whom she had been already ‡ betrothed.

By the influence of prince Edward, and his mother queen Emma, the Norman interest began greatly to prevail in England; when Livignus, bishop of Worcester, and the celebrated earl Godwin, were accused by Alfric, archbishop of York, and others, of the murder of prince Alfred. Upon this accusation, the bishop was deprived of his see, but well knowing the power of money, and the avaricious temper of Hardicanute, he softened him by a bribe, and was again restored to his dignity; and earl Godwin, dreading to fall the victim of popular resentment, followed the example of the bishop, and found means to purchase his peace with an extraordinary present, which was a galley with a gilded stern, wonderfully rigged, furnished out with all conveniencies both for war and pleasure, and manned with eighty choice soldiers, every one having upon each arm a golden bracelet weighing sixteen ounces, an helmet and corselet finely gilt, a Danish scymitar adorned with silver and gold hung on his left shoulder, in his left hand a shield with gilt boss and nails, and in his right a lance, which, in the language of the English, was called a Tegar. This uncommon present was not sufficient till he also took a solemn oath, that prince Alfred lost not his life by his advice or desire, but in that he merely obeyed king Harold, then his sovereign lord; which oath was also taken by most of the nobility of the land.

Whatever Hardicanute's filial or fraternal love might have been, he seems to have had very little affection for the English; for he not only affected the Danish customs and manners, and was even fond of their vices, but he shewed a most astonishing partiality for them, when any dispute arose between persons of the different nations. At length he fell a martyr to their great failing, drunkenness and gormandizing.

\* Concerning the absent prince of the English race, an accurate writer says, "The English, in vain, cast their eyes on Edward, the surviving son of Ethelred, who was then in Normandy; for that court, on account of its own distractions, was unable to give him any assistance; and earl Godwin had too powerful a party in England, that any attempts made by the natives alone must have proved abortive, or have ended only in their own destruction. So that this unfortunate prince seemed to be in a manner out of question, with regard to the succession, more especially, as the right of primogeniture was, by most men of candour and dispassionate consideration, looked upon as belong-

ing to Edward, the son of Ethelred, then in exile in the Norman court, but at a distance from the kingdom, and the present situation in which the other Edward was held by the popular clamour, seemed to remove him farther from the hope of ruling the island of England, than even the son of Ethelred."

† It is said that this marriage was performed with so much magnificence, and with such memorable profusion, that it got even into the songs of the bards of those days, and was transmitted to laws, which were still extant at the time when Matthew of Westminster wrote, who records the circumstance.



tony, for being present at Lambeth, at the solemnization of the nuptials of Tuvey Prudean, a Danish nobleman, with Githa, the daughter of Olgood Clappa, he revelled to such an excess, that the debauch terminated his life on the eighth of June, A. D. 1042, in the third year of his reign; he was buried at New Winchester. The English, in derision to his memory, used to commemorate the day of his death as a holiday, and to distinguish it by the name of Hog-Wednesday, on account of the immoderate luxury of this prince, by the means of which he frequently degraded himself even beneath the brute.

Such was the end of this dissolute young prince, by that vice which was too familiar to the Danish nation, which to the cruelty they shewed before they got possession of the land, they afterwards added gormandizing and drunkenness. But as he exceeded all in this kind, so though he was born in England, and consequently might have naturally followed the customs of that country, yet out of sympathy with the humor of the Danes, he bore most affection to them; nay, and suffered them most insolently to domineer over the English. So that we are told, if a Dane met an Englishman upon a bridge, the latter durst not move till the former passed over; and if the Englishman did not bow in the most humble manner, his head should be broken, or for his clownishness, as it was termed, he should be bastinadoed.

Hardicanute had few virtues, and those scarce arose above mediocrity; but he had many vices, and these in general he carried to excess, so that he lived despised, and died unlamented.

## S E C T. XIX.

### Edward, *surnamed the Confessor*.

**E**DWARD, the son of Ethelred II. by Emma, was now the only person in the kingdom who had any kind of pretension to the crown of England; and indeed the principal one whom the English wished to be their sovereign, for they were now heartily sick of a foreign yoke, and of being ruled by the Danes in particular, who had plundered instead of governing, and oppressed, instead of protecting them. So that it seems at this time the English had unaccountably imbibed such a spirit of freedom, that they not only excepted against a Danish sovereign, but expelled the Danes, or at least the greatest part of them, from the kingdom. But concerning the particulars of this revolution, and how it was brought about, the historians of those times have left us in the dark; the most pertinent reflections, however, upon the subject, are those of Rapin, which we shall here insert, as they are at once curious, and intelligent:

"This is one of the most difficult passages in the English history. On which ever side we view it, it still appears altogether unaccountable. The Danes alone, in a manner, were in possession of all the eastern and northern counties; and in Mercia, that is, in the heart of the kingdom, they were as numerous as the English. Three kings of their nation had reigned successively, who, far from humbling them, had no doubt shewn them great favor, and given them the preference. And yet, without any thing extraordinary happening, except the death of Hardicanute, a prince of little merit and reputation, they will have it that the English were suddenly become superior. But this is not all, 'tis affirmed, that this superiority was so great as to enable them to expel the Danes out of the kingdom. How is it possible to believe, that the Danes should suffer themselves to be thus treated, without making the least resistance? for

it does not appear that there was any war or commotion in the kingdom upon this occasion. Pontanus, the Danish historian, makes the matter still worse; he tells us, that all the Danes in England were massacred in one night, by the treachery of Harold, the son of Godwin, who ordered all the Danish soldiers to march out of their garrisons, under pretence of solemnizing the funeral of the late king. But this account is altogether improbable; for, in the first place, Harold, who was then very young, had no hand in the government, and consequently could give no such orders to the Danish officers. In the next place, how came it to pass, that all the English historians, Brompton only excepted, who says but very little of the matter, should agree to pass over in silence so remarkable an event? How was it possible for them to write their histories without ever making the least allusion to it? If it is objected, they did this, as ashamed of their nation for so barbarous an action, what is the reason they acted not in the same manner with regard to the massacre in the reign of Ethelred? These are difficulties that are not easily to be got over. It seems at first, as if there was a plausible way of accounting for them, which is, to charge the historians, as well English as Danish, of not having told the whole truth, or of having aggravated what they relate. But by taking this course we run into greater difficulties. It is most certain, that ever since the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Danes have been so far from making any figure in England, that they are not mentioned in history any more than if they had never been known there, though just before, they were masters of the whole kingdom. But whence should proceed so sudden a fall, or rather, how should they all vanish in a moment, if neither expelled nor massacred? History acquaints us not that war was made against them, that their strong holds were taken from them, that they were brought under new laws: but all on a sudden, these powerful and formidable Danes were reduced to nothing, in the reign of a prince the most unwelcome that had ever sat on the throne. These are historical difficulties, the solution whereof must be left to others."

Edward's affairs seemed benefited, not only by this revolution, but by the countenance and support of earl Godwin, the most powerful subject this kingdom had ever known, who seemed now to make his country some atonement for his late attachment to the Danes, by interposing himself in the restoration of the blood of Cerdic. Edward himself, however, was but little solicitous about his advancement, as he had formed a design to retire with his mother into Normandy, from which earl Godwin dissuaded him by very spirited remonstrances, telling him, "that he had better live gloriously a king in England, than ignominiously to dye an exile; that the crown did of right belong to him, as the son of Ethelred, and grandson of Edgar, one who was ripe in years, mured to toils, and taught by experience how to administer public affairs, and by his own afflictions how to prevent those of his people. To effect this there would be no obstacle, if he would confide in him, whose interest was so great in the land. Therefore on condition he would establish a firm friendship with him, prefer his sons, and marry his daughter, he should shortly see himself a king, though now as one shipwrecked in his fortunes, and a man banished from all expectations, he implored the aid of another person."

Edward at length, being roused from his usual apathy, readily embraced the propositions of earl Godwin, took his advice, and gave himself wholly up to his direction.

Godwin \* then convoked an assembly of the states

\* It is necessary here to give a particular account of the great power and astonishing influence of earl Godwin. This noble

man then, though by his father's side he had no title to the blood of a gentleman nor a king in his veins, had put himself for a



at Gillingham, and having, by an artful address, calculated to prejudice the hearers against a foreign yoke, and interest them in what respected the blood of Cerdic, worked up all present to his purpose; he suddenly presented Edward (who had been previously introduced incog.) to the assembly, and, at the same time, cried aloud, "Behold your king! this is prince Edward the son of king Ethelred and queen Emma, and to him I pay my allegiance;" when Edward was unanimously elected to the throne, though the ceremony of his coronation, on account of a great dearth which then prevailed, was postponed till the ensuing year, A. D. 1043, when it was solemnized with great pomp at Winchester.

The first public act of this king's reign, was inhumanly to rob his mother Emma of her lands and treasures, and the next was uncharitably to accuse her of a criminal correspondence with Alwin, bishop of Winchester. Her ostensible impeacher was Robert the Norman, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; but he, not having any evidence to make good his allegations, insisted upon her undergoing the fire ordeal, in order to purge herself from the imputation; when she walked blindfold over nine red-hot plough shares, without receiving any injury, to the astonishment of all present, and the confusion of her accusers.

As the nature of the trial by ordeal is not commonly known, we have no doubt but the following ample account of it will prove entertaining to the generality of our readers.

The trial by ordeal was two-fold, the one by fire, and the other by water. The trial by fire was performed two ways; the person accused held in his hand a red-hot piece of iron, of one, two, or three pounds weight, according to his crime, or according to the evidence against him; or else he was made to walk barefoot and blindfold, over nine red-hot plough-shares placed at stated distances: if he had the good luck to come off unhurt, he was declared innocent; but in case he was burnt, he was pronounced guilty. Persons of quality, only, were tried by fire-ordeal. Trial by water-ordeal was made either by cold or by scalding-water. Peasants and slaves were put upon this trial. In the trial by cold water, the party suspected had his hands and feet tied together, and so thrown into a pond or river: if he floated, he was held innocent; but if he sunk he was declared guilty. When scalding water was the test, the person accused was to plunge his arm into it as far as the wrist, and sometimes up to the elbow. These trials were made with great solemnity, and were always managed by the clergy. The person accused was obliged to swear his innocence, and sometimes, especially if in orders, to receive the sacrament. After the charge was legally brought in, the person impeached was to spend three days in fasting and prayer. At the day of trial, which in the fire ordeal was made in the church, the priest in his habit took up the iron which lay before the altar, and repeating the hymn of the Three

Children, put it into the fire; then using some form of benediction over the fire and iron, he sprinkled the iron with holy water, and made the sign of the cross in the name of the trinity; which done, the party accused passed through the test. The ceremony of the scalding water ordeal was much the same. But when the trial was by cold water, the three days fast and other circumstances being premised, the person suspected drank a draught of holy water, to which the priest added an imprecation in case he was guilty: then the water into which he was to be thrown, had a sort of exorcising form of prayer said over it. All these ways of trial continued long after the conquest. The first public discountenance from the state was in the third year of Henry III. The custom among the country people of trying witches, by throwing them into the water with their thumbs and toes tied together, is, perhaps, a relic of the old water ordeal. But the whole of this pretended purgation appears to be an impious delusion of the senses of mankind, to swell the bags of mercenary priests; for to them the party was committed to be held in custody, and on them alone depended life or death. In this case no price, at the expence either of property or of virtue, was thought too dear by most of the accused for deliverance. But if the unhappy culprits had nothing to offer, they were sure to suffer. On the contrary, if they could bid up to the priest's demand, either of lust or avarice, they were saved by a preparation of oil, then a secret with the clergy, but now common with every fire swallowing mountebank that travels the country.†

The same year, viz. A. D. 1043, Swein, king of Denmark, the son of Canute the Great, began to make preparations for the invasion of England, in order to assert his claim to the crown, as his father's successor. On this important occasion, earl Godwin acted with great spirit and diligence; he put the English fleet upon a respectable footing, ordered thirty five sail of large ships to rendezvous at Sandwich, and even persuaded Edward (who was one of the most unwarlike king's that ever sat upon a throne) to repair on board, and take himself the command. It was Godwin's intent to prevent the Danes from landing, by attacking their fleet at sea; but providence ordered matters otherwise, for Swein, instead of invading England, was obliged to stay at home, in order to defend his own territories from the invasion of Magnus, king of Norway, who had entered his dominions with a formidable fleet.

England thus happily enjoying peace upon easier terms than was expected, Edward determined to fulfil his promise made to earl Godwin, and, accordingly, married that nobleman's beautiful daughter Editha, A. D. 1044. Ingulphus the abbot, and famous historian, who lived in those times, and was personally acquainted with this lady, says, that she was a miracle of perfection, both in mind and body, and with all the graces which could adorn the person, possessed every virtue that dignifies the soul. She had, in an eminent

degree of power. The last time that he appeared with any degree of éclat, was in the reign of Canute the Great, when that monarch intrusted him with the command of the English troops in his war against the Danes. As a reward for the signal services he did in that expedition, Canute made him earl of Kent, Suffex, and Surrey, and gave him in marriage Thyra, sister to earl Ulpho, his own brother-in-law. Godwin had, by this lady, a son, who died young, being killed by a fall from his horse. He afterwards married Editha, sister to Swein, who was king of Denmark after Hudenoute: by her he had ten sons, Harold, Tostig, Swein, Canute, Gytha, Edgar, Edward, and a daughter named Editha. His great credit with Canute, the superiority of his genius, his noble alliances, his titles of earl of Kent, and duke of Wessex, and his post of high treasurer conferred on him by king Harold, and lastly, the high place of trust and honour, enjoyed by him for the eldest of whom he was, earl of the

counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, Berks, and Essex, and Harold, another, earl of Essex and East Angles, had raised him to that height, that it was difficult for a subject to acquire a more exalted power; and, indeed, the title of king excepted, he possessed every other requisite of royal authority; for the best half of the kingdom was actually in his hand, and that of his family: so that, as we have before observed, he was more than a match for any party that could be raised in opposition to him.

Many modes of trial equally ridiculous are at this day, used in various countries, particularly in Africa, where crimes are tried by means of a liquor called Bender, which the criminal is obliged to drink. If he is so far incubated by it as to fall down as it is drunk, the priest pronounces him guilty, and he is degraded to execution; but if, after drinking, he is capable of standing upright, he is declared innocent.



degree, all the good qualities of her father, and her brothers, without any of their vices or follies; and in particular, without the least tincture of that turbulency of temper, for which they were so conspicuous, and which so frequently gave cause of uneasiness to the weak and timid Edward. Yet this lady's accomplishments, and profusion of charms, could not induce the frigid monarch to perform the rites of marriage with her; for, either prevented by some natural incapacity, or deterred by a vow, he never consummated his nuptials, and the monks, principally, for this ridiculous celibacy canonized him, though his conduct was certainly disgraceful to him as king, a husband, and a man. As a king, he should have been solicitous for an heir to the crown, which would have prevented the great effusion of blood, and innumerable miseries that afterwards befel his country on account of that deficiency. As a husband, he ought to have followed the dictates of nature, and to have fulfilled the laws of God in the end of marriage, by endeavoring to multiply his species. If therefore his vow of celibacy was made previous to his nuptials, his marriage was unlawful, but if it was made subsequent, such a vow was at once sinful and absurd. As a man, it was incumbent on him to treat a lady of Editha's virtues, and amiable qualities, and to whom he was bound by the most solemn tie, with affection at least, instead of which, he not only neglected, but frequently behaved to her with great inhumanity.

A. D. 1045. Earl Godwin's eldest son, whose name was Swein, made an attempt upon the chastity of the abbess of Leominster, in Herefordshire. This offence greatly exasperated Edward, who prosecuted the young nobleman with unremitting severity, though he offered to make atonement by marrying the lady. But Edward was inflexible, and Swein was sentenced to be banished to Bruges, in Flanders. During the whole of this prosecution, earl Godwin acted with great policy, and did not in the least interest himself in his son's behalf, which was highly pleasing both to the king, and the clergy, as they deemed it a respectful submission to ecclesiastical authority.

Swein being thus banished, he determined on a severe revenge; with this view he retired to Denmark, and procuring eight large ships, well manned, in A. D. 1056, he made several piratical depredations on the English coast, which so much terrified Edward, that he was willing to come to an accommodation with him, and Swein not being fond of the restless and dangerous life he then lived, seemed ready to acquiesce in any reasonable conditions; this negotiation was, however, prevented from taking place by Harold, Swein's brother, who, dreading his aspiring and ambitious disposition, persuaded Edward to break off the conference, which unhappy jealousy in Harold occasioned his brother Swein to retire once more from England in disgust, again to meditate future scenes of mischief.

The king of Denmark, about this time, being unsuccessful in his wars against Magnus king of Norway, solicited Edward to send him succour, and thus requested assistance from the very nation he was but a short time before about to invade. A great council was called upon this extraordinary message, and the matter being warmly debated, earl Godwin was for assisting the Dane with a fleet of fifty sail of ships; but this motion being opposed by Leofric,\* earl of Mercia and Seward, earl of Northumberland, they, for this cause, had influence enough to overrule the proposal made by the powerful earl of Kent.

Swein, king of Denmark, being at length relieved

from his distress, by the death of his powerful enemy, Magnus king of Norway, determined to evince his resentment to Edward for disregarding his embassy, and refusing him assistance. Setting sail from Denmark with what ships he was able to collect together, he began his depredations by ravaging the coast of Wales; then proceeding round to Essex, he made an irruption into the heart of that country, till he was encountered by the English forces under the command of the earls Godwin, Siward, and Leofric, when the Danes were routed and driven to their ships.

The ensuing year, however, A. D. 1047, Swein, king of Denmark, sent another fleet to ravage the coast of England, which being joined by the eight ships under the command of the rebellious Swein, earl Godwin's son, the most bloody consequences were to be apprehended. Godwin, to prevent the effusion of blood, and the mischiefs which might ensue upon this occasion, requested the king to grant his son a free pardon. Edward at length consented to this, not out of respect either to Godwin or his son, for he equally hated them both, but through fear of the great interest of the first, and rashness of the latter, which united might endanger his crown. Count Beorn, son of Ulpho, by Editha, sister to Canute the Great, was deputed to inform Swein of the king's intention to pardon, and restore him to his former honors. Swein, however, unhappily suspecting the count's sincerity, and conceiving that he intended to betray him into the hands of his enemies, determined to destroy him. With this view he inveigled him on board his ship, sailed away with him to Axminster, in Devonshire, and having there murdered him, cast his body into the sea. This atrocious addition to his former delinquency, retarded Swein's pardon for a considerable time. But Edward equally fearing the father and son, and dreading a more powerful invasion than ever from Denmark, at length concluded to conciliate, as much as possible, the affections of the two former, in order to weaken the force of the latter by depriving Swein, king of Denmark, of the assistance of the rebellious Swein's squadron: a reconciliation accordingly took place, and the Godwin family were for a time reconciled to the king.

Edward's conduct was in nothing more exceptionable to the people, than in his extreme partiality to the Normans. His long residence among them had attached him to their language, and manners, and he introduced both into his own court. Those who wished to bask in the sun shine of royal favor, were obliged to speak the Norman French, and imitate the dress and addrefs of a people whom Edward so much admired. It has been observed, that if Edward's kindness to the Normans had been merely a return for their humanity to him while he was an exile in their country, it might have been deemed a laudable instance of gratitude; but he carried his partiality to a most pernicious excess, to the exclusion of his own natural subjects from all places of trust or profit, into which he had power to thrust his favorite Normans. Most of the castles, and strong places in the kingdom were entrusted to the care of Norman governors, instead of Englishmen, a Norman monk was made archbishop of Canterbury, and the Norman dialect was even introduced into the courts of judicature, for by the king's command, all law proceedings were carried on in that language. This strong attachment to foreigners gave great umbrage to the English people in general, and to the English nobles in particular; among the latter, earl Godwin was peculiarly hurt at the absurd partiality to visible in Edward. The nobleman,

\* These noblemen were sensible, that if so powerful a fleet was sent to Denmark, earl Godwin would have the command of it,

and therefore were unwilling that his great influence, which they already envied, should receive such a formidable augmentation.



bleman, with all his faults, which arose principally from ambition, was a real patriot, and had the good of his country truly at heart. He therefore sedulously laboured to detach the king, in some measure, from his over fondness for the Normans, and to induce him to shew a greater regard for his English subjects. But the archbishop of Canterbury had too great an interest with the king, to suffer earl Godwin's salutary advice to take any effect; and by his insinuations and artifices, he prevailed on Edward still to continue showering his favors on the Normans only; when an accident happened, which was near making Edward repent of his partiality to foreigners, and plunging him in a civil war with his own people. Of this occurrence we have the following relation:

Eustace, earl of Boulogne, father to the famous Godfrey, and husband to the king's sister, having been to visit Edward, and returning through Canterbury to take ship at Dover, one of his harbingers was so rude with a townsman in seeking for lodgings, that in the heat of anger he provoked him to kill him. The earl with his whole retinue going into the house where this servant had been killed, slew both the murderer and eighteen more who defended him; but the townsmen running to arms, revenged themselves by the slaughter of twenty-one more of the earl's servants, and wounding almost all the rest. Eustace with much difficulty escaping, with great clamour hastened to the king, and being seconded by other Norman courtiers, he raised him to that fury, that he immediately ordered earl Godwin to march to Canterbury, and punish the citizens with military execution. Godwin on the contrary alledged, "That no man was to be condemned unheard," inwardly grieving that the king should favor strangers more than his own subjects. Being joined with some others who loved their country, Godwin urged, "That the chief actors in the late disorder should first be fairly tried; in case they were found innocent, to be dismissed, but if culpable, to be fined, or undergo some corporal punishment for the breach of the king's peace, and the violence and affront that they had offered to the earl." He further put him in mind, "That it was his business to protect his people, and not to condemn them without due process." In conclusion, he refused to obey his commands, not regarding the king's anger, which he conceived would last but a short time; but Edward displeased at his behaviour, and being by others excited to revenge, called an assembly of all the nobility at Gloucester, when Godwin and his sons did not think proper to attend, but raised and armed a number of troops, in order to prepare for the worst; and it happened that an occurrence about the same time gave them a plausible excuse for appearing in an hostile manner, for the Welsh having erected a fort upon part of the estate of Swein, Godwin's eldest son, it furnished a good pretext for the earl and his family to draw together a body of forces to defend themselves, in case the king should proceed to extremities against the former, for his disobedience of his command.

Edward was greatly exasperated at the contempt shewn him by the non attendance of earl Godwin, and his anger was still more increased by the arrival of deputies from the Welsh, complaining against earl Godwin and his sons, for having entered their territories in an hostile manner. Hereupon Edward sent to summon Godwin and his sons to appear at the council, having previously engaged Leoline and Siward, earl of Mercia and Northumberland, in his interest, by whose presence and authority he hoped to be a match for the opposite party. Godwin, on receiving this summons, was not a little puzzled how to act: he could not consistently with his own character refuse to attend, nor could he with safety comply. At length, however, he determined not to obey the sum-

mons, though he was well assured that this appearance of contempt would subject him to all the weight of the royal indignation; but then, on the other hand, he considered that the easiness of the king's nature made him the dupe of his enemies, and, though he bore the respect due to a king, he could not approve of the measures of the administration.

Agreeable to this determination, Godwin sent a message to the assembly of the states, importing that the machinations of his enemies, and those of the kingdom, made it not safe for him to trust himself in their power: he declared the Welsh to have been the first aggressors, by infringing the laws subsisting between the two nations, and invading the territories of the English: he painted in the most lively colours the injuries the native subjects of this land had suffered from the encroachments of the Normans, who had engrossed the royal favor wholly to themselves: and that he thought it his duty to raise forces, in order to chastise the insolence of the Welsh, and rescue his prince out of the hands of foreigners: and concluded by demanding, that the persons of count Eustace and his retinue, who had murdered so many of the king's liege subjects, should be delivered into his custody, as earl and governor of Kent, where they had committed those outrages, and there to be tried by the laws of England.

The king was fired with indignation on hearing this message, and all the members of the assembly were astonished at the boldness of earl Godwin's procedure. Some silently approved of his spirited conduct, but the generality who were present, being court sycophants, highly condemned such audacious and treasonable behaviour, as they thought proper to term it.

This assembly being dissolved, a general council was called, to be held at London, merely for the purpose of taking into consideration the conduct of earl Godwin and his sons. In this council, Swein, earl Godwin's eldest son, was declared an out-law, and an order was sent for Godwin himself, with his next son Harold, to appear, in order to justify their conduct, with only twelve persons to accompany them.

Godwin and his sons, when they first heard that this council was to be summoned, thought it most advisable to march towards London in order to be nearer at hand upon any emergency; they accordingly approached the capital, and took up their quarters in Southwark, where they received the above order to attend the council, to which they returned answer, that they would willingly attend according to the summons, and with the stipulated number of attendants only, provided they might have hostages for their security. This request, which, considering the disposition and power of their enemies, was nothing but just, was rejected with indignation, and the king issued orders for the apprehending the persons of Godwin and his sons. These orders, however, had no effect, the adherents of the two noblemen continuing firm to their interest. A second citation was thereupon issued; but the earl remaining obstinate, the assembly proceeded against him for contumacy, and passed an order for his departing the kingdom in five days, together with all his sons, on pain of being treated as traitors to their country.

Though the citations, and orders for apprehension made no impression on the adherents of the Godwin family, yet the sentence of banishment produced a different effect: the followers of earl Godwin and his sons, were panic struck; they dreaded to fall victims to the same vengeance, the men daily deserted, the officers grew cool, and this powerful nobles, with his spirited progeny, found themselves under the necessity of complying with their sentence.

Earl Godwin therefore shipped his treasure on board a small squadron at Bolnham, in Suffol, and together with his sons, viz. Swein, Gyth, and Ed-



set sail for Flanders, where he met with a cordial reception from earl Baldwin; and, about the same time his sons Harold and Leofwin took refuge in Ireland, where they were hospitably entertained.

Edward having thus got rid of so many persons who were obnoxious to him, more from their love to their country than on account of any great delinquency, could not yet be satisfied, but determined to wreak his vengeance on every branch of earl Godwin's family. With this view, he shewed a most unmanly resentment to his innocent queen, who had never, in one instance, offended him, by confining her in the nunnery of Whorwell, where he had already imprisoned his own mother Emma. The reason he gave for thus treating his amiable consort, is at once truly singular and absurd; for, says William of Malmesbury, he declared, "He was resolved, that the alone should not enjoy peace and plenty, while her father and brothers were abandoned to difficulties and distresses." A declaration which plainly evinces, that he was no more susceptible of the impressions of humanity, than capable of the delicacies of love. After having thus revenged himself upon all Godwin's family, Edward, with his usual partiality, bestowed that nobleman's estates upon Odda, a Norman nobleman; but not entirely to affront the English, he thought proper to give Harold's estates to Elfgar, son to Leofric, the great earl of Mercia.---The consort of this Elfgar was the celebrated lady Godina, of whom the following remarkable story stands on record; That the inhabitants of Coventry, having greatly offended her husband, he loaded them with grievous taxes; when Godina, pitying the people, and begging her husband to ease them in some measure of their great burthens, he swore he would not, unless she would ride naked through the city, a thing that he had not the least idea she would consent to. The lady, however, though one of the most virtuous, and modest women of the time, determined to undertake this task, rather than suffer the people to continue oppressed: giving notice to the magistrates of her intention thus to serve them, they issued out strict orders, that none of the inhabitants should look at her during the procession. This being done she mounted her horse, and rode through the town with no other covering than her own long hair. One person, however, having the curiosity to peep at her as she passed, was struck dead with lightning, in commemoration of which event the citizens of Coventry still exhibit the statue of a man in the attitude of peeping, on the very spot where the said catastrophe is said to have happened, and this statue is generally known by the name of Peeping Tom of Coventry.

The impotency of Edward's government prompted the Irish and Welch to form the design of invading England. Having made a junction, they entered the Severn with thirty six ships, and committed great depredations on the adjacent coast; but after having defeated some men hastily collected together by the bishop of Worcester to oppose them, they thought proper to retire, on hearing a superior force was marching to oppose them.

Edward, conscious of his being obnoxious to the people in general, was solicitous to obtain some little degree of popularity, to effect which, A. D. 1051, he abolished the tax of Danegelt; "Nor (says a late author) did his conduct, to the people end here, for he ordered an account to be taken of all the surplus money remaining in his treasury from this tax, and caused it to be restored to the several proprietors, from whom it had been collected."

William, duke of Normandy, about this time paid a visit to his cousin, the king of England, when he was cordially received and magnificently entertained. This, however, was a fatal visit to England, for William afterwards founded his invasion upon it, by

pretending that Edward, during his stay, had made him heir to the English crown; a pretence improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the circumstances of the times, unless we suppose Edward to have been insane at the time he made William such a promise.

A. D. 1052. Emma the king's mother died, whose chief faults were ambition, a too great disregard to the memory of her first husband, and her offspring by him. The shining talents of Canute, however, in some measure, excuse her for having borne a greater affection to him than a man of Ethelred's weak understanding, narrow spirit, and pusillanimous disposition.

In the interim we find that earl Godwin and his sons were doing their utmost endeavours, and straining every nerve to put themselves in a state of shewing their resentment to the king of England. To effect this, they tried all their friends, they procured supplies of ships, men, and money, and having at length gotten together a strong fleet, they resolved to revenge on Edward the ungrateful treatment they had received from him, and, if possible, compel him to restore them to their honours and possessions. Their designs, however, could not be kept so secret, but that Edward got notice of them; and, sensible that it behoved him to be well upon his guard against the attempts of such an enterprising and incensed foe as Godwin, he gave orders to his two admirals, the earls Rodolph and Odda, to repair on board his fleet, and cruise off the coast of Kent, to prevent any attempt of a descent. This was a very necessary precaution; and had it been properly managed, would, in all probability, have defeated, for that time, the designs of the exiled earl. Scarce was the fleet met together at Sandwich, the place appointed for its rendezvous, when intelligence was brought, that Godwin, who had sailed from Bruges, was lying off Romney, in Kent, upon which the admirals immediately weighed anchor to go in pursuit of him, while a numerous body of forces was at the same time stationed along the coast to oppose any attempt to make a descent. Godwin, not thinking himself able to cope with the king's fleet, which was greatly superior to his own, thought proper to retire to Pevensey in Suffex, whither two admirals designed to pursue him, but were prevented by a storm, which obliged them to return back to harbour. Godwin taking the advantage of this accident, escaped to Flanders, and immediately sent to his son Harold, who was in Ireland, to join him with a reinforcement from thence with all possible expedition.

Edward's administration was so weak and unpolitic, that Godwin no sooner disappeared than the English fleet was ordered to be laid up. Godwin being informed of this absurd step, determined to take advantage of Edward's folly and carelessness, by returning directly to the coast of England. Arriving at the Isle of Wight, he extorted several considerable sums of money from the inhabitants, then sailing to Portland, he laid the people there under contribution; after this, he returned again to the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by his son Harold, with nine ships from Ireland. With this fleet he entered the Thames, and proceeded towards London. Edward, upon this emergency, dispatched orders to his admirals to oppose earl Godwin's armament; but this they found impossible, for the sailors in general disliking the king, his ministers, and their own commanders, who were principally Normans, deserted to the earl in great numbers. Thus was Edward's fleet without men, and the ships which were designed to impede the progress of the invader, could not be worked for want of hands. However, the earl did not make such dispatch but that Edward had time to assemble his principal nobles, who all bringing in their quotas of troops, formed an army sufficiently numerous to defend the capital from



from any hostile attempts of a much stronger force than Godwin had brought with him.

Earl Godwin being informed that the king was prepared to give him a warm reception, thought it best to dissemble his real sentiments, and put on the appearance of humility and submission, though with the sword unsheathed in his hands; and accordingly sent a supplicating message to the king, in his own name and those of his sons, requesting that they might be restored to their former honours, of which they had been unjustly deprived through the malice of their enemies; and promising the most loyal and pacific behaviour. But Edward, surrounded by his Norman counsellors, rejected the proposed accommodation in the most injurious terms, and even threatened the lives of those who had been charged with the earl's message. This unseasonable obstinacy had very nigh proved fatal to Edward's affairs, for though his army seemed to entertain sentiments of loyalty, yet they could not endure the idea of shedding the blood of their countrymen; and sacrificing their own lives, when lenitives might be so easily adopted. At length Stigand, bishop of Winchester, and some of the principal nobles interfered with so much spirit, that Edward was in a manner compelled to hear reason, and a negociation was concluded upon the following terms:

1st. That Godwin, his wife, and sons, should be restored to their respective ranks, power and possessions.

2d. That the queen consort, Godwin's daughter, should be reinstated in her former dignity.

3d. That all the king's foreign counsellors should be expelled the kingdom.

In return for the king's compliance with these articles, it was stipulated that earl Godwin should voluntarily submit to undergo a public trial for the murder of Alfred the king's brother, and to rest his fate after a fair hearing, upon his acquittal or conviction. To this condition, the earl readily agreed, and gave hostages for his appearance on the day appointed for the trial. The hostages were sent to Normandy for the greater security, as the timid Edward did not think them safe in England, and could not help upon all occasions, placing a greater confidence in the Normans than his own natural subjects.

In the interim, the Normans being alarmed at the article of this treaty in which themselves were included, and their expulsion insisted on, thought proper to withdraw in time, lest worst consequences should ensue; but the disorders they committed in passing to the sea, and the brutality with which they behaved, plainly evinced that the charges brought against them by earl Godwin, were but too well grounded. Among the principal persons exiled, were Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, commonly called Robert the Norman, William, bishop of London, and Eilfric, bishop of Lincoln, both Normans. Osborne and Hugh, two Norman officers surrendered their castles to Leofric, earl of Mercia, and were by him permitted to pass into Scotland.

As the trial of earl Godwin is the most remarkable in the Anglo-Saxon annals, and at the same time a very singular occurrence in itself, we shall insert an ample account thereof, from the ancient historian Brompton, together with the judicious annotation of an ingenious modern author.

The awful day of trial being come, and the assembly of the states convened, the king, as soon as Godwin appeared in it, accused him of his brother's death in the following terms: "Thou traitor, Godwin, I impeach thee of my brother Alfred's murder, whom you yourself slew." Godwin's reply was, "Most gracious sovereign, with all due respect to your majesty's peace and dominion, I never did betray nor

kill your brother; and I put myself upon trial as to this impeachment before your court." The king then spoke to this effect: "My well beloved lords, earls, and barons, here assembled, and who have heard my impeachment, and earl Godwin's answer, I will that you award judgment, and do strict justice upon this impeachment." Upon this a strong debate happened in the assembly, and variety of sentiments were urged. It was said in Godwin's vindication, that at the time of the murder (for so Brompton's words are to be understood) the earl was no subject of the king, and that he had not with his hands committed the murder. But those of the opposite party urged the earl's late rebellion as a proof of guilt, and were desirous of making use of the one charge as the most proper way to punish him for the other. We can by no means be of opinion here with some authors, who contend, from the words of Brompton, that no allegiance was due to the kings of England by birth, nor until a man had actually performed homage, or sworn fealty to the king. This seems to be contrary to the strongest evidence of our history and constitution. But be this as it will, it was very warmly urged by Godwin's enemies, that no earl, baron, or other subject of the king, could by law wage battle against him in his appeal; but ought, upon the whole matter, to submit himself to the king's mercy, and offer him reasonable amends.

"This opinion seems to have carried it; for we are told, that when the question was put, Leofric, as being the most respected in the assembly, delivered his sentiments in the following manner:

"Earl Godwin, said he, must be admitted, next to the king, to be the person of the highest quality in England, and he cannot deny that he had a hand in advising the murder of prince Alfred, his majesty's brother: my opinion therefore is, that he himself, his sons, and twelve of us earls, who are all of us his friends and kinsmen, shall humbly come before the king, each laden with as much gold and silver as he can carry between his arms, and offer the same for his offence, and most humbly supplicate his pardon, beseeching him to lay aside all ill-will, rancour, and malice against the said earl, and peaceably restore him to his lands, after taking his homage and fealty." This award, which was probably before concerted between all parties, took place; the procession instantly set out, and Edward accepted, with seeming acquiescence, of the atonement.

"Many are the remarks which historians have made on this event. What is of real importance to us, is to remark the great authority of a meeting of the states in those days, and that it extended to causes which were personally between the king and his subjects; that commutation in cases of murder was even at that time admitted, though of the highest nature; that Godwin was tried by his peers, but that the king in his own realm, had no peer. This last maxim is implied by an expression of the historian, which, if not considered properly, may be wrested to very bad purposes; for in giving an account of the debates upon this question, it is said, "that no earl, baron, nor any subject of the king, can by law wage battle against him in his appeal." But this is far, as has been generally erroneously or perversely urged, from taking away thefulness of all civil resistance. By the term battle here cited, is only meant the single combat, by which every man in those days had it in his power to convict his adversary, and clear himself: and it was then undoubtedly a maxim in the government, that the king of England had no peer, and therefore was not obliged to answer any challenge of that kind. This passage has we know, never been considered in this light, but to consider it in any other, is giving up the principle of civil liberty, the common sense of our ancestors, and the genius of the constitution.



Earl Godwin being thus cleared by commuting his crime, himself, and his family were restored to their former dignities and possessions, all except Swein, who being struck with remorse for the murder of Beorn, undertook a pilgrimage bare-foot to Jerusalem, by way of purgation for his heinous offence, but died on his return towards home. The popularity of Godwin rendered that nobleman's restoration to his former honors extremely pleasing to the people in general, and his having procured the banishment of the Normans, contributed to encrease the love they bore him. Stigand, bishop of Winchester, was promoted to the vacant see of Canterbury in the room of Robert the Norman, and many other Englishmen had those places assigned them which had been lately in the occupation of the Normans.

Earl Godwin did not, however, long enjoy his restoration to power and authority, for A. D. 1053, the court being at Windsor, the earl with the rest of the nobles was at an entertainment which the king had provided for the celebration of the festival of Easter, when being seized with a violent disorder while he was at table, he fell from his seat, and was taken up by his three sons, Harold, Tosli, and Gyrth, who carried him into one of the king's apartments, where his malady encreasing he expired five days afterwards. This is the account of this great man's death, as it is given by the Saxon chronicles, Hemingsford, Eadmer, &c. But the Norman writers, who were virulent enemies to Godwin, on account of his firm attachment to the English, and great enmity to foreigners, insist that his death had something supernatural in it, and visibly evinced the hand of divine vengeance in the circumstances that attended it. The principal of these alien enemies to the fame of the deceased earl was the abbot of Beverley, who gives the following account of his death:

"As Godwin was sitting at table with the king, the cup-bearer in his hurry made a trip with one foot, but recovered himself with the other. Several who were present making themselves merry on this incident, observed that one foot came luckily to the assistance of the other; and the earl, to increase their mirth, added, 'So brother should assist brother, when either stands in need.' Edward, turning to the earl as soon as the words were out of his mouth, replied, 'So might my brother have helped me, if Godwin had not interposed.' The earl being surprised and abashed with this sudden retort, was very much dejected, and with a countenance that discovered deep sorrow, addressed the king to the following effect: 'I know your majesty is persuaded that I am the author of his death, and that you still give credit to those who asperse me, as a traitor both to him and to yourself; but God, who knows the secrets of hearts, shall judge: if I am guiltless, I beg that he would suffer me to swallow this morsel unhurt; but if it should stick by the way, you need no further proof of my guilt.' Having said this, he endeavoured to get the morsel down, but it stuck in the passage, and by his continued efforts to swallow it stopped up the avenues of life, and choked him."

But it is to be considered, that during the reign of Edward the Confessor, there was no safer method of gaining the graces of that weak prince, than by appearing to be at enmity with earl Godwin; and, in the succeeding reigns after the conquest, it became fashionable to abuse that patriotic nobleman's memory, and even dangerous to speak well of him. It is therefore no wonder that the Norman writers in order at once to please those in power, and gratify their own spleen, have loaded the character of earl Godwin with all the infamy that the utmost violence of malice could suggest, without taking the least notice of his many shining qualities. Dr. Echard, prebendary of Lincoln, says of this great man, "Whatever was the manner of his death, he was a man of an active

"and turbulent spirit, not nicely conscientious, either in gaining or keeping, and not to be vindicated in his forcing his sovereign to what he pleased; but had he not been so great a lover of his country, and an enemy to strangers, those who wrote in the Norman times, and who durst not but write what would please their masters, would have dismissed him without this story, and with a fairer character." And a more modern writer hath, with great accuracy and ingenuity, thus characterized him:

"Thus fell the greatest subject England ever saw, and one of the greatest men she ever produced, had his virtues been equal to his abilities; but he was of an ambitious and turbulent spirit, and not over-conscientious when the interests of himself or family were in view. However, his great love for his country, and his aversion to foreigners, have occasioned his character to be handed down to us with blacker circumstances than it appears to have deserved. The death of a nobleman of such extensive power might have occasioned a change in the administration, productive of danger; but the earl's influence descended almost entire to his family. His eldest son, Harold, succeeded to all his titles, possessions, and authority, unimpaired, and at the same time held the office of steward of the household, with the governments of Kent, Suffex, and the West Saxons; but was obliged to resign his own government of Essex to Elfgar, the son of earl Leofric. Harold as yet lay under no imputation of any of those crimes of which his father had been accused; besides, he was more humane, polite, and insinuating; and, on all occasions, behaved with so much respect to Edward, that he soon got into his good graces: not but that Edward put on a face rather foreign to his heart, for though he might not bear so great a hatred to Harold as he had done to his father, yet he was to the full as jealous of him; and indeed with great reason, for Harold, whose abilities were no ways inferior to those of Godwin, had, by the additional charms of his obliging and courteous behaviour, firmly gained over to his interest both the nobles and the people; whereas the natural haughtiness and reserve of Godwin's disposition had often times lost him many friends. In a word, Harold, though he seemed to obey the king in the most submissive manner, commanded him; whereas Godwin, though he endeavoured to command the king, was obliged to obey him."

A. D. 1054 is remarkable for the rupture between Edward, and the famous, or rather infamous Macbeth, who had assassinated Duncan his lawful sovereign, and usurped the throne; the bloody tyrant next made an attempt upon Malcolm Canmore, the son of Duncan, but that prince eluding, fled to the English court, where he supplicated the assistance of Edward to punish the regicide, and recover the crown of Scotland from an usurper. Edward readily granted him his request, and sent an army of 10,000 men into Scotland, under the command of the brave Siward, earl of Northumberland, who, being joined by Macduff, Thane of Fife, they in conjunction marched against Macbeth. Concerning the event authors are agreed, but with respect to the manner and circumstances they materially differ: some say that Macbeth gave battle to the army sent against him, and was defeated, after a most bloody contest, in which great numbers perished on both sides, when he retired to the Highlands, where he was detected by his subjects, and at last taken and slain. Upon his death Malcolm, the rightful heir to the crown, attended the throne of his ancestors without further opposition.

But archbishop Spottwood tells us, that Macbeth, upon receiving advice of the strong army marching against him, was seized with great dread, and the arrival of the murdered king's son and the beloved Macduff was no sooner known among the common soldiery than they deserted in great numbers, so that



the tyrant seeing himself abandoned, and not knowing what to do, shut himself at first in the castle of Dunfinane, a fort that he had lately built. The loyal army marching thither, no sooner came in sight, than Macbeth, struck with a fresh panic, abandoned the fort, and thought to have saved himself on horseback; but being pursued by some of Malcolm's friends, he was taken and killed.

Rice, a Welsh prince, about the same time, entered England at the head of a body of men, and committed great depredations; but a number of English troops coming up with him, his forces were defeated, and himself taken prisoner. Being sent to Edward, he was ordered immediately to be put to death, agreeable to a standing Saxon law, which enacted, "That any Welchman who passed Offa's Dyke, without a particular licence, should suffer death."

A. D. 1055. The celebrated Siward, earl of Northumberland died of a bloody flux. Of this brave nobleman's death, we have the following account:

"Finding his end approaching, he ordered his armour-bearer to put him on his compleat suit of armour; then causing himself to be supported on his feet, and taking his sword in his hand, "Thus (said he) should every soldier die." So saying, he breathed his last in the arms of those who supported him."

Similar to this was his behaviour on receiving the news of his son Osbern's death, who was slain in the late expedition into Scotland.—Hearing that he was killed, "Whereabouts are his wounds?" demanded he; being answered that they were all before, "Haste then, and bring him to me (he said) that I may give him a soldier's burial, as he hath deserved."

The only surviving son of this nobleman, named Waltheof, being a minor, the government of the Northumbrian dominions was entrusted to Tosti, the brother to Harold. About the same time Elfgar, the son of the great Leofric, earl of Mercia, was accused before the assembly of the states of high treason; the particular charges of which, antient historians have not transmitted to us, but we find that sentence of banishment was past upon him.

Elfgar thinking himself aggrieved, determined to be revenged on Edward, and with this view passed into Ireland, where having collected eighteen ships, he landed in Wales, and joining with Griffith, the then reigning prince of that country, they together invaded England. Rodolph de Maine, the king's nephew, encountered them while they were committing the most cruel ravages in Herefordshire; but being without either courage, or military skill, he was totally defeated. Upon this success, the invaders entered the city of Hereford, which they plundered and burnt, after killing many of the inhabitants, and seven canons, who defended the door of the cathedral.

The king being greatly alarmed at this intelligence, ordered earl Harold to march against the invaders; the latter, however, well knowing the skill of Harold, did not chuse to wait for him, but retired into Wales, and were pursued by the English as far as the mountains of Snowden, when Elfgar was under the necessity of making some considerable concessions, and Harold generously interceded himself in obtaining his pardon, upon which affairs were amicably settled, and Elfgar was restored to his former honors. It is to be presumed, however, that Griffith, prince of Wales, was not included in this treaty, as he began hostilities again A. D. 1057, till the earls Leofric and Harold interposing, a peace was concluded between him and Edward. Soon after, viz. August the third of the same year, earl Leofric died universally lamented by all ranks of people in the kingdom, as he was brave, wise, honest, faithful, loyal, pious, humane, and

benevolent; and indeed his conduct was in every respect so unexceptionable, that even the Norman writers of those times, who took great pains to asperse every Englishman, could not find a single fault to lay to this nobleman's charge, but unanimously give him a good character.

Edward being now advanced in years, and very infirm, grew restless and peevish. Most of the friends he had loved, and the counsellors, whose advice he had paid the greatest regard to, were either exiled or dead; and above all, he dreaded that any of the late earl Godwin's progeny should mount the throne after his decease, as his hatred to that nobleman's family was fixed and implacable. To prevent such an occurrence, he sent Aldred, bishop of Worcester, his particular favorite, to Hungary for his nephew Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, that he might make him heir to his crown. That prince arrived in England accordingly, together with his son Edgar Atheling, and both were cordially received, not only by the king, but by the people in general, on account of their being the remnant of the Cerdic race.

Harold, who expected to mount the throne of England after the decease of Edward, was sensibly affected at this occurrence. He, however, prudently concealed his chagrin, lest Edward should take the advantage of any appearance of discontent, and form a plausible pretext to ruin him; but he was soon relieved from the greatest part of his uneasiness by the demise of prince Edward, who died soon after his arrival, being about forty years of age, and his remains were deposited in St. Paul's cathedral. From Edgar Atheling, the son of the deceased prince, Harold had but little to fear, as he was of a very weak understanding, exceedingly irresolute, and inactive; remarkably timid, and perfectly inexperienced. And it is to be presumed, that had Edward even declared him his heir upon the death of his father, Harold had the fairest chance of governing as regent during the minority, in case the king did not long survive, which his years and infirm state of health seemed to render doubtful. But now an unexpected affair prepared the way for future misfortunes to this nation, for in the year 1058, earl Harold took his famous and fatal voyage to Normandy. Our historians are greatly divided, not only with regard to the views, but to the manner and circumstances of this voyage; some ascribing it to mere casualty, others saying it was undertaken from a premeditated design. William of Malmesbury tells us, that Harold being at his house at Bosenharn, in Suffex, near the sea-side, he, for his recreation, with some of his retinue, took a fishing-boat, in order to row up and down at a small distance from the land; but running out a little farther to sea than they were aware, a storm suddenly rose and forced them across the channel to the coast of France, where they landed in the territories appertaining to the earl of Ponthieu. The barbarous inhabitants of this part of the coast soon seized Harold and his followers, stripped them of every thing they had about them of any value, loaded them with chains, and cast them in prison. In this dilemma, Harold thought proper to send a messenger, with this information to William, duke of Normandy, (according to the most authentic historians) that he (Harold) had been sent over by the king of England, formally to confirm certain matters of deep import to the duke, which he had hitherto only received by distant hints from envoys of inferior note; but that he was kept prisoner by the command of Guy earl of Ponthieu, and thereby prevented from discharging his embassy; representing, at the same time, that William's honor and character were concerned in suffering such a breach of the laws of hospitality, and to great an insult on his own authority as sovereign of the country to go unpunished, and concluded with appealing to



him for justice, saying, "that if it was required of him, to purchase his liberty, and that of his followers, with money, he was ready to pay the same to duke William; but never would submit to do it to a person inferior to himself, as was earl Guy." Hereupon duke William instantly gave orders for setting Harold at liberty, who repaired to the duke's court; where being honorably received, and by the duke invited to accompany him on an expedition he was then about to make into Brittany, he so far ingratiated himself into the Norman's favor, by his wit, courage, and insinuating address, that the latter shewed him every distinguishing mark of friendship; and Harold, not to be behind-hand with so generous a patron and protector, promised him by oath, that in case king Edward died, he would deliver up to him the castle of Dover, which was then under his command, and use all his influence to procure him the crown of England. Duke William, confiding in the earl's protestations, and to endear himself and cause the more to his care, betrothed to him his daughter, then too young for marriage; and the affair of the succession being thus concluded between them, Harold was sent home, loaded with rich presents. This is the most generally received account, though some writers affirm, that Harold, much against his inclination, was compelled to take the oath before William would shew him any manner of countenance, or even grant him his liberty. But whether the protestation was voluntarily made, or by compulsion is uncertain, but all writers of any authority agree, that such an oath was actually taken.

While these things were transacting at the court of Normandy, Elfgar, the son of the great earl Leofric, who had now succeeded to all his late father's honors, riches, and possessions, again fell under the displeasure of the king of England. And being once more sentenced to banishment, he had recourse to his former ally, Griffith, prince of Wales, who immediately lent him a considerable body of forces. Elfgar, having besides these procured a considerable fleet from Norway, with his whole force soon appeared upon the coasts of Kent. This invasion greatly terrified Edward, and his uneasiness was not a little increased by the absence of Harold, the only general on whom he could safely depend; for though he hated the man, he could not help admiring his abilities. In this exigency, the spiritless Edward thought proper to accede to whatever proposals Elfgar made: he took off his attender, restored him to his dignities and possessions, and only stipulated, that he should send home his forces at his own expence. Elfgar soon after died, and his sons Morcar and Edwin divided his vast estates between them.

Harold being now returned, Edward determined to avenge himself on Griffith, prince of Wales, for having abetted and assisted Elfgar in his late rebellion; with this view he dispatched Harold at the head of a formidable body of horse to surprize him; but the Welch prince being apprized of Harold's approach, took to flight with great precipitation, and abandoned a fleet which he had just fitted out to the mercy of the approaching enemy, which Harold burnt and then returned in triumph.

Soon after, Edward found it necessary again to chastise the Welch, and with this view he sent Harold with a considerable fleet, and his brother Tosti at the head of an army to attack them both by sea and land. The Welch were so terrified at this formidable invasion, that they barely delivered up their prince Griffith, in order to prevent their country from being laid waste; when that unfortunate prince was put to death, as his brother Rice had been some time before, and his head was sent to the king at Gloucester. Edward, however, thought proper to divide Wales between Blethyn and Rithwallen, the two surviving brothers of Griffith.

In this expedition, Tosti, the brother of Harold, had acquired great honour by his military skill and prowess, and had thereby rendered himself very popular; yet that ambition and restless disposition, which seems to have been the characteristic of the Godwin family, prompted him, on several occasions, to behave so tyrannically and oppressively to the Northumbrians, who were immediately under his government, that, unable longer to support their miseries with patience, they had recourse to arms, preferring the prospect of death to certain want and slavery. To increase the general discontent he had, about this time, a quarrel with one Gospatrick, a man of great interest in Northumberland, when he found means to get him murdered, and afterwards endeavoured to charge the odium of his death upon his own sister Editha. Not content with this, he, under the specious mask of friendship, got into his power two of Gospatrick's friends, Gammel and Ulf the son of Dulfen, whom he inhumanly put to death in his own palace. These complicated acts of perfidy and bloodshed put the finishing hand to what his pride and insolence had begun; and three or four of the principal noblemen of the country, at the head of four hundred men, seized upon the city of York, made themselves masters of all Tosti's treasures, which were there deposited, put to death two hundred of his friends and followers, and then sent a deputation to Morcar, son of the deceased earl Elfgar, inviting him to take upon him the government of the Northumbrians, who were now determined to throw off all subjection to a person that had rendered himself so odious to them, by his male-administration. In this they were joined by the inhabitants of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincolnshire. Hereupon Tosti appealed to the king, under whom he immediately held his government, and a conference was appointed to be held at Northampton, while Harold was ordered to march with a strong body of men, in hopes of over-awing the malecontents: but when the conference came to be opened, these people, who were warmed with the noble spirit of liberty, and not actuated by principles of ambition or rebellion, represented their motives for taking up arms, and their resolution not to lay them down till they had procured redress, in such persuasive terms, that Harold, perceiving their resentment against his brother to be entirely owing to his own bad conduct, gave a noble instance of his moderation and justice, by drawing off his forces, and consenting to their election of Morcar in his room; and making a report to the king much in favour of the complainants. Tosti, finding himself thus deserted by his brother, proceeded to such acts of revenge, violence, and cruelty against those of the Northumbrians who were yet in his power, as to render his name odious. His barbarity even extended to the dependants of his own family, for we are told that he always hated his brother Harold, but the conduct of that nobleman in this last affair had exasperated him to such a degree, that he seized some of his domestics, whom he ordered to be cut in pieces, salted, barbelled, and sent as a present to their master. These and similar outrages, occasioned the king to banish him, when he retired to his father-in-law, Baldwin earl of Flanders.

Malcolm, king of Scotland, about the same time, taking advantage of the disturbances in Northumberland, ravaged that country in a most cruel manner, without the least consideration of the treaty then subsisting between him and the English, or any grateful remembrance of the services Edward had rendered him, in assisting him to recover the Scottish crown from the usurper Macbeth.

Tosti's banishment was a great addition to Harold's power and consequence, and these he augmented by marrying Editha the sister of Morcar earl of Northumberland.



thumberland, and Edwin earl of Mercia, by which his influence was so great, and his interest so well secured, that he did not doubt but he should be able to mount the throne after the decease of Edward.

It is now necessary to observe, that Edward had made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Rome; but as he afterwards found it inconvenient, as well as disagreeable to his subjects, to leave the kingdom, or, what was still more likely, was fearful of leaving behind him such a subject as Harold, who might take advantage of his absence to supplant him in his throne, he therefore obtained a dispensation from the pope, absolving him from this obligation: but he thought he could not employ the money he had raised for his journey to a better purpose than that of repairing the monastery and cathedral of Westminster, which was originally founded by Sebert, king of the East-Saxons, or rather converted into a Christian church, from a temple in which the old Saxons had worshipped Apollo.

For this purpose, he convoked an assembly of the states to meet at London about the latter end of the year 1065, in order to confirm the charter of endowment of this foundation. In this assembly, besides the lords spiritual and temporal, the queen Editha was present. The charter begins principally with the pope's bull, and then follows this clause.

"The king, for the expiation of his own vow, and also for the souls of the kings his predecessors, as well as successors, had granted to that place (viz. Westminster) all manner of liberty, as far as earthly power could reach, and that for the love of God, by whose mercy he was placed in the royal throne; and now by the council and decree of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and other of his great men, and for the benefit and advantage of the said church, and all those that should belong to it, he had granted these privileges following, not only in present, but for future times." Then follow the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, and the privilege of sanctuary. This charter was signed by the king, queen Editha, two archbishops, seven bishops, seven abbots, Raynald the lord chancellor, the earls Harold and Edwin, six thanes, and several inferior persons.

Edward was soon after this attacked by a violent fever; he, however, lived to consecrate the cathedral he had taken such pains, and been at so much expence to repair and embellish; but the very day after the consecration, he took to his bed, and died on the 5th of January, A. D. 1066, in the 65th year of his age, and 24th of his reign, and was buried in his new consecrated cathedral church of St. Peter, Westminster.

Though Edward's character hath been drawn by the monkish writers in the most favourable light, yet a variety of dark shades were but too conspicuous in the transactions of his reign: his panegyrists insist, that he was without passions; but this we deny; indeed he was deficient in point of the social affections, and those tender sensibilities which refine, and humanize the heart; but he was too susceptible of prejudice, implacability and revenge, as his behaviour to his mother, his wife, and the Godwin family, too plainly evince. Hence a modern author says, "he was a bad husband, a bad son, an indolent king, a faithless friend, an inexorable enemy, a dupe to foreigners, and a sponge to the monk." For they squeezed him out of the greatest part of his treasures, and in return gave him the highest encomiums. Among the other miraculous things which they ascribed to him, was the special privilege of curing, by the touch, the scrophulous malady from him called the king's evil; a privilege which some affirm to have descended upon the kings of England his successors. "How far," says a

late author, this gift was real or imaginary, we leave to the reflection of every person of enlightened understanding, who need not be told that surprising effects have been produced by the effluvia of bodies of a certain constitution upon the human frame, without any supernatural intervention; we shall, therefore, only observe, that it was not peculiar to the kings of England, since the kings of France have claimed the same privilege ever since the time of Clovis, the first christian prince of that kingdom."

Nevertheless, for this and other his reputed virtues, he was canonized by pope Alexander III. about two hundred years after his death, by the name of Edward the Confessor. Pope Innocent IV. afterwards granted a bull to fix the anniversary and order the solemnity of the festival, which was on the fifth of January, the day of his decease.

Even his easiness of temper, or rather careless apathy of disposition, though truly reprehensible in a king, hath furnished the monkish writers with matter to pay their compliments to this monarch. Among others, the following story is related as a proof of his affability and good nature.

One day, as he was reposing himself on his bed, with the curtains drawn round, a page of his chamber came into the room, in order to do some menial offices, not knowing the king was there; and a coffer being left open, in which was money to a considerable amount, the youth, thinking himself secure from all detection, filled his pockets with the specie, and retired; Edward, who saw him all the while through the curtains, not giving him the least disturbance. In a very few moments the thief returned again, and fell to work as before; when the king, displeased at this repetition of his boldness, called out to him, "You young rogue, you had best be contented with what you have gotten, for should lord Hugolin, the prime minister and chamberlain come and catch you, he will not only cause you to be soundly whipped, but also take away the booty you have already made." The boy, half dead with fear, instantly disappeared, and Hugolin coming in presently after, and finding that some of the bags were missing, flew into a violent passion, and uttered threats of the severest punishment on the felon, if he could discover him: but Edward, with great good nature, endeavoured to pacify him, "For the poor knave, (said he) who has the money, wants it more than we do."

But the most shining part of Edward's character is his merit, in a legislative capacity; for he collected, revised, and digested the laws of the Northumbrians, Mercians, and West-Saxons, with those of Alfred, Edward the Elder, and Edgar; and having reduced them into one body, laid the foundation of what hath been ever since termed the common laws of England, though it must be acknowledged that the forms of pleading and process are chiefly derived from the Normans.

With respect to person, Edward was of a fair and ruddy complexion, tall and well made, and in his latter years had a most venerable and majestic appearance; his beard was long and white, and his person, upon the whole, instead of borrowing from, gave dignity to the royal robes he wore. When he dressed superbly, it was not out of any ostentatious love of grandeur, but merely to comply with the necessary forms of state. In fine, in his enjoyments, he was temperate, in his amusements, moderate; in his diet, abstemious, in his common dress, plain; and in his manners, simple.

Edward was the last monarch of the royal Cerdic race, though not the last Saxon king, as his successor was of that nation.



## S E C T. XX.

## HAROLD THE SECOND.

ON the demise of Edward, three competitors appeared for the crown of England, viz. Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir, as being the grandson of Edmund Ironside; William, duke of Normandy, who founded his title on a pretended will of the late king; and Harold, the son of earl Godwin, who had not the least shadow of pretension, except his own popularity, and his bare assertion, that the king had designed, and promised the crown to him. Of these three, however, Harold was the strongest, as the whole body of English clergy and the greatest part of the nobility, declared for him, while William was of a country which the English implacably hated, and Edgar was young, inexperienced, weak, timid, and friendless. Harold politically made the most of these circumstances, and to take away the shadow of an opportunity of caballing, he caused the king to be buried the morning after his decease, as it was at that time usual to defer the coronation of a new sovereign till the former was interred. Immediately after this precipitate interment, an assembly was convened, and Harold, having a majority of suffrages, was declared king, and instantly anointed by Aldred, archbishop of York the archbishop of Canterbury being at that time very much indisposed: this peculiar hurry seems to evince, that Harold himself looked upon his pretensions as unjust, and his title as disputable.

The above is the most generally received account of Harold's advancement to the crown of England; the ancient historians, however, greatly differ in relating the circumstances of this important affair. Ingulphus says, that Harold wickedly obtruded himself into the throne. Huntingdon tells us, that though the people in power were for Harold, yet the generality of the English were inclined to favor the pretensions of Edgar Atheling.

William of Malmshury, who inclines to the Norman party, asserts, that Harold, finding a great disagreement among the nobles about the succession, seized the crown, placed it on his own head, and intimidated the assembly so as to extort an oath of allegiance from them; and Henry de Silgrave (an author who wrote in the time of Edward I. and whose history is now in manuscript in the Cottonian collection) relates, that Harold came to Edward, as he was lying on his death bed, desiring him to appoint a successor: that he replied, he had already nominated duke William for his heir: but the earl and his friends still persisting in this request, the king, turning his face to the wall, replied, "When I am dead, let the English make either the duke, or the earl, king."

The throne being thus filled by Harold, by an election seemingly unanimous, or at least by an apparent majority, he applied himself to gain the affections of the people by the most laudable and popular measures. With this view he repealed several acts which were generally deemed oppressive, and affected on all occasions to treat the young Edgar Atheling with the greatest marks of respect and kindness, hinting at the same time, that he took possession of the sovereign power merely for the sake of the young prince, whose age rendered him unfit for the weight of government, and that he might possibly thrust the diadem from his own brow to place it upon his, when years had ripened him into maturity for wearing it. He spared nothing to give him the most liberal education, as a person who was one day to rule over others; he loaded him with gifts and honors, and particularly gratified those whom he knew to be favorers of that prince's cause. By these and the like politic steps, he established such a dominion over their minds, that

he reigned the king of their choice, and bade defiance to any cabals that could be raised against his power and authority.

The greatest pow'r a sovereign can attain,  
Is o'er his people's hearts by love to reign;  
For the dominion by affection gain'd,  
Is stronger far than that by arms obtain'd.

Harold's prudent conduct and wise precautions were absolutely necessary, as he had a double cause of apprehension, namely from the malice of his brother Tosti, who was envious of his success; and from the ambition of duke William to whom he had broken his promise.

Tosti was at this time in the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, father to his wife Judith, and to Matilda or Maud, dutchess of Normandy; and presuming upon this affinity, as also being sensible of the pretensions which William had set up to the crown of England, went over to Rouen, on a visit to the duke, in order to persuade him to invade the territories of his brother Harold. William wanted very little incitement to the attempt; he had already resolved in his own mind to make the most powerful alliances he could against Harold, and for this purpose he had entered into a new league with the Norwegians, the ancient friends of the Normans, and had engaged Harold Harfager, the king of that country, to fall upon the Northumbrian territories, while he himself should make a descent upon the southern parts.

William being full of these ideas, it is no wonder that Tosti was cordially received by him. Indeed, he determined to make this nobleman his instrument, in order to found the affections of the English, and with this view, as preparatory to the grand blow intended to be struck, he intrusted him with sixty sail of ships and a body of forces; with which Tosti ravaged the Isle of Wight, and then scoured the coast till he came to Sandwich. Harold, in the mean time sent a strong squadron and a body of horse against him; when Tosti thought proper to withdraw his forces from that part, but still kept plundering the coast at different places, till Edwin earl of Mercia, and Morcar, who had succeeded Tosti in the government of Northumberland, getting together a body of troops in haste, encountered the invader, and drove him with a great slaughter of his men, back to his ships, several of which they burned, and the enterprising exile was obliged to fly for refuge into Scotland, with twelve of his ships, all that he had remaining of the fleet he had first brought with him. Here he endeavoured to engage Malcolm, king of Scots in his interest, but that prince being then embroiled in a civil war with the descendants of Macbeth, could not be prevailed upon to join him; therefore Tosti's success in Scotland fell far short of his sanguine hopes.

About the same time William, duke of Normandy sent a message to Harold, to relinquish the crown of England in favor of himself by reason of his double claim, viz. The will of king Edward, and the oath of Harold while in Normandy. To this demand, Harold returned a spirited and peremptory answer, by which he gave the duke to understand, that in the first place the supposed will of Edward, if any such there really was, made nothing for his claim, inasmuch as by the constitution of the kingdom no monarch of England could bequeath his dominions to any one without the consent of the states of the kingdom, much less to a foreigner; that the right of election of a sovereign to rule over them was vested in the nobles and commons of the kingdom, that such election had been formally made in his (Harold's) favor, and therefore that he held the crown by the most authentic of all tenures, the united suffrages of the people. Secondly, that as to the pretended promise



that he might have made to the duke, it was extorted from him while in a state of duress, and as such was null and void by the laws of all nations. And lastly, he concluded with declaring, that he was ever ready to maintain himself in possession of that sovereignty, to which the voices of the people, in full assembly, had raised him, against all those who should dare to contest his claim, so long as he had an arm to wield a sword, or a soldier that would fight under his banner. This spirited answer convinced William, that he had nothing to expect but from the successful issue of a war; for which both parties now made the most earnest preparations. Accordingly the duke applied to the neighbouring princes for succour, with the most alluring promises of reward, in case by their assistance he should be enabled to compass his end.

In the mean time (we are told that) Harold Harfagar, king of Norway, appeared on the coasts of England, with a fleet of three hundred sail; and being joined by Tostig, who, since his late defeat, had kept hovering on and off the northern part of the island, the two fleets sailed up the river Humber, where they landed their forces, and immediately marched forwards to lay siege to the city of York. This invasion was so sudden and unexpected, that the earls Edwin and Morcar, who were the governors of that country, had not time to levy a sufficient force to dispute their landing: however, knowing that something must be done in this critical situation, in order to check the enemy in their progress, till a stronger reinforcement could be sent from the southern parts of the kingdom, they got together a few troops from the adjacent countries, and advanced to oppose the invaders; but these troops consisting of raw undisciplined men, were quickly beaten, and the enemy proceeding onwards, sat down before the city of York, which soon fell a prey to them, where they put the greatest part of the inhabitants to the sword. On the first news of Harfagar's descent, Harold marched with a chosen body of veteran troops to oppose him, but could not come up time enough to prevent the fate of York. At length, however, the two armies met near Stamford-brigg, since called Battle-bridge, which bridge was guarded by a party of Norwegians, who defended it for some time with great intrepidity, but being driven from it, the action became general, and was obstinately maintained by both parties, till victory at length declared in favor of the English. The loss of the invaders was almost incredible; amongst others their leaders Harfagar and Tostig were left dead on the field of battle, and a very considerable booty fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Harold wisely pursuing this advantage, made himself master of many of the Norwegian ships, but at length coming to an agreement with Paul, count of the Orkneys, and Olaus, the son of Harfagar, he suffered them to carry off their wounded in twenty-one ships, on their swearing never more to invade the dominion of England.

The defeat of the Norwegians, and death of Tostig, greatly disconcerted the duke of Normandy, but his resolution which never forsook him, determined him to pursue his preparations with redoubled vigor, and to obtain the crown of England, or perish in the attempt.

This victory, however, instead of rendering Harold's power more permanent proved but a prelude to his ruin, which the following circumstance did not a little contribute to accelerate: It was usual, in those times, after a victory for the spoils to be divided between the officers and soldiers; but Harold upon this occasion acted with an impolitic parsimony, by seizing all the booty in order to carry on the impending war with the Normans, without burthening his subjects with any additional taxes. Praiseworthy as this motive really was, the troops were greatly offended at his conduct, and

imagined, that through avarice he had robbed them of the spoils, for which they had exposed themselves to dangers, and hazarded their lives. Hence, most of the officers, and all the soldiers were discontented, and many of both deserted.

This defection, with the great numbers lost in the engagement, greatly weakened Harold's army. He, however, entered the city of York in a triumphant manner, and there continued till he received the unwelcome news of the duke of Normandy's descent upon the English coast.

Before we enter into a detail of matters subsequent to the invasion, it is necessary to premise that William convened together the states of Normandy, in order to get them to give a sanction to his intended design. But in this his utmost eloquence could not prevail, most of the Norman nobility were averse to the enterprise, and represented, that their country was already drained of men and money by the long war it had carried on with its neighbours, the French; and that they were not obliged to serve in foreign expeditions, in which the interest of Normandy was not immediately concerned, which they thought by no means to be the case in the present intended expedition.

Upon this repulse, we find that William changed his plan of operations, gave over prosecuting his enterprise as connected with the honor and dignity of his dukedom, and determined to make a private job of it; with this view he set on foot a subscription, to which every man in Europe was invited as an adventurer. This method succeeded to his wish. In a short time he found means to get several of the chief men of his duchy to contribute, as private individuals, to that scheme which they had opposed in their political legislative capacities. This inspired a general emulation who should be foremost in assisting their prince. And we have an account of several persons who furnished him with ships, and a suitable number of men, viz.

	Ships.
William Fitz Osbern, - - -	40
William, the son of ditto, - - -	60
Hugh, afterwards earl of Chester, - - -	60
Hugh de Montfort, - - -	60
Ramus, the almoner of Toscan, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, - - -	1
The abbot of St. Odian, - - -	15
Robert, earl of Angus, - - -	60
Girald the Sewer, - - -	60
William, count of Durance, - - -	80
Roger de Montgomery, - - -	60
Roger de Beaumont, - - -	60
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, - - -	120
Robert de Mortimer, - - -	120
William Gifford, - - -	30
Matilda, William's consort, furnished one ship in which the duke himself embarked, on the prow of this was a child of gold, with the right hand pointing to- wards England, - - -	1
	<hr/> 807

Besides these many private gentlemen, whose names are not handed down to us, furnished one or more ships, so that the whole fleet amounted together to upwards of a thousand sail. The ships were made with flat bottoms to draw but little water, and suitable to the purposes of carrying both men and horse.

Others, who did not assist William with any ships, contributed to the enterprise by furnishing considerable bodies of land forces, particularly

Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou,  
Guy, earl of Ponthieu,  
Eustace, count of Boulogne,







The viscount of Thouars, and  
Howel count of Bretagne.

The emperor Henry IV. by the advice of the imperial council, issued a proclamation, permitting any of the vassals and dependants of the Empire to enter into the service of William. The court of France, however, gave him no manner of encouragement to prosecute his enterprize, but advised, or rather commanded him as a vassal not to enter into it. But this discountenance of the Gallic court was overbalanced by the favour and protection of pope Alexander the II. who, upon William's promising to hold England as a fief of the Apostolic See, immediately excommunicated Harold, pronounced him a perjured traitor, and an usurper, and sent to the duke of Normandy a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it, and a consecrated banner. He likewise published bulls to sanctify William's cause, and invited all christians to assist in placing him on the throne of England. These concurrent circumstances not only roused many foreigners to join the Norman standard, but numbers of the English themselves looking upon Harold as an excommunicated person, deserted him, and joined the enemy of their country. At length he set sail from St. Valery, A. D. 1066, on the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the tutelary saint of Normandy, and landed without opposition the next day at Pevensey, in Suffex, having lost in his passage only two small vessels that were overladen. The duke is said to have been himself the first who jumped ashore; and the writers of his life have, upon this occasion, adapted to him an incident we meet with in the life of Julius Cæsar; for they tell us that his foot, by accident, slipping, he fell down, when a soldier standing by, immediately turned it into a good omen, saying, "Sir, you have thus taken seizin of that land of which you will shortly be king."

After William had thus effected a landing, he acted with the most refined policy, by returning, or, as others say, with greater probability, by sending his fleet back to Normandy, that his men might be deprived of any hopes of personal safety but by victory; then marching to Hastings in Suffex, he erected a fortification and published a manifesto, containing his reasons for undertaking this enterprize, and setting forth, that he came to revenge the death of prince Alfred, restore Robert archbishop of Canterbury, and assist the English in punishing Harold, who had seized the crown, to which he had no right, in direct violation of the oath he had sworn at the Norman court. But these reasons were treated as frivolous by every Englishman of good sense; for in the first place, Alfred had fallen by Godwin, who had been tried and fined for the same: but although that punishment fell far short of the crime, yet Harold could not be involved in the guilt, as it did not appear that he had any hand in the murder. The second reason was no better than the first (though probably inserted in the manifesto on the pope's account, to serve as a cover for his partiality to the duke), for it was well known that prelate had been banished by the general assembly of the kingdom in Edward's reign, and consequently the present king could not be blamed for it: moreover, it was in itself a wise and justifiable measure, and such as was universally approved of by the English themselves. Thirdly, as to his offering the English his assistance to bring Harold to condign punishment for having seized the crown without right, and in direct contravention to his oath, Harold had fully answered every thing that William could allege on that subject.

What most surprized all thinking people was, that William in his manifesto never mentioned, or even hinted at any will made by the deceased king Edward; we may therefore venture to suppose, that neither will or verbal promise had been made, and that the

duke of Normandy, in reality, had smaller pretensions to the crown of England than even Harold.

It is to be observed, that a political step of William's was of infinite service to his cause, for when his provisions were consumed, he gave strict orders that his people should not plunder the inhabitants, in order to procure any more.

By this prudent step he, in all probability, saved his army from destruction; for the inhabitants of the adjacent country, finding themselves treated thus mildly, endeavoured to secure the favor and protection of their new master, by supplying him with all those necessities which he wanted, instead of retiring with their effects, cattle, &c. up the country, which a contrary conduct would certainly have occasioned.

About this time a Norman baron, named Robert, who had been, for some time, settled in the northern parts of England, sent William an account of Harold's victory over the king of Norway, and his return from the north to London, advising him, at the same time, not to venture a battle with such a numerous army of brave men as the usurper had to bring against him, but rather to entrench himself as strongly as possible in his camp at Hastings. William, however, either too judicious, or too intrepid, to follow such timorous advice, returned for answer, "that he was come into England to seek his enemy; that he put confidence in the valor of his troops, and did not doubt of success; and that he held it beneath the honor of a general, who had the swords of sixty thousand brave men unsheathed in his cause, to waste time in parlying."

Harold, in this exigency, made a general muster of his forces, and found, too late, the bad effects of his ill-timed parsimony; the consequences of which he strove to repair by the kindest behaviour to those who remained firm to him, and by soliciting the assistance of the nobles of the kingdom, to whom he represented the danger to which they, their country, and himself were exposed. Many of the nobility accordingly joined him, or sent him succours, and in the interim William sent ambassadors to demand the crown, which he accused him of having perfidiously and perjuriously usurped. Harold, enraged at such an haughty and insolent message, returned an answer teeming with equal asperity of language, and strained every nerve to oppose the Norman with vigor. Some of the English nobles, however, strove to mitigate that martial fire with which Harold seemed to be animated, and persuaded him to make this proposition to William: That if he would depart the kingdom quietly, the expences of his expedition should be defrayed. The Norman received this overture with the contempt it merited, and returned this answer "That he was not come over for the sake of plunder, or paltry coin, but to seize that kingdom which was his due, and which Harold, in violation of the most sacred oaths had usurped; and that nothing else would satisfy him." Upon the receipt of this message, Harold, who, it seems thought too lightly of his enemy with respect to number, skill, and courage, marched towards the Normans, and encamped within seven miles of Hastings. While the two armies were thus situated, Gyth, one of Harold's brother's, who was equally remarkable for his courage and prudence, represented to the king, that the wisest step he could take would be to temporize, and procrastinate coming to an engagement, remonstrating, "That all his supplies were not yet come up; that the enemy was, therefore, much superior in number; that his army was fatigued with its march; and that it would be better to content himself with wasting the country and carrying off all the provisions it afforded, till the expected succours should join him from the north, that such a conduct would greatly distress the enemy, who, when they found that they could neither subsist in the country,

nor



nor force the issue of a battle, would be glad to come into any terms, to secure a safe retreat, and leave the land with more precipitation than they ever entered it." At the same time he besought his brother to let him take the command of the army upon himself: "Reserve yourself, said this able counsellor, to other times; while you are safe, the enemy can never be said to conquer, but on your person the fate of your kingdom depends. Leave me to fight the Norman, if, peradventure, a favorable occasion shall offer; while you keep yourself ready to reap the glory of my success, or repair the misfortune of my defeat."

But Harold was unfortunately deaf to this salutary advice, till the next day, when in company with Gyrth, he reconnoitered the enemy's camp, and found them far from being so contemptible as his sanguine imagination had represented them. Perceiving that he had been greatly imposed upon, both with respect to their numbers and discipline, he now proposed to retreat to London, till he could increase his forces, and take the field against so powerful a foe with greater advantage to himself. But here Gyrth again opposed his intention, and with a generous warmth told him "that he ought to have gone and abided in that city, agreeable to the advice of himself and others his faithful counsellors, till the arrival of his troops; but since it was now too late to repent, so it would be ignominious to recede; that his honor was now engaged, and he must stand the test, prepared either to conquer or lose all; that the least step towards a retreat would be construed into a flight, and lose him for ever in the opinion of his soldiers and all the world, animate the Normans, and so discourage his own men, that they would certainly desert him, and he would never be able to get them together again."

Harold was convinced of the propriety of this advice, and now the impending struggle for dominion and power entirely engrossed his thoughts, when a Monk, named Hugh Margot, came to the English camp on a message from William, with the four following propositions, viz. the first, was, that Harold should relinquish the kingdom, upon certain conditions; the second, that he should hold it under homage to the duke; the third, that they should refer the decision of their differences to the pope; and the fourth, to determine their quarrel by single combat, and the kingdom to be the prize of the conqueror.

To these propositions Harold replied, that he was not so simple as to submit to the arbitration of the pope, who had already declared himself a party; that he scorned to hold the crown of England dependent on any prince whatever; nor would he put his kingdom on the issue of a single combat, in which, though he should obtain the victory, he could reap no solid advantage, and that, therefore, he would leave the decision of his cause to God alone.

The Norman barons and officers, now grew pressing to be led to engage, before Harold could receive any farther reinforcement. William was pleased with their willingness; but at the same time to prevent, if possible, the effusion of human blood, and to conceal his ambition beneath the show of reluctance, he determined to try the result of a personal conference, in which he intended to offer all the provinces of England, north of the Humber, to Harold, and to secure the Godwin patrimonial estate to Gyrth, provided all the rest of England was ceded to himself. And in case of a refusal to these proposals, to pronounce Harold a perjured traitor, to challenge him to a general engagement, and to declare all such as should adhere to him, excommunicated by the pope.

With this view William advanced at the head of a select party of twenty persons only, but Harold, not

chusing to enter into a personal conference with William, sent his brother Gyrth to hear what the duke of Normandy had to say. After the interview Gyrth made his report to the council, of the duke's offers and threats, the latter of which, we are told, made a considerable impression upon many of the members. Perjury and breach of promise sounded strange and ominous to English ears; and the menace of excommunication carried with it a force, only to be conceived by those who live under the terror of ecclesiastical rule, or are the dupes of bigotry and religious superstition. The assembly, therefore, unanimously advised Harold to come to an accommodation; but Gyrth, alarmed at, though uninfected with, the panic, which had now diffused itself like a contagion from the council to the army, resolved to exert his utmost efforts to stop the spreading poison to their hopes, and with irresistible eloquence displayed to them the certain loss of honor, power, possessions, liberty, in a word, of every thing dear to a free-born Englishman, that would await so pusillanimous a resolution; expatiating on the miseries they had to expect under the rule of a conqueror, who had already devoted their persons and effects, as a prey to those who assisted him in the conquest. This harangue had the intended effect, and inspired the hearers with an enthusiastic desire to appeal to the decision of the sword. Harold, to take the advantage of this propensity, appointed the ensuing day, October the 14th, A. D. 1066, which happened to be his birth-day, for a general engagement.

William, finding that Harold designed to give him battle, posted himself advantageously on an open plain, and obliged his troops to pass the preceding night in sobriety, silence and acts of devotion. While on the contrary, riot and confusion reigned in the English camp. Harold, flush'd with his late success against the Norwegians, and pleased with the apparent ardor of his troops, appeared rather too confident of victory, and seemed to be previously secure of what, upon all such sanguine occasions, is in the power of Providence alone to bestow. Such were the hopes and the behaviour of the adverse parties previous to the engagement; but of the battle itself, the subsequent is the most ample, and the best account extant.

Harold, far inferior in the number of his forces, resolved not to lose any advantage in the ground, and therefore drew up his men on the brow of a hill, with a ditch and a line of hurdles before them. The Kentish men armed with halberts, pikes, and targets, formed the van, a post of honour, which they claimed as their right by antient usage ever since the time of the Saxon Heptarchy; and the care of defending the king's person and the royal standard was, by like prescription, consigned to the Londoners, whom Harold particularly cautioned to keep close together, telling them that breaking their ranks would be attended with inevitable discomfiture. These latter formed the main body, and the remaining ranks were indiscriminately filled up with the other English. Harold and his brothers Gyrth and Leolwne placed themselves in the centre, that their men might be witnesses of their valor; and disdaining an indulgence that was not shared by the meanest soldier, they fought on foot. The whole together formed a well compacted phalanx, whose close cemented ranks seemed indissoluble by any force that could assail them.

William, mounting on horseback, encouraged his men with a voice that seemed to breathe victory. He appealed to heaven for the justice of his cause; he then hung round his neck, as witnesses of his innocence, the relics on which Harold had sworn, and ordered the consecrated banner lent him by the pope to be unfurled in the front of his army. The banners which would be laughed to scorn in the present



lightened times, had a wonderful effect in those days of dark ignorance and blind superstition. The Normans thought they marched under the immediate protection of heaven. They advanced in three bodies; the first, composed of the troops of Bretagne, Anjou, le Maine, and Perche, led by Fitz-Olberne and Roger de Montgomery; the second, of Poitevins and Germans, under the command of Charles Martel and a German general; the duke himself led up the last division, consisting of his own Normans and the flower of his nobility; and among all the three divisions, were interspersed flying bodies of archers, to serve as opportunity should offer.

The Normans, marching with the pope's banner at their head, to begin the attack on three sides at once, Taillefer, a gallant old soldier, advanced before the rest, and sung, according to custom, the famous song of Roland, and the heroes who fell at Ronceval, to rouse the valor of his countrymen. To animate them still more by his example, he obtained the duke's permission to strike the first blow in the battle, upon which he rushed on to begin the charge, running a standard bearer through with his lance, and killing another with his sword, but before he could dispatch a third he was slain himself. The air was now darkened by a cloud of arrows, discharged from the bows of the Norman archers which greatly galled and disordered the English, who seeing their men fall on all sides, thought the centre of their army had been broken through, which for a while occasioned such a confusion and dismay as was easily perceived by the Normans, who, resolving to follow their advantage, charged with redoubled impetuosity; but the English having recovered from their first astonishment, and forming a penthouse with their targets over their heads, closed their ranks, and presented such an impenetrable body to their enemy, as obliged them to retire, and being thus reunited, did amazing execution upon them with their javelins, insomuch that the troops, in the enemy's left wing, giving way, were pushed into some covered ditches, which they had not observed as they marched up to the attack. The other corps being struck with a panic, on a false report that the duke was slain, were preparing for flight, when he, coming up in lucky time, shewed them their mistake, rallied them, and led them again to the fight.

The English, vain of this trifling advantage, had, contrary to Harold's express command, quitted their post on the hill to pursue the broken column into the plain, which as soon as William perceived, he, with a happy readiness, brought up a body of Norman cavalry from his right wing, and cut off the retreat of three thousand of the most advanced of the pursuers, consisting of the Kentish and Essex men, all of whom he put to the sword; he then renewed the general attack against the main body of the English, by whom he was received with the same firmness and intrepidity as before. He was repulsed on all sides, and wherever he strove to make an impression, the loss reverted upon himself. Thus circumstanced, he despaired of prevailing by open force. Thrice had he led up the charge, and each time the horse on which he rode was killed; he flew from rank to rank, from squadron to squadron, animating by his words, and encouraging by his example, both the brave and irresolute; sometimes rushing on with a torrent of death in his rear, sometimes opposing his single authority to a crowd of runaways. Harold, with equal spirit, with equal valor, but with superior success, opposed him: the eyes of his faithful English were fixed on him, by his uplifted sword they dealt the blow, and mowed down the remaining ranks which his javelin had thinned: no man felt fatigue, no man thought of retreat, while their king seemed lost to every foe but

that of a thirst for glory, and to have nothing in pursuit but conquest or death.

And now victory appeared on the point of passing over to the side of the English; the drooping Normans staggered under their resistless shock, when William's genius found means to fix the wavering fortune of the day, by one of those stratagems in war, which, from their frequency, are the less suspected or guarded against; he founded a retreat; the knell of English liberty! for so it proved. Harold's brave foldiers, thinking that nothing now remained but to glean the deathful harvest, for which they had so painfully laboured, were ruined by a rash security; deaf to all order, impetuous and ungovernable, they pursued the wily fugitives into the plain with as little caution as before; and they, who, when united, were invincible, when thus dispersed, became an easy prey to those of whom they thought they had the mastery. For the Normans rallying upon a signal given, closed their ranks, faced about, and surrounding their pursuers with their cavalry, cut numbers of them in pieces, and the rest, with great difficulty regained the hill, where they still maintained their ground in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy to dislodge them or break their ranks.

The Normans finding all their attacks were fruitless, had recourse to their former stratagem, and, amazing to be told! it met with the same success; the English, never to be taught by experience when their fighting humour is indulged, forgot the check they had so lately met with, and followed the enemy a third time into the plain, where they were again trodden down by the Norman horse, and strewed the field with their dead bodies. Weakened as they were with these repeated losses, they still kept their ground on the hill, unshaken for some time, and, in all probability, might have recovered their strength and spirits, and have finally repulsed their fierce assailants, had not an arrow, shot from the bow of the evil genius of England, laid their monarch breathless on the ground, whose dying groan was the departing sigh of English liberty. William and slavery triumphed. Gyth and Leofwine, the gallant brothers of Harold, still survived, and still animated their countrymen to stand their ground; the amazed English thronged instinctively round the standard of their dejected prince; but the Normans pouring upon them in redoubled numbers, carried their point: Gyth and Leofwine fell in each others arms; Harold's standard was pulled down, and the duke's erected in its stead, upon which the English retired from all parts of the hill, and were hotly pursued by the enemy, even after the close of day.

The darkness, however, which favored their retreat, had well nigh proved fatal to the Normans, by wresting the victory out of their hands; for in the eagerness of their pursuit, and not being so well acquainted with the country as the English, they fell into morasses and deep ditches, and lost a great number both of horse and foot. The fugitives, reanimated by this accident that had befallen the foe, turned upon their pursuers, and made a dreadful slaughter amongst them, Engenoul, baron de l'Angle, falling among the rest; and, indeed, so hot was the action, that Eustace, count of Boulogne, persuaded William to found a retreat for that night, and not to trust to the chance of darkness, a victory that would be insured to him by the returning day; while he was whispering this council in William's ear, he received a blow between his shoulders, which for a while bereft him of speech. The duke, however, resolving not to leave his victory imperfect, still continued the fight: the battle seemed now to be renewed, the Normans redoubling their efforts, but still the English maintained their ground. At length William, pretend-



ing to be touched with the fate of those whom he now looked upon rather as his subjects than his enemies, but in reality being fearful of experiencing one of those sudden reverses of fortune, which are so frequent in battle, ordered a truce to the combat, and offered liberty for that body of English to retire: this was accepted; they drew off through the marshy defiles before-mentioned, and night being now pretty far advanced, William saw himself left in full possession of the field of battle and of the crown of England.

Thus ended this bloody engagement, which decided the fate of England; the loss of the Normans is said to have been about fifteen thousand men, but of the English a much greater number were killed.

After the battle, William ordered all his troops to kneel down on the bloody field, and return thanks to God for their success; the ensuing day was spent in burying the dead, when the body of Harold, being with some difficulty found, we are told, that a Norman soldier, who was present at the discovery, in a fit of unmanly exultation, ran his spear into the thigh of the lifeless king; which action being told to the duke, he instantly ordered the base wretch to receive the punishment due to so dastardly a deed, and dismissed him from his service. He afterwards sent the bodies of the king and his brothers to their mother Githa, who gave them as honorable a burial as the present circumstances would permit, in Waltham abbey, which had been founded by Harold himself.

Thus fell the gallant Harold, after a reign of only nine months, one week and two days. He was of a comely person, and majestic presence, which awed the beholder into a kind of veneration, and inspired all who saw him with respect. He possessed great abilities, and the most intrepid courage, and his few faults were overbalanced by many shining virtues, and great qualities. With Harold expired in this nation the empire of the Anglo-Saxons, after a continuance of 617 years from their first arrival under Hengist and Horsa.

With respect to Harold's family, it is proper to take notice that he had two wives; the first he buried long before he was king, but none of our writers mention her name; his second was Elgitha, widow of Canute ap Ithwellyn, prince of North Wales, sister of Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland. We are told, that by the former of these wives he had children, who were of such an age at his death that they waged war against the conqueror in the second year of his reign. The first was Godwin, who, with his brother Edmund, after his father's death and overthrow, fled to Ireland; but returning again into Somersetshire, slew Ednoth, formerly one of his father's generals, who encountered him, and, after having made great depredations in Devonshire and Cornwall, set sail again for Ireland. The next year he made another descent upon Cornwall, where he had a battle with Beorne, a nobleman of that county, in which he got the better: from thence he went back to Ireland, and afterwards went to Denmark, to king Swen, where he continued the residue of his days.

The second was Edmund, who joined with his brother in all his forelaid invasions and wars, depending absolutely on him while he lived, and died, like him, in Denmark.

Magnum, the third son of Harold, went with his two brothers into Ireland, and came back with them the first time to England, after which we hear nothing of him.

By his second wife, Elgitha, he had a son named Ulfko, or Wulf, who was but a child at the time of the battle of Hasting, and was afterwards knighted by William Rufus.

He had also two daughters: Gunilda, the eldest, falling blind, passed her days in a nunnery.

Another daughter of Harold's is mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus, in his Danish history, to have been married to Waldemar, king of Russia, by whom she had a daughter, who was wife to Waldemar, king of Denmark.

Before we conclude this reign, it is requisite to give some account of the famous and fortunate William duke of Normandy, previous to his conquest of England. This brave and celebrated prince was natural son to Robert the sixth, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta the beautiful daughter of a skinner in Falaise, with whom he accidentally fell in love, and from whose name it is said, the word harlot, implying a loose woman, received its origin. Notwithstanding his illegitimate birth, when he was about nine years of age, his father declared him his successor, and caused his nobles and chief Norman subjects to swear fealty to him, and afterwards carried him to do homage to Henry the first, king of France, for the duchy of Normandy, according to the custom of the former dukes. Then delivering him to the guardianship of that king, and to the care of the duke of Bretagne, he made a pilgrimage to the holy land, in which journey he died; leaving the young prince to be the founder of his own fortunes, rather than the heir of his father's; which he found exposed to all the difficulties arising from the tenderness of his age, the reproach of his birth, a suspected guardian, a disputed title, and a distracted state. For upon the first news of duke Robert's death, the nobles of Normandy, who were intrusted with the government during the son's minority, found themselves involved in great difficulties, by the open factions of some noblemen, who envied their greatness, and by the private practices of others, who being descended from some of the former dukes, resolved to set up themselves, but at first concealed their designs, and joined with the common murmurers against the present administration. The governors were still faithful to their trust, and judged the presence of the young prince necessary to support their authority and his title; they thereupon prevailed with the king of France to send him into Normandy, which he did with great honor to himself, and kindness to his pupil, as well as satisfaction to all his loyal subjects; but to the great disappointment of those who pretended their discontents were only against the governors, and not the succession.

No prince ever came so early into the cares and burdens of a crown, nor felt them longer; engaged in toils and difficulties, in hardships and dangers; his person exposed to the arms of enemies, and the plots of assassins; his reign embroiled by the revolts of his subjects, and the invasions of his neighbours; and his whole life spent in the necessary defence of his own title and dominions, or in the ambitious designs of acquiring greater. Yet none ever surmounted all with more constancy of spirit, prudence of conduct, and felicity of fortune: for he had a strong and active body, and a brave and vigorous mind; and seemed to have been born more for a Hero, than a happy man. His first contests arose from the pretenders to the succession, who favored by the defects of his birth, found so many followers at home, and such assistance from neighbours abroad, that they raised great forces, and constrained the young duke to appear, not only at the head of his councils, but of his armies too, before he was eighteen years of age. These civil wars continued long with many various successes, bloody encounters, defeating of troops, surprizing, besieging, and relieving of towns, and warring of countries; till at length William, by his vigilance, bravery and industry, totally subdued, not only the forces, but the courage of all his competitor, and enemy at home.



and constrained them both to quit Normandy and France, and to seek new fortunes in several parts of Italy, as Apulia, Calabria and Sicily.

When duke William had subdued all his domestic foes, another appeared from abroad more powerful than any of the former: this was Martel earl of Anjou, who was not only a prince of great power, but was also strengthened by the assistance of the king of France himself, who jealous of the Norman greatness was very ready to join in the reducing of an aspiring prince. To which end he encouraged, if not set on foot, the earl of Anjou's pretensions to the duchy of Normandy, gave him his assistance to justify his claim and pursue it by arms, and by degrees engaged in an open and declared war against the duke. This he prosecuted with much passion and violence, appeared himself in the field with his nobility, and threatened. That nothing but the ocean should stop the progress of his arms. On the other side duke William proceeded with invincible bravery, and with such a presumption of success, that he scorned to set upon his enemies by surprise, but sent them notice of the very day he would give them battle; a sort of courage unknown to this present age. After many successes, he at length brought the contest to the decision of two fierce battles. The first ended in an intire victory on the duke's side, with the slaughter of three parts of his enemies, amounting to above thirty thousand men. This loss rather enraged than discouraged the king of France, who gave neither himself nor his enemies any quiet till he had engaged the Normans in a second battle, with greater forces and fury on both sides, but the same or worse success than the former. For in this the king of France lost the flower of his army, the principal part of his nobles, and with great difficulty escaped himself in person. Yet that but little availed this unfortunate prince, who was so sensible of his loss, and dishonour, as he conceived, gained by so unequal a match, that he had not the courage to survive it long, but died with grief, and left duke William a calm and peaceable reign. This gave him opportunity in a short time to enlarge his dominions, first by the earldom of Mans, and next by part of the dukedom of Bretagne: after which he lived in peace for a considerable space, till he disturbed his own and his neighbours quiet by new and greater adventures.

The battle of Hastings rather opened than completed William's success; as the nation was still divided by three powerful factions, viz. The Anglo-Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman. The first was for restoring to the throne the race of Cerdic, in the person of Edgar Atheling. The second, or Danish cabal, consisted of persons of Danish extraction, who were for again bringing the race of Canute the Great, by placing the crown on the head of Swein king of Denmark. And the third party comprised the Normans, who had settled here in the reign of Ethelred the II. and Edward the Confessor; of persons of Norman parentage, and of the victorious Norman troops, who were under the immediate command of William.

Edwin and Morcar, the powerful earls of Northumberland and Mercia, retreated to London, with the shattered remains of the forces which had escaped the bloody slaughter of the late engagement, and convened together a meeting of the English, where they proposed to place the crown upon the head of Edgar Atheling in which they were seconded by Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, and the Londoners; but many other nobles, and most of the clergy, were rather for throwing themselves upon the clemency of the Conqueror, than trusting the guidance of the kingdom at this critical juncture to such a young, weak, inexperienced and timid prince as Edgar.

The other party, however, prevailed so far, as to obtain a majority of votes, and Edgar was proclaimed king. But the dissensions and cabals that immediately succeeded among the principal persons, rendered this salutary measure abortive.

William, in the mean time, having fortified Hastings, and left a suitable garrison, determined to possess himself of the town and castle of Dover, in his way to which he passed through Romney, and sacked the place in revenge for the ill treatment which the crew of one of his ships (separated by accident from the rest) had received from the inhabitants. This severity, and the fame of his victory at Hastings, flew before him like lightning, and struck such a terror into the hearts of the garrison of Dover, that they threw open their gates almost as soon as he appeared in sight, or at least submitted after a very short capitulation. As soon as the duke was in possession, he ordered the town, which Matthew Paris justly styles the lock and key of the kingdom, to be more strongly fortified, and spent eight days there. Change of climate at that season of the year, with alteration of diet, and the amazing fatigues they had undergone, occasioned several distempers amongst his soldiers. This accident, which would have damped the courage of a less intrepid general, served only to convince William that no time was to be lost, and that it behoved him to follow his late victory with unremitting ardor, while his remaining troops were yet in a condition to aid the vast designs of their leader: therefore, leaving his sick in hospitals at Dover, he set out for London, at the head of a small but trusty army, in which every man was well affected to the cause of his general, and all determined to contribute to his success, or share in his defeat. However, his march was retarded for some time by his falling ill himself of the same disorder which had prevailed among his men, and it is to be observed, says an accurate author, that it is during this march that we are to place the celebrated story of the Kentish men meeting William with each a branch or bough in his hand, and obliging him to grant them several exclusive privileges, and in particular that of gavel-kind (by which all the sons succeed equally to their father's estate): but this story contradicts itself, as it mentions that they marched with green boughs in their hands, in the beginning of November; besides, so tame an acquiescence is inconsistent with the known character of William, who was as remarkable for his severity to the obdurate, as for his lenity to the submissive. Add to this, that the story was originally taken from the MS. history of the monks of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, written by Thomas Spot, who, in all probability, invented it to magnify the valor of their abbot and of the Kentish men. But as neither Somner, in his treatise of gavel-kind, and especially Gulielmus Pittavensis, who accompanied the duke in his march, make mention of this fact, we may fairly refuse our credit to it. Nor does the well known courage of the English stand in need of being supported by idle tales or monkish legends; while they had a leader to direct their operations, they fought like brave soldiers; when left to themselves, and no longer able to resist, they submitted like wise men.

William thought proper in continuing his march towards London, to divide his army into three divisions, and to proceed by three different routes. Upon this occasion he gave strict orders to his men to behave with the greatest lenity to such as voluntarily submitted; but to act with the utmost severity and waste the country wherever they met with any opposition.

The terrors of the people naturally increased as William approached towards the capital. The clergy, upon this occasion, were for pacific measures, and advised an immediate submission to the conqueror, and



the citizens, who greatly dreaded to lose their wealth if they should provoke William, were ready enough to listen to any terms of accommodation. But the earls Morcar and Edwin, accustomed to the dangers of the field, and well acquainted with the vicissitudes of war, spirited up a party to make one more struggle for the liberties of England. They accordingly, on the approach of the duke's first division towards London, sallied out with an intent to attack the Normans before they had recovered from the fatigues of their march, or were joined by the other two divisions of their forces: but William was a general of too much skill to trust his troops to officers who wanted vigilance, and his army too well disciplined to suffer a surprize of this nature to succeed. Indeed the Normans were so well prepared for the worst, and gave the two earls such a warm reception, that they were compelled to retire with considerable loss. This unsuccessful attack greatly added to the fears of the citizens, the friends of Edgar dwindled off apace, and the idea of submitting to the duke of Normandy, became almost general. The earls Morcar and Edwin, finding the clergy for submission, the nobles irresolute, and the commons too much dispirited to think of withstanding the conqueror, gave up the cause of Edgar, and withdrew to the northern counties.

In the mean time, William, who had the earliest intelligence of what passed in London, thought the confusion which that city must be thrown into by the departure of the two brothers, in the present exigence, offered too favorable an opportunity for compassing his designs to be neglected even for a moment: accordingly he himself crossed the Thames, and took post at Wallingford, in Berkshire, from whence he sent out detachments to do military execution on all the country round; after which he marched to Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire; but previous to this step, he sent a strong body of forces to the Surry side of the river, with orders, if they were not received in London, to reduce all Southwark to ashes; which was accordingly performed with the most cruel rigour.

This severity had the desired effect. The chief of the English party, foreseeing that their longer holding out would only open new scenes of calamity, resolved to give way to the torrent of the times, and, if possible, save their country from devastations more shocking than it had ever yet experienced. With this view several nobles, accompanied by Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, Wulfstan, bishop of Winchester, Walter, bishop of Hereford, and other the most eminent citizens of London, repaired to William, at Berkhamstead, and swore him fealty.

The example of the Londoners could not fail of having a great effect upon the inhabitants of various other parts of the kingdom: while their admiration of the conqueror's success, and dread of his severity, contributed to expedite their submission; for they reflected, that the only way to secure the conqueror's favor was to anticipate his wishes, and make a merit of necessity. After having consulted with the nobility, who had already made their submission, they unanimously resolved to go in a body to make him a tender of the crown, with this expression, "That having always been accustomed to live under kingly government, they knew no one more worthy to govern them than himself."

Though this proposal was the ultimate end of William's wishes, and gave him infinite satisfaction; yet he played the refined politician, received it, seemingly, with great reluctance, and pretended to have various scruples, which would require some consideration ere they could be removed. At length, after the face of a mock deliberation, he acquiesced in the gratification of his own ambitious desires, by apparently yielding to the joint importunities of the re-

joicing Normans, and submitting English; the answer he returned to the proposal was, "That he accepted the crown as their free gift;" and thus saith a modern writer, "tacitly acknowledging the right of election in the people of England, at the same time that the manner in which he acquired that election plainly shewed him unregardful of such right."

In the mean time Edgar Atheling, finding himself powerless, abandoned, and friendless, thought proper to submit to William, who was doubtless the greatest enemy he had in the world; and to implore the protection of a man who robbed him of that crown to which he alone had a legal and lineal right. Those two powerful noblemen, Morcar and Edwin, thought it now unnecessary to continue any longer the opposers of William, they therefore made their conditions with, and swore fealty to him. Thus was the whole kingdom subdued either by arms, promises, or intimidation, and William immediately gave orders for raising some strong fortifications for the defence and security of London; but while they were erecting he remained at Barking, in Essex, where he issued out orders for the necessary preparations to be made against his coronation, which he designed should be solemnized with the utmost splendor and magnificence on the ensuing Christmas-day, viz. December the 25th, A. D. 1066.

We cannot conclude this section better than in the words of a learned clergyman, who, in speaking of this period of the English History, says, "That notwithstanding the valor and conduct of the Normans, the English were the chief forgers of their own fortune, and behaved themselves as if they desired to be enslaved, by those whom they admired, and imitated only in the worst of their qualities. For besides the late mismanagements of Harold, in other respects a wise prince, the nation and nobility were divided into factions, and could not agree upon the person to succeed him; and Edwin and Morcar retired with discontent into Northumberland, not regarding the safety of their country, because their ambitious purposes were not gratified. A firm union, and a wise management must still have put a stop to William's arms; but instead of preparation for expelling the common enemy, the nobility became enemies to one another, and strove for that crown which the duke had already got, on the point of his sword, though not on his head. These were prodigious miscarriages, not incident to any who had their reason, but absolute effects of such vicious tempers as insatiate mens minds, enervate the power of their souls, and render them abject, and ripe for servitude. Such were the English at this time, as we are assured from Malmesbury, who being of English as well as Norman descent, professes that he had no prejudice to either nation, and declares, 'That for some years before the arrival of the Normans, piety, and all good literature became so unfashionable even among the clergy, that contenting themselves with a very small share of devotion, as well as learning, they could scarce read divine service; and to understand grammar was next to a miracle. The monks were clad in fine stuffs, and observed not the rules of their orders. The nobles were given up to gluttony and a dissolute life, neglected the service of the church, made a prey of the common people, debauched their daughters whom they had in their service, and then turned them off to the stewards. While the meaner sort spent night and day, and then whole substances, in rioting and drunkenness, and those other vices which effeminate men's reasons. From hence it came to pass, that being carried away with temerity and fury, rather than true valor, they engaged with duke William, and brought such calamities upon themselves and their country. In fine, the English then wore their cloaths short, cut their hair, loaded their arms with golden bracelets, marked their skins with divers images, would eat till they







they surfeited, and drank till they vomitted; which last vices they communicated to the conquerors, but in all things else followed and admired their modes. But our author would not have this understood of all, but of the English in general; for to his knowledge, there were many good men both among the clergy and laity. "But, adds he, as the mercy of God often permits the bad as well as good to enjoy the like prof-

perity; so his justice does not always exempt good men from partaking in the common calamities of their country." Since divisions and factions, immorality and impiety occasioned such great miseries to our ancestors, we ought carefully to remember this one maxim, that the same causes ordinarily produce the same effects.

## B O O K V.

*From the Coronation of William I. commonly called William the Conqueror, to the Death of King Stephen.*

### SECTION I.

*William I. commonly called the Conqueror.*

**W**ILLIAM, though dignified with the title of Conqueror, did not obtain the crown of England by the sword only; and, indeed, he was far from claiming it as a conquered country, but seemed politically to refer his right to five general causes, viz. The promise of Edward the Confessor, the oath of Harold, the submission and avowed allegiance of the English, the cession of England to him by Edgar Atheling, who had claimed his countenance and protection, and the security which the rapid progress of his arms had given him.

In this period of the English History, it hath been observed, that we remove from twy-light to day-light; and emerge from an era of obscurity to a memorable epocha, when England received various and great alterations in laws, language, customs, fashions, fortifications, buildings, and most things, religion excepted. From which extraordinary mutations, we are to consider the power of this country in a more extensive point of view; larger in dominion abroad, greater in ability at home, and of higher reputation in the world: all which proceeded from the Normans, who are thus described by the judicious William of Malmshury. They were, at this time, curious in their cloaths without foppery; choice in their diet without excess; fond of war, and scarce knowing how to live at peace; quick and intrepid in attacking an enemy; and when open force was too hazardous, cunning in circumventing by stratagem, or expert in corrupting by bribes. They built capacious edifices, but lived in them at a moderate expence; apt to envy, desirous of surpassing their superiors, yet courteous to those beneath them; loyal while pleased with their sovereign, but revolting upon the slightest occasion; and leaving their posterity to be judged of by their success. Conquering sides for advantage, but in general humane to all parties. To their honor, upon the conquest, they revived the discipline of the christian religion, then almost extinct in England; hence arose new churches and monasteries, erected after a nobler mode of architecture; and thus the face of the country became changed, and the buildings improved after a

very extraordinary manner. These advantages the nation in general obtained by this change, though many particular noble families suffered by the revolution.

Hence conquerors are the scourges of mankind,  
By whom at once they're punish'd and refin'd;  
And all the nations on earth's ample round,  
Which ambient air, and twinkling stars surround,  
Subservient to the ruler of the skies,  
Fall by their vices, by their virtues rise.

Every thing being prepared for the coronation, William proceeded to London, and was solemnly crowned in Westminster-Abbey on Christmas-day, A. D. 1066. Concerning this coronation, some particulars are very necessary to be observed, viz.

1. That William was crowned by Aldred, archbishop of York, instead of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, who by virtue of his superior dignity in the church, ought to have placed the crown on his head. The reasons of the preference being given to the archbishop of York, upon this occasion, were, that the archbishop of Canterbury had incurred the papal censure, and that he was known to be a professed enemy to the Normans.

2. That it had been customary, on former coronations, for the sovereign to give his royal word only to maintain the laws, the liberties, &c. of the subjects, except upon extraordinary occasions; but the archbishop of York exacted of William a most solemn oath to this purport, *That he should protect the holy church and its goods; that he should govern all the people subject to him peacefully and justly; that he should defend, and keep just laws, and should forbid all rapines and unjust judgments, and that he should behave impartially towards his subjects, and govern both the English and Normans by the same equal law.*

3. That William politically chose not to receive the crown as a badge of conquest, but as a mark of election, for Aldred by his desire, demanded of the English, if they consented, that the duke should be crowned king; and there replying in the affirmative, the bishop of Constance put the same questions to the Normans, who answering Yes, Aldred immediately placed the crown upon William's head.

After the coronation, the very first step that the

\* We are told by historians of a singular circumstance that occurred, by mistake, at this coronation; for the loud acclamations which ensued upon this occasion had well nigh proved fatal to

the inhabitants of Westminster, and, not that, but the loud acclamation to that dignity which the English conferred upon their new sovereign. The Conqueror, who was too accustomed to



new king took was to seize upon the treasures which Harold had amassed and laid up at Winchester. These, however, he did not keep to himself, but liberally distributed as rewards to his Norman officers and soldiers, and as donations to churches and monasteries. By this conduct he hoped to answer two purposes, viz. to retain inviolable the attachment of the army, and to conciliate the affections of the English clergy, wisely judging that the gown and sword would prove his greatest securities, and far overbalance the power of the lay-nobility and peasantry. Nor was he ungrateful to the ecclesiastics abroad, for he sent the royal standard of Harold, which had been taken at the battle of Hastings, as a present to the pope, besides other rich offerings, and was remarkably generous to many others of the foreign clergy. But the expences of William's army and navy, and other contingencies, together with these late donations and presents, exhausted all William's own money as duke of Normandy, together with what he had seized of Harold's, and received as voluntary loans since he came to England. It therefore appeared absolutely necessary to recruit his treasury, and replenish his purse; but the necessity being easier discovered than the remedy, William had recourse to his usual policy, and employed several of his trusty friends and emissaries to feel the pulses of the people, and, if possible, to prevail on them to make their new sovereign a free gift, from an intimation that such an instance of their confidence and esteem could not fail of having the most agreeable effect upon the king's mind, and insure to them his good-will and protection. These plausible arguments, artfully urged, had the desired effect; in a short time William received presents from all quarters of the kingdom, to a very considerable amount; the first beginning of his reign seemed to promise his people a suitable return, and the deluded English fondly flattered themselves that they were about to enjoy all the blessings of a just and mild administration.

Being thus successful, he wished to impress a general and favorable opinion of his moderation and equity, and the English conceived great hopes of happiness, but soon found themselves miserably deceived, as will appear by the sequel.

To excite an advantageous idea of his justice and clemency, he began his reign by strictly enjoining his principal Norman officers to treat the English with humanity, and respect them as their brethren, and as one people with themselves: he issued orders, forbidding the soldiery to commit the least outrage on the inhabitants under the severest penalties; and published an edict, formally confirming all the privileges of the people, and all the promises he had made in their behalf by his coronation oath. This artful shew of love and kindness prepared the minds of the English for his next step, which was that of dividing among his followers the lands of all the noblemen who had appeared in arms against him, as well those that fell

in the battle as those that survived: and to leave as little room as possible for murmurings or heart-burnings, from a suspicion of partiality in this distribution, he distinguished with particular marks of favor, Edgar Atheling, to whom he granted many large possessions, and, as some authors say, created him earl of Oxford; but this latter circumstance has been strongly contested. He likewise conferred posts of great importance on many other English noblemen, particularly Edwin and Morcar, to whom he shewed all the regard that was due to their high station. And to convince the English still more fully of his good intentions, he projected matches between his officers and the English ladies, and at the same time provided husbands among the English for the Norman heiresses. He likewise granted a new charter to the city of London, confirming the privileges and immunities which the citizens enjoyed in the days of Edward the Confessor.

Thus were the citizens of London, with the rest of the nation, lulled to sleep, or drawn by his specious baits to repose an unlimited confidence in his seeming integrity and justice. Hence, under a pretence of being anxious for the security of the people, he erected forts to curb them, and by affecting to introduce better regulations, he found an opportunity of reducing them to the most abject obedience. All the places of strength were filled with Norman garrisons, and every fortress of consequence was under the immediate direction of a Norman governor. After having proceeded in this political manner, that he might leave nothing undone that could tend to the securing of his new acquisition, he resolved upon a tour through some of the principal parts of England under pretence of inspecting the civil œconomy of the kingdom, curbing the turbulent, encouraging the quiet, and guarding against public danger, by extirpating the banditti and robbers, who infested the country, and then sought shelter in the woods, which were at that time very thick in most parts of the kingdom.

William took great pains to win the affections of the clergy, and to establish a reputation for religion and piety; in particular he erected a church and monastery at Hastings, where prayers were to be said for the repose of the souls of those who were slain in the battle against Harold. Some historians affirm, that the high altar was raised on the very spot where Harold's standard had been taken; but others say it was on the place where his body was found. The monastery, which was called Battle-Abbey, was filled with monks of the Benedictine order from a great monastery of Winchester, but exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, and the church was dedicated to St. Martin. William would have these buildings considered as monuments of piety; but it is evident they were erected by his vanity, as memorials of his victory; and endowed by his policy as instruments of his dissimulation.†

A. D.

trust himself in the power of the Londoners without having a sufficient security for his person, had, under the shew of greater state, summoned Westminster Abbey, the place of his inauguration, with a body of Norman soldiers; who, when they heard the tumultuous shouts of the people within the church, on placing the crown on the duke's head, mistook their acclamations for an uproar occasioned by a dispute or quarrel, and thinking themselves intimidated, with one taking any time to examine into the truth of the fact, they set fire to the choir, and began to kill and plunder at random. There within doors, equally ignorant of the reason of the tumult without, and fearing the flames, and hearing the cries of those who ran to the church for shelter, were seized with a panic, scattered according to the different situations of those who were collected. The confusion inspired some treachery, some fear, and that their victorious head doomed them to destruction, in order to his himself more firmly in his new acquired dignity. William himself, trembling and agitated, thought of nothing but

a plot to assassinate him, and fled with precipitation from the throne to the high altar for sanctuary. But all parties soon convinced of their error, a stop was put to the violence, and the flames were extinguished before they had done any considerable damage.

[Of this place we have the following account from a modern writer; Battle is in the rape of Hastings. The name of the place is not mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, but it took the present form from the deed of the king, who, after the battle of Hastings, bestowed the place on the monks of the abbey of Battle, who were also great numbers on both sides. The king, who was mortally wounded, was carried to the abbey in that called Heathfield, on the very spot where he died, and was interred; wherein he placed Benedictine monks, who were obliged to pray for the souls of the slain. The place was sanctified for the greatest of criminals, that led to a great number of murders, and was so powerful the abbot to save the life of any villain, that he was



A. D. 1067, William began to turn his thoughts on the Norman dominions, which he had drained of its forces, and left almost defenceless. Indeed he had some suspicion that the king of France intended to take the advantage of his absence to attack his patrimonial territories, which caused him to determine on a voyage to Normandy. Previous, however, to his pursuing this design, he judged it expedient to take every precaution for the security of his new acquired kingdom: with this view, besides the fortifications he had raised at London, he erected forts at Norwich, Winchester, Hastings, Hereford, &c. and filled them with Normans. Then he dismissed the English in general, broke their militia, and took every method which his imagination could devise to prevent an insurrection. The command of the Norman forces, and the regency of the kingdom he then left to his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, whom he had made earl of Kent, a prelate equally qualified for the management of civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs; and to William Fitzosbern, a wise, brave, and experienced general, in whom he placed an entire confidence, and whom he had lately made earl of Arundel and Hereford.

William then embarked at Pevensey, in Suffex, and passed over to Normandy; at the same time shewing the most consummate policy by taking with him, not only the hostages which had been delivered to him upon the submission of London and the different parts of the kingdom, but likewise several of the principal nobility, whom he imagined likely, either from inclination or power, able to excite any commotions in his absence. The chief of these were Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland, the abbot of Glastonbury, Egelnoth and Waltheof, sons of earl Siward, both powerful noblemen, the one in Kent, and the other in the north of England: and to strike at the very root of his apprehensions, to these he added Edgar Atheling, whom he wisely judged it was not safe or prudent to leave behind in a kingdom to which he had an undoubted title. But he pretended that the reason of his taking these great men with him was, to do them particular honor, and indeed, he affected to treat them with the utmost respect upon all occasions, particularly archbishop Stigand, whom he always accosted with the title of father, and constantly rose from his seat, in all assemblies, to salute that prelate whenever he entered.

William's Norman subjects received him with the utmost demonstrations of joy; and the king of France, as he had not taken timely advantage of William's absence to attack Normandy, now thought it best to dissemble his jealousy of that hero's success, and to send him an embassy of congratulation. Rodolph, the French monarch's father-in-law, was accordingly dispatched with a splendid retinue to Felchamp, where William intended to keep his festival of Easter, in order to compliment him on his late victory and coronation. Upon this interview, the magnificence of the robes worn by William, and those who were with him; the variety of jewels that adorned them, and vast profusion of gold and silver utensils which the Conqueror ostentatiously displayed, excited the admiration of the French to such a degree, that they could hardly believe their senses, but almost fancied that such splendor, and so much treasure could only exist

in the delusions of imagination. The comeliness and beauty of the English youth, who were in William's train, excited the astonishment of the French, as much as any thing else which they saw; they were little accustomed to such dignity of mien, and delicacy of features, and the hearts of the French and Norman ladies fell victims to the personal charms of the vanquished English.

But while he was indulging himself in joy and festivity, all the precautions he had taken to secure the tranquillity of England were frustrated. The insolence of the Normans could be restrained by no authority, but that of William. Proud from the victory they had obtained, greedy of plunder, and looking with contempt on a people who had so easily resigned their liberties, they were guilty of every excess. They plundered the houses of the English, violated the chastity of their wives and daughters, and practised such enormous cruelties, that a savage brutality, and a spirit of revenge, took possession of the English. They perceived their deplorable situation, and despair urged them to retaliate on the invaders of their country all the miseries they had suffered from the hand of wanton despotism. They were not yet totally insensible to the charms of liberty, and determined either to drive their tyrannical masters out of the kingdom, or perish in the attempt. But they were destitute of leaders, and could form no regular plan for executing their design. The inhabitants of Kent, who severely felt the rod of power, applied to Eustace, count of Boulogne, for assistance. He listened to their complaints, and promised them relief. The castle of Dover was considered as the most proper place for a retreat if the enemy should prove too powerful, and they agreed to begin their operations against the enemy with seizing that important fortress. The plan was conducted with the utmost secrecy, and Montfort, the governor, being absent with part of the garrison, there was great reason to hope that the attempt would be crowned with success. The night appointed for the execution of his project arrived, and the Kentish-men repaired in small parties to the place of rendezvous. About midnight Eustace landed his forces, and led the combined troops immediately to the attack. The strength of the castle saved the Normans from the resentment of the English. They assaulted the gate with the utmost fury; but they spent their force in vain, for the garrison, quickly recovering the surprize they were at first thrown into by this unexpected attack, made a vigorous sally, and falling upon the assailants, put them to flight, drove Eustace and his men to their ships, and a division of the English, which had joined him, towards the brow of a rock, where most of them were precipitated down the cliffs into the sea: Eustace's nephew was taken prisoner in this skirmish, and the count himself narrowly escaped with a few of his followers.

Yet we find, that this had success at the beginning was not sufficient to damp the spirits of those who had unfurled the standard of liberty, their example ran through the kingdom like wild fire, so that no sooner was the flame extinguished in one part, than it burst forth in another.

The next scene of disturbance we hear of, had its rise in Shropshire and Herefordshire, and was of so violent a nature as to threaten the most serious consequences; and so high did the tide of discontent run throughout

to be executed. By the remains of it, it was, no doubt, a very stately pile, and a more magnificent. The Gate house, which was almost none, made a place for the fellows, and other persons meeting. There is a church school for forty boys. It was a very fine church, but in King Henry I. on Sundays, but in the reign of Henry I. a count Montague got it changed, by act of parliament, to a church, in his mother on the second Sunday in every month. And that the town is noted for now, is for

making the finest gunpowder, and the best, perhaps, in Europe. The incumbent of the church here is called Dean of Beaulieu. The place stands in a dirty low country, not reckoned very rich. There is a hill near it with a beacon on it, for which reason it is called Beacon hill, but its old name was Beaulieu hill, because William the Norman set up his great standard of defiance there, the day before the above mentioned battle with Harold.



throughout the kingdom, that Coxo, a nobleman of great power and property, and highly in favor with the English, was murdered by his own vassals, because he would not head them in an insurrection. This worthy lord, whom some of our antiquaries take to have been earl of Northumberland, was a man of strict virtue, and notwithstanding that he lamented the oppression under which some of his countrymen laboured, he thought that the oath of fealty he had made to William, in common with other nobles of the realm, after the battle of Hastings, would not allow him to take up arms against him in his absence: These considerations, however, had but small weight with Edric, surnamed Sylvaticus, or the Forester, nephew to the infamous Edric Streon, who lived in the reign of Ethelred II. This nobleman's estates lay on the borders of Wales: history does not inform us what reasons he alleged for taking up arms; he had, like earl Coxo, and other noblemen, sworn allegiance to William, and had met with the most favorable reception and kind treatment from him. However, seeing himself now at the head of a strong party of the malecontents, he attacked the territories of Richard Scrope, and other Normans in Herefordshire, and being joined by a body of the Welsh, under Blethwyn and Rynwellen, princes of Powis and North Wales, he wasted all the country as far as Luggen bridge, and after making a considerable booty, returned home. Nor were these the only insurrections that were raised by the English against the Norman intruders; great numbers of those foreigners were set upon and cut off by bands of people that rendezvoused in woods, forests, and caves.

As soon as the intelligence of these commotions reached William's ears, he left the government of Normandy in the hands of Matilda, his duchess, and his eldest son Robert, and setting sail from thence, landed at Winchelsea, on the 6th of December, 1067. By this sudden arrival he defeated a plan which had been concerted by the English, for shaking off the Norman yoke; and it is not improbable that the discovery of this design having been imparted to him, was the principal means of hastening his coming over. The conspiracy, indeed, was too general, and there were too many concerned in its intended execution for it to be kept secret: the design was to fall at the same hour upon the Norman troops, who were dispersed in the different parts of the kingdom, and having destroyed these, the conspirators imagined they could oppose William's again entering the kingdom. But William's return allayed the storm that had been raised in his absence; nevertheless, it gave him such a suspicion of the English, that he determined entirely to curb their turbulent spirit by oppression, to closely rivet the chains of slavery, which before he had only had opportunity to sit on, and in future to rule them with a rod of iron.

It was, however, essentially necessary to conceal a design, the avowal of which would have thrown, perhaps, insurmountable obstacles in the way of its completion, by exasperating the English to a general insurrection. He therefore had recourse to that dissimulation which had served him so well on former occasions, and though he firmly persisted in his intent, he pursued it with the most refined policy, gaining his point by degrees, and carrying it on under the veil of the most engaging candour, and the most engaging promises of kindness, affection, and friendship.

The first signal which William gave of his intention to rule by arbitrary power was manifested in the revival of the tax of Danegelt, so justly odious to the whole English nation. The levying it without calling together the states gave them great cause for suspicion, and added fuel to the present discontent. On this occasion, Aldred, archbishop of York, took the liberty to make several remonstrances to the king with

a noble freedom, and endeavoured to dissuade him from so unpopular a measure; but William, deaf to his advice, or rather incensed at his intermeddling, instead of desisting from his design, gave orders for the levying this tax with the most rigorous exactness. These orders struck a terror into those parts of the kingdom that were more immediately under his eye and the power of his standing army, so that little or no opposition was made to the payment of it in those counties adjacent to the capital; but the more remote provinces of Cornwall and Devonshire did not so tamely stoop beneath the burthen, and the city of Exeter was the first that refused to submit to the Conqueror's new regulations. It is to be observed, that Githa, the mother of Harold, had retired to this city with all her rich effects, after the battle of Hastings, so fatal to her family, and had here, with all her riches, lived uninterrupted, and in a splendor little inferior to that of the possessor of the crown: and it is not improbable but that her influence might, in a great measure, have contributed to the resistance made on this occasion by the inhabitants of these counties, who absolutely refused to swear fealty to William, or to admit a garrison of Normans whom he had sent down to take possession of their strong holds. William, not chusing to suffer any one instance of refractoriness to go unpunished, lest an ill-timed lenity might give rise to future disturbances of this kind, sent the malecontents word, that unless they immediately returned to their duty, they had nothing to expect but the most rigorous treatment for their disobedience. They, in no wise intimidated by his menaces, persisted in the resolution they had taken, upon which he marched in person, with a strong force, to quell them. And here he gave the most remarkable instance of that refined policy, to which most of his successes had in fact been owing: notwithstanding he had so many Normans ready to march at his command, the greatest part of the army he raised on this occasion was composed of English, that he might not leave them even the shadow of a plea for their disobedience, by alleging that foreigners were made use of, to drive them into a compliance with the will of a foreigner; he therefore resolved to make the English cut each other's throats, and, oh, shameful to be told! they themselves assisted him in his designs. Thus he at once spared his faithful Normans, and by thinning the number of the English, and, what was still more to his purpose, by creating between two peo-  
ple of the same nation an irreconcilable animosity, every degree attained every point he had in view.

He accordingly advanced against Exeter, A. D. 1068, with the English in the front of his army, when he prepared to lay siege to the town in form, which so intimidated the magistrates and persons of property within the place, that they sent a deputation to him, with offers of submission and hostages as pledges of their sincerity. But the populace, who had more resolution, because they had less to lose, refused to abide by the compact the deputies had made, that the gates should be kept shut, and the king just as he was preparing to enter and take possession of the city, and declared they would defend themselves therein as long as one stone remained upon another.

William was greatly exasperated at this behavior, and to revenge the affront, had recourse to a cruel device, in order to strike terror into the besieged, by commanding one of the hostages to be brought out in view of the walls, his eyes were there inhumanly put out. This deed, however, had a different effect on the minds of those within from what William had imagined, and only served to make them more desperate, upon which he found himself constrained to begin the siege in earnest. Having carried on his approach almost to the foot of the walls, he ordered his battering engines to play furiously upon them, and



at the same time gave directions for undermining the ramparts. His orders were executed with the greatest alacrity, and the townsmen, who had been before so insolent, now struck with the basest fear, implored the compassion of the victor; but William, who was not to be easily appeased when once his resentment was thoroughly roused, refused to hearken to any terms, and threatened to put to the sword all those who had shut the gates against him. However, the remonstrances of the principal nobles and clergy in his camp, whom he did not care to disoblige, added to the dictates of policy and a desire to possess his subjects with a notion of his clemency, to which he was in his heart a stranger, got the better of his wrath, inasmuch that he not only pardoned them, but even prevented his soldiers from plundering their city. As to Githa, she, upon the first approach of William, had found means to get on ship-board, with her effects, and escaped to Flanders. In order to prevent future insurrections, he built a citadel in the place, which he filled with a strong garrison, under the command of Baldwin de Moles, on whom he likewise bestowed the government of the county.

Having thus subdued Exeter, he marched into Cornwall, to quell the commotions there, in which he succeeded to his wish; and having provided for the future peace of that county, he returned to Winchester, ordered his army into winter-quarters, and in this city he passed his Easter. Hither his duchess Matilda, or Maude, came to him from Normandy, soon after the holidays; and was crowned on Whitsunday, by archbishop Aldred: and before the expiration of the year, was delivered of a son, who was named Henry, and afterwards filled the throne of England.

During these transactions, Aldred, the good archbishop of York, after in vain remonstrating with William on the illegality and cruelty of his proceedings, anathematized him, and soon after died of grief; when William being released from so troublesome a monitor, gave way to the dictates of his imperious disposition, persecuted the English with the utmost rigor, confiscated the estates of some, and loaded all with the most grievous burdens.

In this distress, the people naturally turned their eyes to Edwin and Morcar; they knew their valor, they confided in their popularity, and made no doubt of success, if they could induce these noblemen to declare in their favor. The earls themselves were already prepared for any desperate attempt: if the distresses of their country had made no impression on their minds, a motive equally strong, though not equally laudable, we mean revenge, incited them to take up arms against William; for the Norman, in order to secure these two noblemen in his interest, had, on his accession, promised his daughter in marriage to Edwin, but either he had never seriously intended to perform his engagement, or having changed his plan of administration in England from clemency to rigor, he thought it was to little purpose, to gain one family, at the expence of enraging the whole nation.

When Edwin therefore renewed his application, he gave him an absolute refusal; and this disappointment added to so many other reasons for disgust, induced that nobleman and his brother to concert with their enraged countrymen, and to make one effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. But before they took up arms, they wisely stipulated for foreign succours, from their nephew Blethyn, prince of North Wales, from Malcolm, king of Scotland, and from Swen, king of Denmark.

Far from being alarmed at these preparations and alliances of the insurgents, William advanced by forced marches towards the north. He was already in possession of the most important fortresses, and therefore had little to fear from the progress of the discontented English. He first visited those places of

strength, and put them in a condition to prevent a surprize. The castle of Warwick was new fortified, and committed to the custody of Henry de Beaumont, a Norman nobleman, afterwards created earl of Warwick. William Peverel, another Norman, was intrusted with the important castle of Nottingham, the fortifications of which were also repaired.

These precautions taken by William, and the great celerity of his march, by which he reached York before any of the foreign succours arrived, except a small reinforcement from Wales, sufficiently convinced the two earls that they must either be reduced to the discouraging necessity of passing the approaching winter amidst the fastnesses of the country, while William, possessing all the places of strength, would be enabled to cut off their supplies, or have recourse to conciliative measures with the conqueror. They chose the latter; and William, not chusing to exasperate the English any farther, received them with seeming complaisance. Archil, another nobleman of great interest in the northern parts, followed their example, and gave his son as a hostage to William for his good behaviour. Upon this, the inhabitants of York, a place at that time of great importance, sent William the keys of their city. This submission was very agreeable to the conqueror, who immediately gave orders for building two forts, each of which were garrisoned with five hundred men. Egilwin, bishop of Durham, now likewise made his peace; and had also the merit of prevailing on Malcolm to enter into a treaty with William, and to do him homage for Cumberland. The people thus deserted by their leaders, were unable to make any farther resistance. William religiously observed the terms granted to the chieftains, and allowed them for the present to keep possession of their estates; but he extended the rigors of his confiscations over their followers, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers, who being in possession of the military power, and dispersed through the whole country, left Edwin and Morcar, whom he pretended to spare, destitute of all support, and ready to fall whenever he should think proper to command their ruin. The Conqueror having thus weathered the storm, renewed his application to erecting castles wherever they were wanting, or might be useful.

In the mean time all the English, from whose influence with their countrymen William had any thing to fear, suffered a kind of proscription, by being either stripped of their estates or deprived of their liberty. The destruction of so many families was a sufficient proof, that the king intended to rely entirely on the support and affections of foreigners. Many of the English, therefore, fled into foreign countries, hoping to pass their lives abroad, free from oppression, or to return, on a favorable opportunity, to assist their friends in the recovery of their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himself, dreading the insidious caresses of William, was persuaded by Gospatric, a powerful Northumbrian, to escape into Scotland; and he carried with him his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. The sentiments of common humanity prompted Malcolm to receive the illustrious fugitives with great civility. As he himself had been an exile, he was moved with compassion at their fate. This compassion, improved by intercourse, at last begot an affection for the person of Margaret, whom he afterwards made his consort.

The proceedings alarmed William, who demanded the fugitives; and Malcolm, with a noble magnanimity which does honor to his memory, treated the request with contempt. A war between the two nations was the consequence; and the northern parts of the kingdom became again the scenes of horror and desolation.

Scotland was now crowded with English nobles; and the Northumbrians, sure of being powerfully assisted,



committed the most dreadful ravages on the territories of the Normans; many of whom chose to abandon their estates, and retire into their own country, rather than be perpetually harrassed by the attempts of an exasperated people. Nor were the Scots the only people that threatened to attack the English monarch; the Danes and the Irish had joined in the confederacy; and it was agreed to make the attack at the same time in different parts of the kingdom. Had this plan been executed with vigor, it would have shaken the foundation of William's power; but it was rendered abortive by the dissensions that prevailed in their councils. The Danes, however, landed at the mouth of the Humber; and William thought it most advisable to purchase their absence by a large sum of money; an expedient, which had often been ineffectually used by former monarchs.

The want of unanimity in the confederates ruined their whole scheme, and, A. D. 1070, the English insurgents, when deserted by their foreign allies, were unable to support themselves against the Norman army: they were obliged to submit to superior force; and the Conqueror had now an opportunity of introducing into England the innovations he thought necessary to support that despotic power by which he was determined to govern the kingdom. He had now the plea of rebellion to offer as a reason for his conduct; and he failed not to use it. He confiscated the estates of the nobles, and gave them to the Normans and other foreigners who had assisted him in the conquest of this unhappy country. For an Englishman to be possessed either of riches or power was considered as a sufficient crime to render him obnoxious to government. The innocent and the guilty suffered equally under the rod of oppression. The most antient and opulent families were reduced to indigence; they pined for want on the very estates which had descended to them through a long line of illustrious ancestors.

Add to this the feudal polity, which had been long introduced into France and Normandy, was considered by William as the best, perhaps the only method of rendering the servitude, to which he had reduced his subjects, perpetual, by destroying the very idea of liberty, and rivetting the chains of slavery on a generous, though conquered people.

He accordingly divided the kingdom into seven hundred baronies, which he bestowed upon his particular friends. No Englishman was suffered to enjoy that honor. These baronies were subdivided into sixty thousand, two hundred and fifteen knights fees; which were distributed among their retainers, and a few Englishmen who had been fortunate enough to gain the favor of the Conqueror, by being base enough to desert the cause of their country.

The clergy themselves were not exempted from these arbitrary proceedings; they were obliged to furnish a certain number of soldiers; and in case of refusal, to suffer the same punishment. The temporalities of the ecclesiastics enjoyed no greater favor than the estates of the laity. The pope remonstrated against these proceedings, but without effect. William no longer wanted his assistance, and was not to be intimidated by the thunder of the Vatican. Alexander II. who then filled the papal chair, perceived it would be in vain to contend against the power of William, and determined to accomplish by policy what he could not effect by force: he flattered himself with being able to extend his supremacy over the English dominions; but this, he knew, must be effected by an artful conduct. William was too violent to be openly opposed. Ermeftroy, bishop of Sion, appeared well qualified for carrying on this difficult and delicate negotiation; and accordingly Alexander sent him into England with the character of legate. Several of the English clergy were become obnoxious to William: the arrival of the legate, therefore, was agreeable to the

Conqueror, who now determined to punish them under the mask of religion. Ermeftroy, instructed to gain the favor of the English monarch, summoned a general council at Winchester, at which were deposed Stigand, archbishop, Agelmar, bishop of Helmham, Elgeric, bishop of Durham, and several other prelates. Among other innovations at this council, William compelled all bishoprics and abbies, possessed of baronies, to exchange their tenure, and instead of holding them free of all secular servitude, to hold them by knights service, or military tenure. He likewise quartered the greatest part of his troops upon religious houses, by which those communities were under the immediate eye of his trusty Norman officers, and his army cost him little or nothing for a maintenance.

William's avarice increased with his years, and his thoughts seemed wholly employed in accumulating treasures. Being informed, that during the late transactions many persons had lodged their plate, money, and other valuables in the monasteries, he gave orders to search those places, when his emissaries being properly instructed, not only seized upon what had been concealed, but took away the church plate, and stripped the shrines of their offerings. Still unsatisfied, for the grasp of avarice is never full, he cast a longing eye on the wealth of the deposed archbishop, bishops, and abbots, and determined, as he had wrongfully deprived them of their church livings, he would now with equal injustice strip them of their money; which he did with a most cruel illegality, and without the least apparent reason, as the Norman writers themselves confess. Nor were the decrees of William more unjust than rigorously executed, indeed the property of some of the clergy did not content him, for he imprisoned their persons, and the vacant livings of all were filled up by foreigners; in particular, Lanfranc, an Italian, was promoted to the see of Canterbury. Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, was created archbishop of York; the dioceses of Helmham, Selkey and Winchester, were filled by three of his own chaplains. It must, however, be confessed that though these foreigners were obtruded into the places of others, that they were men of real merit and abilities, and deserved those livings, had they been justly obtained.

William now, in order to prevent his officers of the revenue from defrauding him, established the Court of Exchequer, wherein the accounts of all the officers employed in collecting the king's revenue were passed, and all actions relating thereto were heard. The exactions and irregularities of collectors, and the delays and defaults in payment from the persons assessed, were particularly cognizable in this court. And it is proper to observe here, that the king's revenue at this time consisted of several branches besides the old demesne lands, which were reserved for supplying the king's household with oxen, sheep, corn, hay, and all sorts of provision, according to the nature of the lands, and in the quantities necessary; the overplus remaining being compounded for in money. One was a kind of land tax, called *Hidage*, and which being levied to make good the sums promised to the Danes, thence got the name of *Danegelt*; but collected (as appears from *Domesday Book*) in William's time, as an ordinary tax, in all appearances at the rate of twelve-pence, though it had been abolished by Edward the Confessor. There was also a quit rent paid, before William's coming to the crown, out of all the lands of the subject throughout the kingdom, and continued likewise upon the *Quit* fees established afterwards. Another branch consisted in the profits of wardships, reliefs, and *livery*, as well for livery of hereditary lands, affignations, of doves, licenses of marriage, and leave to sue in the king's courts, generally termed *Oblata*, as of a penance



ture, for marrying without licence, and other misdemeanors, which amounted to large sums; besides the forfeitures, mulcts, and pecuniary penalties with which all sorts of crimes were before, and for some time after the reign of William, punished. There were, likewise, an infinite number of tolls and customs paid for passage, pontage, freedom of fairs and markets, protection in going and coming, liberty of buying and selling, and duties laid upon merchandize, or paid for imports and exports.

This general revenue, with the occasional aid due from the fees of those that held of the crown by knights service, and the tallages that the king had in his power to levy upon the socage tenants in his own demesnes, and upon the trading towns of the kingdom, produced an immense revenue to William. Ordericus Vitalis says, that, setting aside the oblates, fines, and forfeitures, he had coming in near four hundred thousand pounds a year, every pound being nearly equal to that weight of silver, consequently the whole is to be estimated at twelve hundred thousand pounds of the present computation; a sum which, considering the difference of specie between that period and the present, was equivalent to twelve millions of money of modern estimation.

This amazing revenue, and the vast standing army that William kept, could not, however, secure him against the attempts of the English, who very naturally wished to throw off a yoke which his tyranny had rendered insupportable, and so far were the measures he had taken from answering his view of terrifying them into an abject submission, that, on the contrary, it made them desperate, and many of them wished rather to end their lives in asserting their privileges, than to live with the privation of them. Fretherig, the abbot of St. Alban's, exerted himself in a particular manner to cherish this resolution in his countrymen, and his indignation at the calamities they suffered made him consider how to remedy them; for this purpose he gave refuge and entertainment to all such of the English who had been ousted of their estates, and proscribed by the Conqueror, on account of their opposition to his measures: and here they concerted matters so secretly and prudently, that they had assembled a considerable army before William had the least intimation of their design. Fretherig, finding his scheme so successful, sent a message to Edgar Atheling, then in Scotland, inviting that prince to come and put himself at the head of the malecontents; which proposal he readily accepted, and, in a few days after, joined the abbot and his friends, who acknowledged him for their king, and caused him to be proclaimed in all the places they had seized.

As soon as William heard of these proceedings, not all his brightness could keep him from trembling for the consequences: conscious of the provocations he had given to the English, he could expect nothing less than that they would, to a man, join in a conspiracy against him, unless he could find some means to crush it in its infancy. In this dilemma he consulted with his favorite and bosom counsellor, Lanfranc, who advised him, on this occasion, to conciliate the affections of the rest of the English by every act of condescension and kindness, that his own dignity and safety would permit: and in particular he represented to him the salutary effects that might arise from recalling the most popular of the proscribed persons, and restoring them to his favor and protection. William listened to this prudent advice, and followed it: he presided on the chiefs of the insurgents to give him a meeting at Berkhamstead, where, after many remonstrances and expostulations, he, in the presence of his archbishop, swore by all the relics of St. Alban, at the same time kissing the Gospels, "That he would observe the good approved, and ancient laws of the kingdom, which the holy and pious kings, his predecessors, and particularly king Edward the Confessor had enacted."

This condescension having quieted the malecontents, they returned to the army, in order to dismiss their troops, believing they should have no farther occasion for them. But as William had suffered the oath to be extorted from him, in regard to the exigence of affairs, so he thought of nothing less than keeping it; and he no sooner saw his foes disarmed, than he seized and imprisoned their persons, confiscated their estates, and filled them with Normans. Edgar, upon the first news of this treacherous conduct, fled to Scotland, and the rest of the conspirators took refuge in different countries. The abbot of St. Alban's, finding all his intentions for the delivery of his country baffled, retired to the Isle of Ely, where he died soon after of grief.

Immediately upon his death, William seized on his abbey of St. Alban's, and stripped it of every thing that was valuable; and Matthew Paris, in his Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's, says, that the king would have wholly destroyed it, had he not been prevented by the remonstrances of Lanfranc his favorite. The high hand which William carried over his English subjects, as it intimidated some into the most passive submission, so it caused in others a resolution to shake off their chains, or perish in the attempt. A number of the discontented, of all ranks, repaired to the Isle of Ely, and among the rest the two earls Morcar and Edwin (which latter was set upon and murdered, as he was on his way to Scotland to engage Malcolm to assist the malecontents) and were afterwards joined from Scotland by Elgerick and Egelwin, bishops of Durham and Hereford, Siward Bearn and the brave Hereward de Wake, son of Leofric, lord of Brunne, who was reputed the greatest warrior and the bravest soldier of his age; these great qualities and his known hatred to the Norman race, induced the malecontents to chuse him for their commander. This distinction animated young Hereward with fresh ardor, and, in order to shew those who had put him at their head, that they had not made an unworthy choice, he set about making all the preparations necessary for a vigorous defence, well knowing that William would not long let them remain unattacked.

William, alarmed at this insurrection, resolved to take the advantage of the summer, in which season alone the place was accessible, being surrounded with a deep morass, which in winter was always full of water. The first thing he did was to build a strong castle at Wisbech on the east side, and to stop up all the outlets by which the rebel could make any incursions. We are likewise told, that he built a bridge, two miles long, over the morass, on the west side. However, the beleagued were so well fortified, that he was obliged to convert his operations into a blockade, a tedious method of proceeding, and the more vexatious to William at this time, as he had received news of an irruption into the northern province by Malcolm, king of Scotland. One morning as the Normans were intent upon their works, the active Hereward sallied out, engaged and routed the party he attacked, and returned with a considerable booty. The check which this successful rally had given to William's affairs, made that prince very uneasy, and despairing of being able to make himself master of the place in any reasonable time, he made a truce with the malecontents, which as it was convenient to their affairs, they readily consented to, and Hereward went over to the main land; but William broke this truce, by seizing and imprisoning Elgerick, bishop of Durham, as he was attempting to pass from the island. Hereupon hostilities were renewed, and Hereward returned to take upon him the command of the beleagued, being now with him a strong band of his countrymen, whom he had gathered together during his absence from the island.



William, after having been repulsed in frequent attacks, bethought himself of the following stratagem: Knowing that the monastery of Ely had several large possessions which lay on the main land; these he fell upon, and, after rifling them of their most valuable effects, gave the lands to his soldiers. This scheme succeeded to his wish; the brotherhood, touched to the quick with their loss, began to make such clamors, that Thurstan, their abbot, was obliged to promise them that he would fall upon some method to get a restitution of their lands from William. Accordingly he privately sent and offered him to betray the island into his hands, with all who were in it, and also to pay him a thousand marks, on condition the lands, which had been seized, were restored to the convent. William gladly embraced this offer, and the abbot, faithful in his treachery, opened a passage for a party of the king's troops, who kept their post, notwithstanding the efforts of those within to dislodge them, till the whole army entered the island. The gallant Hereward, finding himself betrayed, cut his passage through the Norman troops sword in hand; but the rest were obliged to surrender at discretion, and great numbers of them were made prisoners, among whom was earl Morcar, brother to Edwin. The monks themselves did not escape William's resentment, for he not only stripped their monastery of all its rich effects, but saddled the brotherhood with the maintenance of forty horsemen, and when they came to pay him the thousand marks agreed upon, a great happening to be deficient in the sum, he took advantage of that trivial circumstance, and obliged them to double the original sum.

During these transactions, the king of Scotland, hoping to profit by such confusions, had fallen upon the northern counties, but, on the approach of William, he retired; and when the king entered his country, he was glad to make peace, and to pay the usual homage to the English crown. To complete the king's prosperity, Edgar Atheling, despairing of success, and weary of a fugitive life, submitted to his enemy, and, receiving a handsome allowance, was permitted to live in England unmolested. But these acts of generosity towards the leaders were, as usual, disgraced by the rigor William exercised against the inferior malecontents. He ordered the hands to be lopped off, and the eyes to be put out, of many of the prisoners he had taken in the Isle of Ely, and, in that miserable condition, led them through the country as monuments of his savage disposition.

The very next year, which was A. D. 1073, Philip, king of France, either jealous of William's growing power, or hoping that the unsettled state of his affairs in England would prevent his assisting his subjects on the continent, attacked the duchy of Normandy. This greatly embarrassed William: he could trust only to the Normans in subduing and awing the English, especially when he himself was absent. He therefore raised an army, wholly composed of the inhabitants of that kingdom and passed over to the continent, where his English forces were joined by some troops levied in Normandy. Philip was, by this time, in possession of the city of Mans, the capital of the province of Maine, which had some time before revolted from the Norman government. The English appeared ambitious of distinguishing themselves on the occasion, and of recovering that character for valor, which had long been national among them; but which their late easy subjection by the Normans, had somewhat degraded and obscured. Nor is it impossible but they might hope, by their zeal and activity, to recover the confidence of their sovereign, as their ancestors had formerly, by a similar conduct, gained the affections of Canute; and to conquer his inveterate prejudices in favor of his own countrymen.

The valor of the English, together with the king's military abilities, soon surmounted all difficulties in Maine: the city of Mans was re-taken, the inhabitants were obliged to submit to William's government, and the king of France to give him peace upon his own terms.

William, during his stay in Normandy, A. D. 1074, received intelligence that a conspiracy of a very extraordinary nature was formed in England, by persons, whom, of all others, he imagined he had the least reason to suspect of being dissatisfied. These were the very foreigners whom he had enriched with his bounties, and raised to the most eminent stations, from the love and esteem he bore to their persons. Robert, the youngest son of William Fitz-Osborne, who succeeded to the English estate, and earldom of Hereford had, either by way of compliment to his sovereign, or in compliance with the forms of vassalage, applied to William for leave to marry his sister to Ralph de Gauder, earl of Norfolk, and met with an absolute denial. He, however, proceeded to finish the nuptials, and assembled all his friends together, with those of Gauder, to attend the solemnity. The two earls, disgusted with receiving a denial to their request, and dreading William's resentment for their disobedience, now prepared matters for a revolt; and, during the gaiety of the festival, while the company were heated with wine, they opened their design to their guests. They inveighed bitterly against the arbitrary conduct of the king; his tyranny towards the English, whom they affected, on this occasion, to commiserate; his imperious behaviour to his barons of the noblest birth; and his apparent intention of reducing the victors and the vanquished, to a like ignominious servitude. Amidst their complaints, the indignity of submitting to a bastard was not forgot; the certain prospect of success in a revolt, by the assistance of the Danes and the discontented English, was insisted on; and the whole company, inflamed with the same sentiments, and, warmed by the jollity of the entertainment, entered, by a solemn engagement, into the design of shaking off the royal authority. Even earl Waltheof himself, who happened to be present, inconsiderately expressed his approbation of the conspiracy, and promised to assist in the execution to the utmost of his power. Waltheof had married Judith, the conqueror's niece, and at this time possessed the confidence and friendship of his sovereign, who had lately invested him with the important earldom of Northumberland, in the room of Gospatric, who, on some new disgust from William, had retired into Scotland, where he received the earldom of Dunbar from the bounty of Malcolm. It is indeed probable, that Waltheof was greatly affected by the tyranny exercised by the conqueror over the English, and which destroyed all the satisfaction he could reap from his own grandeur and advancement. Animated by a desire of relieving the oppressions of his countrymen, it is no wonder, when a prospect was opened, of retrieving their liberty, that he hastily embraced it, while the fumes of the liquor, and the ardor of the company, prevented him from reflecting on the consequences that would certainly attend so rash an attempt. But when his cool judgment returned he easily foresaw, that the conspiracy of these discontented barons was not likely to prove successful against the established power of William; or, if their attempt should be crowned with a favourable issue, that the slavery of the English, instead of being alleviated, would become more grievous, under a multitude of foreign leaders, factions, and ambitious, whose union or discord would be equally oppressive to the people. Tormented with these reflections, he opened his mind to his wife Judith, on whose be-



lity he thought he might safely depend; but who, having secretly fixed her affections upon another, took this opportunity of ruining her easy and credulous husband. She conveyed intelligence of the conspiracy to William, and took care to aggravate every circumstance which she believed would tend to enrage him against Waltheof, and render him absolutely implacable. In the mean time the earl, still unsatisfied with regard to the part it would be most prudent for him to act, discovered the secret in confession to Lanfranc, on whose probity and judgement he placed the utmost confidence; and was persuaded by the prelate, that he owed no fidelity to those rebellious barons, who had, by surprise, gained his consent to a crime; that his first duty was to his sovereign and benefactor, his next to himself and family; and that if he neglected the opportunity of making atonement for his guilt by revealing it, the temerity of the conspirators was so great, that they would give some other person the means of acquiring the merit of the discovery.

The earl followed his advice; and, when he came to the king, met with a most gracious reception. The disappearing of Waltheof, and some steps taken by the regency, soon gave the conspirators to know that they were discovered, and consequently that no safety was left for them but in their swords. Upon this they sent to the Welsh, who readily joining them, hostilities were begun; but, by the diligence of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's brother and chief regent of the kingdom during his absence, the conspirators found most of their schemes disconcerted. Robert attempted to pass the Severn, but was prevented by Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, and Urso, high-sheriff of the county. Ralph de Gauder advanced into the neighbourhood of Cambridge; but being defeated by Odo and Godfrey of Coutances, the justiciary, retired to his castle of Norwich, from whence he went over to France, hoping to obtain aid from king Philip, whom he well knew bore ill-will to William, notwithstanding the late pacification between them; and by that means he was in hopes to cut out sufficient work for William till the Danish forces should arrive, and throw the balance of power into the scale of the confederates; however, these towering prospects were soon overturned by the sudden arrival of William in England, who having settled the affairs of his dukedom, embarked about the middle of this autumn, 1074, and, landing safely in England, by the vigorous measures he took, soon put an end to the conspiracy. The earl of Hereford, finding that he was unable to make head against the king's forces, submitted; and, by William's orders, both he and Waltheof, notwithstanding his discovery of the plot, were committed to close imprisonment. The Danes, who, under Canute, the son of Sweyn, and earl Haco, were upon the point of making a descent in favour of the conspirators, finding William prepared for their reception, or else being bribed by him, laid aside their design, and retired with their ships to the ports of Flanders, where Ralph de Gauder went on board; and, being joined by his wife and family from England, repaired to an estate that belonged to him in France.

A parliament was now summoned by William to meet at Westminster, where the case of those concerned in the late rebellion came under consideration; and they were proceeded against with the utmost severity. Of the inferior rank, some were punished with the loss of their eyes, others had their hands or feet chopped off; but no one act of William drew upon him such deserved reproach as his treatment of earl Waltheof, who, notwithstanding the proof of fidelity which he had given in discover-

ing the plot, was tried for being an accomplice; and upon the information of his own wife, sentenced to lose his head. Lanfranc in vain exerted all his interest with William to save him; the stern Norman was inflexible, he was determined to quench even the smallest ember of rebellion with blood: besides, as Mr. Carte seems not unjustly to have observed, his being an Englishman of great power and property, and Ino de Taillebois and other Normans thirsting after his estate, added to the wickedness of his wife, who wanted to get rid of him as an obstacle in the way to another match she had in view, all these things made so against him, that his innocence proved insufficient to protect him from the malice of his enemies; and he was accordingly beheaded at Winchester, very early in the morning, on April 29, A. D. 1075. He was the last Englishman who retained any considerable power or interest in the nation. His corpse was at first thrown into a ditch, but a fortnight afterwards it was removed to Croyland abbey, where, by the monks and abbot, it was said to work miracles. William, who had good sense enough to laugh at these idle stories, and to resent them when made use of against his interest or will, was so much incensed at the abbot that he deposed him, and made Ingulphus, the celebrated historian, abbot in his room.

William, having thus crushed the conspiracy, and secured himself by the exemplary punishment of the conspirators, determined to turn his arms against Ralph de Gauder, and despoil him of his estate in Brittany. With this view he passed over into that country with a large army, a short time after the execution of Waltheof, and laid siege to the castle of Dol, where Ralph then was, and who made so brave a resistance on this occasion, that William had it not in his power to effect his design against the place before Philip, king of France, marched to the relief of the beleagued, with a powerful army; and William, to his no small vexation, found himself under the necessity of drawing off his forces, and returning, after an inglorious campaign, and with great loss of men, to England; where, during the rest of that and the following year, nothing remarkable happened, except a council held at London, to settle the precedence of bishops.

But this vexation did not come alone; for ambition, more prevalent than the ties of blood and nature, occasioned him new anxieties, and exposed him to fresh dangers and difficulties, from a quarter whence he assuredly had the least reason to expect them. In the beginning of the year 1077, Robert, his eldest son, called, on account of the shortness of his legs, Gambaton or Courtoise, being privately instigated by the persuasions of Philip the French king, who promised him powerful succours in case of necessity, called upon his father in a peremptory manner, to perform a promise he had made in the French council, when he was at that court soliciting succours to carry on his expedition against England, that as soon as he should be master of that kingdom, he would leave Robert in possession of Normandy. It is certain, that William had made such a promise, and had even renewed it in a dangerous fit of illness, declaring Robert then to his hereditary dominions; but the dissipated manner in which his son now reminded him of it, added to the natural dislike we have to part with power when once in our enjoyment, made William return this answer: "That he never used to sleep till he went to bed, and that his son ought to wait till his decease."

A reply of this kind could not but be deeply felt by one of Robert's temper, who was naturally turbulent, impetuous, and restless, fond of power, and full of vanity; nevertheless, it is to be believed that he would not have proceeded to any open act of dis-



obedience, had it not been for the infligations of those who desired nothing so much as to set the father and son at variance; besides, a trifling dispute which happened about this time, between his brother William and him, and in which his father appeared to favor the former, so far inflamed his disposition, that he broke out into open rebellion. The plausibility of his claim to the dukedom, and the popularity of his person, soon gained him numerous adherents. His first step was an attempt to surprize the castle of Rouen by night; but Roger Ivery, who had received some intimations of the designs that were hatching by the prince and his friends, had put the place in so good a posture of defence, that Robert's project was rendered abortive.

William, apprized of this audacious attempt, immediately drew an army together, wholly made up of English, and passed over into Normandy, to put a stop to the proceedings of his rebellious son; and, with an expedition which is so peculiar to his character, advanced against him, and straitened him so much, that Robert was forced to apply to the king of France for a place of retreat from his father's resentment. This Philip readily afforded him, by engaging the Vidame Helie to admit the prince into Gerberoy, a strong fortress in the Bovoisis. Hither William followed him, and prepared to besiege the place in form. While the operations were carrying on, a number of skirmishes happened on both sides, which we shall pass over, to take notice of that remarkable action which brought about a reconciliation between the father and the son. For Robert, having been joined by a great number of French noblemen and others, made frequent incursions into the Norman Vexin and the Pays de Caux, levying contributions, and plundering the inhabitants with great cruelty. William, to put a stop to these outrages, took the resolution to carry his approaches nearer to the place, in order to straiten the besieged, and keep them, if possible, within their walls. But Robert thinking it a disgrace to be thus shut up within a town at the head of an army, drew out his forces, and gave his father battle. The dispute was bloody and obstinate; and William, dreading to see his dear-earned laurels torn from his brow by his own son, exerted himself beyond his strength; and his horse being killed under him, some say by an arrow shot from the arm of Robert himself, fell to the ground almost breathless, and being very corpulent and unwieldy with age, would certainly have been trod to death by the press, had not Robert, either by the sound of his voice, or from a glimpse of his face as he lifted up his beaver to get an, luckily recognized him. This sight awakened in the breast of the young prince all the sentiments of filial reverence and duty, he threw himself precipitately from his horse, flew to his father whom he lifted from the ground with infinite tenderness, and then, casting himself at his feet, implored his pardon for the difficulties to which he by his inconsiderate conduct had subjected the author of his life, and offered to lay down his arm and return to obedience. This generous behaviour, however, had no effect on William, whose soul felt the affront done him too deeply to forget, or to forgive it, nevertheless, as he himself had been greatly hurt by his fall, and his son William Rufus was wounded, and that the late of the day was evidently against him, he took advantage of this circumstance to draw off his forces, and return to Rouen. During his stay in this place, he was, by the intercession of his queen, reconciled to Robert; however, not caring to trust him in his absence, on the continent brought him over to England with him, on pretence of sending him on an expedition into Scotland.

With respect to the Scotch, it is in the preceding year, taking advantage of William's absence, they

had, on what pretext is unknown, harrassed the northern borders, and, at the latter end of August of the year (1079) Malcolm, with a royal army, fell upon Northumberland, and ravaged it as far as the Tyne. The Scots had been the more encouraged to this attempt, as that country was then in a state of confusion; but Robert marching against them, the Scots thought proper to retire, when a treaty was soon after concluded between the two kingdoms.

On Robert's return to court, William behaved to him with great indifferency, which determined the prince to travel; accordingly he set out A. D. 1080, and continued for the five subsequent years rambling from court to court, and squandering away whatever money he could procure in the company of Robert de Belesme, a dissolute young nobleman. At length he fixed his residence in France, where he continued till the death of his father.

A. D. 1081. William obliged the Welch to pay an annual tribute to England, on account of some incursions which they had lately made into the English territories. Towards the latter end of this year, William laid the foundation of the Tower of London, which, says a late author, "some writers, over fond of antiquity, will have to have been originally founded by Julius Cæsar, but it would be very difficult for them to prove that Cæsar ever was at London, and still more so to prove, that he undertook this work, since we do not find the least mention of it in his commentaries, and certainly he never would have omitted so material a fact."

Peace was now entirely re-established, as the English were effectually subdued, and the greater part of all the estates in the kingdom possessed by Normans; so that, according to the emphatical expression of William of Malmesbury, "England was become an habitation and dominion of strangers." This interval of tranquillity enabled William to finish a survey of the kingdom, begun by Edward the Confessor. In this survey an account was taken of all the lands in England, their extent in each district, their value, their quality, and the number of the tenants, cottagers, freemen, sokemen, and villeins, slaves; black cattle, sheep, hogs, cattle for draught, and other animals, with the names of those to whom they belonged; and the number of mills and fisheries. This work was six years in compiling; and was at first called, The Roll of Winchester, because originally kept in that cathedral; but it was afterwards named Domboc, or Domesday book, because there was no appeal from its authority; its evidence was decisive. It is still preserved in the exchequer by the chamberlain, and consists of two books, a larger and a lesser one.

During the time that the proper commissioners were engaged in making the above mentioned survey, William, in A. D. 1082, visited his Norman dominions, and, during his absence, a very remarkable affair was transacting in England. Odo, his uterine brother, bishop of Bayeux, and earl of Kent, who, from being chief justiciary of the kingdom, and generally regent during William's absence, had amass'd immense sums, by the most illegal and oppressive method; and, from an idle prediction, made by some itinerant astrologer, that Gregory, who then filled the papal chair, would shortly die, and be succeeded by one Odo, resolved to employ his treasure in obtaining the papacy. Accordingly, he now purchased a magnificent palace at Rome, furnished it in the most superb manner, and employed a number of agents in that city, to engage the cardinals, and other great men, to favor him at the next election; but judging his presence would be necessary to insure the success of his designs, he proposed to withdraw privately from the kingdom, and repair to Rome, where he intended to reside, till the death of Gregory should have given



cant the papal throne. He took all his measures with the utmost secrecy, and even persuaded Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, as well as several others of his tenants and partizans, to follow him into Italy, promising to bestow on them more considerable establishments in that country.

But these sinister proceedings were not, however, so effectually concealed as Odo imagined. William received intelligence of the design, and justly apprehending, that both himself and his kingdom might suffer for this chimerical project of his brother, he determined to crush the aspiring hopes of Odo, who had now repaired to the Isle of Wight, where he proposed to embark for Italy. William accordingly sailed immediately to that island, and commanded his followers to seize the bishop's person; but they were so impressed with his character as a priest, and his power as a nobleman, that William could not prevail on them to lay hands on Odo, who strongly insisted on his sacred function, and that he was accountable to no power on earth but that of the pope. William, who well knew how to distinguish on such occasions, seeing the arrogance of his brother, and the timidity of his own followers, boldly seized the delinquent himself, telling him, that he was determined to bring him to justice, not as bishop of Bayeaux, but as earl of Kent. This distinction reconciled his servants to their duty; Odo was seized, tried, and convicted of extortion in matters of government, and of seducing the great peers of the realm to leave the kingdom. Upon which his estates and treasures were confiscated, and himself sent prisoner to Rouen, where he continued till the death of the conqueror, notwithstanding all the efforts of pope Gregory, who had recourse to both flattery and threatenings in his behalf. This spirited behaviour of William did infinite honor to his administration, in the opinion of all the christian princes, who were then very little better than slaves to the Roman pontiff.

William did not return to Normandy so soon as he intended, on account of an epidemical disorder which broke out at this time in that dukedom. In order, therefore, to amuse himself during this constrained absence from his native country, in favour of which he was warmly prepossessed, he spent great part of his time in hunting—a diversion of which he was fond to insatiation; and the measures he took to gratify that passion were at once absurd and tyrannical. Not contented with those large forests, possessed by former kings, in different parts of England, he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of residence, without diminishing his own revenue. Accordingly he laid waste the county of Hampshire, for an extent of thirty miles, expelling the inhabitants from their houses, seizing their property, and even demolishing the churches and convents, without making the unhappy sufferers the least compensation for their injury. This cruel transaction gave rise to several later invectives from the sufferers, who styled him the father of wild beasts; but he was so far from endeavouring to conciliate the minds of his people, by acts of clemency and benevolence, that he enacted the most rigorous laws relating to forests, claiming an absolute right over those districts, and forbidding all his subjects, under the most severe penalties, from hunting in any of them, without his express permission. Laws like these could not fail of being considered as oppressive both by his Norman and English subjects, particularly by the nobility, who were now deprived of pursuing their favorite diversion, the only one they could have recourse to in that illiterate age, for passing away the tedious hours. These and many similar oppressions, which the English suffered under the prince, sufficiently demonstrated, that their complaints were not without foundation, though perhaps their impatient behaviour might sometimes exasperate

William to have recourse to harsher measures than he would have pursued, had they seemed more submissive.

Historians likewise assert, that William even endeavoured to abolish the English tongue and introduce his own in its place. He did not, indeed, dare absolutely to abrogate the laws of Edward the Confessor, but he introduced divers alterations in the modes of administering justice. He ordered all the laws to be published in the Norman tongue; and no other was heard at court. He erected schools in all the towns and boroughs of the kingdom, the masters whereof were Normans, and taught in that language; and all parents were commanded to send their children to these seminaries, under severe penalties.

Add to this, A. D. 1084, he imposed a tax in England of no less than six shillings upon every hide of land, which was three times as much as Danes used to be. This brought a prodigious sum of money into his coffers; and one would be tempted to think that William had acted from some secret presage, since he soon found occasion to employ the monies he had thus raised, in preparations against an invasion he was threatened with from Denmark, which happened in the year following.

William was, in the latter end of the autumn, called over into Normandy, by the sickness of his queen Matilda, or Maud, of whom he was tenderly fond, and who resigned her breath in his arms soon after his arrival. He was so much afflicted at her death, that he abstained from his usual diversions for ever after. Her funeral he celebrated with great magnificence in the nunnery of the Holy Trinity, at Caen, where he himself was afterwards buried.

Much about this time an insurrection broke out in le Maine, and was fomented by the nobility, who were not reconciled to the Norman government. These disturbances lasted upwards of three years, and many persons of noble birth and exemplary valor lost their lives on both sides, till at length William, finding he could not quell the disaffected party by force, made a treaty with the chief of them, by which matters were again settled on a quiet footing. But from William's known military skill, and the great number of veteran troops he had at his command, there is the greatest reason to believe that he would have reduced the insurgents much sooner to obedience, had he not been called off the very next year after his going over to Normandy, by advices that the Danes were actually ready to make a descent upon England with a strong naval armament, which was to be joined by the forces of Robert, earl of Flanders.

Upon the full notice of the storm that threatened him, William crossed over to England with a numerous army of mercenaries from Spain, France, and Germany, well knowing that he could expect little assistance from the English whom he had lately governed with such an iron sway; on the contrary, he dreaded, with reason, that they would by a general insurrection favor the attempts of the enemy.

The king of Denmark was no sooner settled on the throne than he began to form a design of asserting his right to the crown of England, which his predecessors had always kept alive since the full conquest of this kingdom by Canute the Great. In this present design, however, the Dane appears to have been guided chiefly by the instigation of his father-in-law, the earl of Flanders, between whom and William, it is necessary to observe, there had for some time been an animosity, and who promised to assist in the expedition with all his forces. The preparations made by Canute on this occasion were very extraordinary, and had taken him up no less than two years. He had a formidable fleet amounting to near a thousand sail, on board of which he embarked a prodigious quantity of warlike stores, with provision sufficient for the



maintenance of an hundred thousand men. He had assembled all his forces, and his fleet lay ready to sail, when William returned to his English dominions and took those precautions we have already related. Whether the knowledge of these, or the disagreement between himself and his brother Olaus, as some historians affirm, or else a mutiny among his sailors, might be the occasion, it so happened, that Canute was obliged to abandon his designs against England, and William was rid of an enemy, of whom he was peculiarly apprehensive on account of his connections and interest with the natives of this island. When he had certain intelligence that the Danish expedition was laid aside, he disbanded one half of his troops, but kept the remainder together till winter, to prevent a surprize.

The ensuing year, A. D. 1086, according to Florence of Worcester and others, it was that the king knighted his son Henry, at Westminster, in Whitfun-week; and on this occasion summoned all his prelates, nobility, and the most considerable of his military tenants throughout the kingdom, to attend him, on the first of August, at Salisbury, there to take an oath of fidelity to him before his intended voyage to Normandy, and at the same time obliged them to enter into an association to defend his person and government against all attempts of his enemies. No sooner was this ceremony performed than he gave them a specimen of what they were to expect from the engagements they had so lately entered into; for while he was waiting in the Isle of Wight for a fair wind, he issued out his warrants for levying money upon his subjects, on account of the order of knighthood he had conferred on Henry, it being a Norman custom to make their prince presents when he knighted any of his sons; and this custom was too flattering to William's avaricious disposition not to be introduced by him into England on the very first opportunity.

At length departing for Normandy, he took Edgar Atheling with him, whom he still looked upon with a jealous eye, notwithstanding the conduct of this prince plainly shewed him to be divested of every spark of ambition, and fitted, both by talent and inclination, for the humble state of a private nobleman, rather than the exalted dignity of an English monarch. Edgar, on his side, could not forbear entertaining some suspicions of William; and knowing his fiery and revengeful temper, trembled for his own safety, in case his lordly keeper should take it into his imagination that he was engaged in designs against his person or authority; he, therefore, applied to him for leave to go to the Holy Land, in company with Robert, the son of Godwin, to fight the infidels. This request was music to the ears of William; he immediately consented to his proposal, and, to cover the joy he conceived at his removal, under a shew of regard to his person, he loaded him with presents; and Edgar set out with a splendid equipage, and accompanied by two hundred English gentlemen, who, having been deprived of their estates in their own country, resolved to try their fortunes in other climes. At the same time Edgar's unmarried sister, Christina, who had all along lived with him, in order to remove every cause of jealousy from William, took the veil in the monastery of Bournemouth.

A. D. 1087 was remarkable for a dreadful famine which raged in England, and was one of the melancholy consequences of that general depopulation which had seized on the oppressed English, who, having no longer any property they could call their own, lost the spirit of industry, neglected the culture of the lands, as they knew they worked only for others, and thought that scarcity was at least as tolerable an evil as slavery; this universal neglect begat famine, famine diseases, and both of them jointly, mortality; so that an incre-

dible number died in the space of a few months. To add to their calamities, almost all the chief cities in England were, at different times, partly consumed by fire, amongst which the greatest part of London, and the cathedral of St. Paul were burnt.

Dreadful as these disasters were, they seem to have made little impression upon the heart of William, for we do not find him remitting any part of the burthens he had laid upon his people; on the contrary he began to make preparations for invading the dominions of Philip, king of France, on some disputes which had happened between them. Raising, therefore, a great army, of such who chose rather to die by the sword in any country, than perish by want in their own, he entered the Isle of France, which he wasted for some time in a furious manner; but finding himself oppressed with years and corpulence, he accepted certain proposals of peace made to him by Philip. But soon after falling ill, he was constrained to keep his bed at Rouen: the news of this being carried to Philip, he, who had so lately spoke the language of a suppliant, now gave a loose to the most unmanly exultation; and William having been advised to go through a course of physic in order to reduce his corpulency, which detained him longer than he either expected or intended, Philip one day asked, in a scoffing manner, "Whether the good woman of England was still in the straw?" which unseasonable sarcasm being reported to William, it raised all his indignation, and he swore by the brightness and resurrection of God, that, as soon as he was on foot again, he would present the taunting Frenchman with such a number of candles as should make his residence too hot for him to continue in it.

At length resentment getting the better of his distemper, about August William was able to take the field; and putting himself at the head of a great army, he re-entered France, where he left no kind of ravage uncommitted, in order to fulfil the promise he had made: towns and churches, the nobleman's palace, and the labourer's hut, alike felt his fury; and death, desolation, and flames, marked his progress wheresoever he went. The city of Mantes particularly experienced his rage; for having made himself master of it, he gave directions that it should be burnt to the ground, and during the conflagration, rode about the streets in a kind of triumphant exultation.

But his triumph was of no long continuance; his horse, terrified by the smoking ruins, suddenly started aside, and bruised his belly against the pommel of the saddle. A rupture attended by a fever was the consequence. He was carried to Rouen; and sensible that his end was approaching, he was struck with remorse for the many violences and cruelties he had committed to satisfy the cravings of an unbounded ambition. He lavished donations on churches and monasteries, and practised all the external acts of religion, which in that bigotted age were considered as the highest, and most powerful acts of religion. He gave Normandy and Maine to Robert his eldest son, and named William his second son, as his successor to the crown of England. Henry, his youngest son, he left only the portion of his mother Matilda's dowry foretold, that he should one day succeed to the undivided inheritance of his father, and surpass his predecessors in power, in prudence and in riches. He paid the debt of nature on the ninth of September, A. D. 1087, in the sixty-first year of his age, the end of his reign over the Normans, and the end of his history over the English.

As soon as his attendants perceived that the stroke of death was over, and had heard the groan of expiration, they immediately deserted the lifeless body to plunder his coffers, and to sell on his valuable effects. They even stopped the







corpse of the rich mantle with which it was covered, and left the remains of this mighty conqueror, whose nod had decided the fate of thousands, naked and exposed. A country gentleman beheld this scene of rapacity, and was touched with compassion. He caused the body to be embalmed at his own expence, and made the necessary preparations for interring it in the church of St. Stephen in Caen, pursuant to William's own request. The procession was awfully solemn, and an elegant funeral oration was pronounced by Gilbert, bishop of Exreux, who, with six other prelates, attended this mournful ceremony. But just as they were going to deposit the body in the earth, one Anselm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman gentleman, pressed forward through the croud, and with an audible voice, forbade the prelates to inter the body. "That spot," said he, "was once the floor of my father's house, which was unjustly seized by William, who I now summon before the tribunal of the most High, to answer for that flagrant act of tyrannical oppression." The people trembled, and the bishops were struck with terror at the solemnity of this invocation. At last it was agreed to give thirty fols for leave to bury the royal body, and Henry promised, if his claim should appear to be well founded, to make him a reasonable satisfaction for the estate of which he had been deprived.

Such was the death of William I. who has been usually distinguished by the title of *The Conqueror*, the traits of whose character may be thus marked. He had many shining qualities, but his passions rendered his virtues useless: his genius was great for conquest, but still greater for command; and by seeking to live and reign over slaves, his life was unhappy, and his reign a continued series of trouble. Both were without that even tenor of government, which distinguishes the father of a people from the tyrant. Glory, not virtue, was his aim, therefore power, without happiness, was his reward; and when he went to the grave, his fortune was admired, while his memory was cursed. He was not, however, without private virtues: he was a tender husband, an indulgent

parent, and a generous master, when matters of state did not interpose. His attendance at the sacred services of the church were remarkable and regular; and we ought, in charity, to believe, that some of the many iniquities he was guilty of, rather flowed from the exigences of his situation, than the cruelty of his nature.

His majesty, however, proves how little he regarded all laws, when they obstructed his rapacious desires; and how unlamented he died, even among his natural subjects, who were ennobled by his conquests, and rendered happy by his labours. And hence we may conclude, that true fame can only attend the memory of a prince, whose munificence is directed by wisdom, his severity by justice, and his conduct by reason. William undoubtedly possessed munificence and magnanimity, but was certainly destitute of equity and humanity.

With respect to exterior qualifications, he was of a graceful person, and had great dignity of aspect; but towards the latter part of his life, he grew corpulent, and had a protuberance of belly, which appeared disgusting to beholders, and was disagreeable to himself. His strength was amazing, so that few men could be found who were able to draw his bow.

William had three sons, viz. Robert, William, and Henry; he left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert: he wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William king of England. He bequeathed to Henry nothing more than the possessions of his mother Matilda; but foretold that he would one day surpass both his brothers in opulence and power.

Besides these sons he had five daughters, namely, Cicely, first a nun in the monastery of Feschamp, afterwards abbess in the Holy Trinity of Caen, where she died in 1127. Constantia, married to Allen Fergeant, earl of Britany. She died before William's expedition to England. Adela, married to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom she had four sons, William, Theobald, Henry and Stephen. Agatha, betrothed to the king of Galicia, but died on her journey before she reached her bridegroom.

## W I L L I A M II. SURNAMED R U F U S.

### SECTION II.

**W**ILLIAM, surnamed Rufus, was his father's great favorite, and the son whom the conqueror designed should succeed him on the throne of England. It is true that Robert, by the right of primogeniture, had a greater claim to that dignity, but the conqueror never loved him, and determined to the last to promote the interest of William, on which account he had always earnestly recommended to the latter to make a friend of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, whose great power, he had no doubt would firmly establish him upon the throne, and overcome the difficulties \* which would certainly oppose him.

William, when he received the news of his father's death, determined to act conformable to the counsel

of the deceased monarch; with this view, he repaired immediately to the archbishop Lanfranc, accompanied only by Bloet, the deceased king's chaplain, and Eudo his treasurer.

The vanity of Lanfranc was highly gratified by this immediate application, and he instantaneously determined to attach himself entirely to the interest of William, for whom he had a natural affection, on account of his having educated him from his earliest youth. But although the confidence William placed in him, the love he had always borne him, and the gratitude due to the late king, whose desire it was for William to succeed him, were strong motives to incline him towards young Rufus, yet honor and a regard to justice were powerful considerations with him, and he would not absolutely promise to espouse his cause till he had first given him his oath, in the most solemn manner, that, in case through his agency he should

but these were not the chief disadvantages Rufus had to encounter. He had a nomination, and that too little more than verbal, to a kingdom, the nobility of which, in another capacity, owed their allegiance to his eldest brother. The military tenures, by which they held in both kingdoms, rendered their duties to both incompatible in case of any difference, since the same nobleman or knight, who was obliged personally to attend William, at the head of his tenants in England, was personally obliged to attend Robert, in like manner, in Normandy. Robert's right to Normandy was undisputed, and undisputable; but that of William's to England was disputed and doubtful.

\* An excellent writer says, Rufus, at the time of his father's death, had many disadvantages to struggle with, which to any genius but his own, must have been insurmountable. Addressed without courage, could never have conquered them; and brutal courage, the only quality which our historians allow to this prince, without the most consummate address, must have proved ineffectual. He was the younger brother of a prince, noble, generous, and popular through sufferings. He was the eldest brother to another prince of great address, great courage, and bold widow. He was beloved by neither, and despised by both. His father, whose darling he was, died hated by his own natural subjects, and thus hatred fell strongly upon his favorite:



should obtain the throne of England, he would govern with equity and moderation, maintain the liberties of the people, and behave like a dutiful and obedient son to the mother-church." This promise being agreed to on the part of Rufus, the archbishop set himself heartily to work, in order to remove every obstruction in his way to the diadem, and so very great were the esteem and credit in which Lanfranc stood with the English, that in a short time he gained over to his party the leading men of both nations; and, effectually to work upon the minds of the populace, a report was industriously spread, that William had resolved upon a plan of government entirely different from that of his father; that he had a natural affection for the English, whose sufferings he had often commiserated, and was determined to alleviate, if ever it was in his power; and, in particular, that it was his intention to abolish the very rigorous laws relating to the game then in force; in fine, that he would be the restorer and defender of those rights and privileges which his predecessor had wrested from them. Thus much for the English. As for the Normans, they were taught to believe that their interests were inseparably connected with those of Rufus, and that they had no other chance for continuing in possession of what they had got in England, but by supporting the cause of the young prince to whom his father had, in his dying moments, bequeathed the succession.

After all, it is imagined that William's design would have proved ineffectual, and these lenient and persuasive arts have failed of the desired effect, had not the inactivity of Robert given them a force much greater than their own. Rufus owed the English crown to the indolence of his brother. Robert was so sure of the affections of the people, that the ambitious designs of his brother gave him no uneasiness; and when his friends advised him not to trust his interest wholly to precarious hope, probably founded on deception, but to cross over immediately into England, and conciliate, by his presence, the affections of that generous people; he answered, with a haughtiness which nothing but the most superlative vanity could inspire, "That precipitation was unnecessary: the scepter was his undoubted right; the English were his inseparable friends, and would never presume to appoint a successor to the throne in his absence." He was, however, for once, mistaken, and became the dupe of his own vanity. Lanfranc's unwearied application in favor of Rufus, prevailed over the interest of an absent prince; and William was crowned by that prelate on the seventh of September, which was only eighteen days subsequent to the death of his father.

In the mean time, Odo, bishop of Bayeaux, the chief minister and favorite of Robert, jealous of the authority of Lanfranc, whose great abilities and high station he envied, passed over into England, under pretence of soliciting the restitution of an estate he formerly possessed as earl of Kent, and which had been confiscated by the Conqueror. He was received with great affection, and reinstated in his former possessions. But the recovery of an estate was not the principal design of Odo's visit: he intended to wrest the scepter from the hand of Rufus, and give it to Robert, as the undoubted heir of the Conqueror. He accordingly applied to several of the principal barons, and found them ready to support the pretensions of his patron, provided they could be assisted of a sufficient force from Normandy to second their attempt.

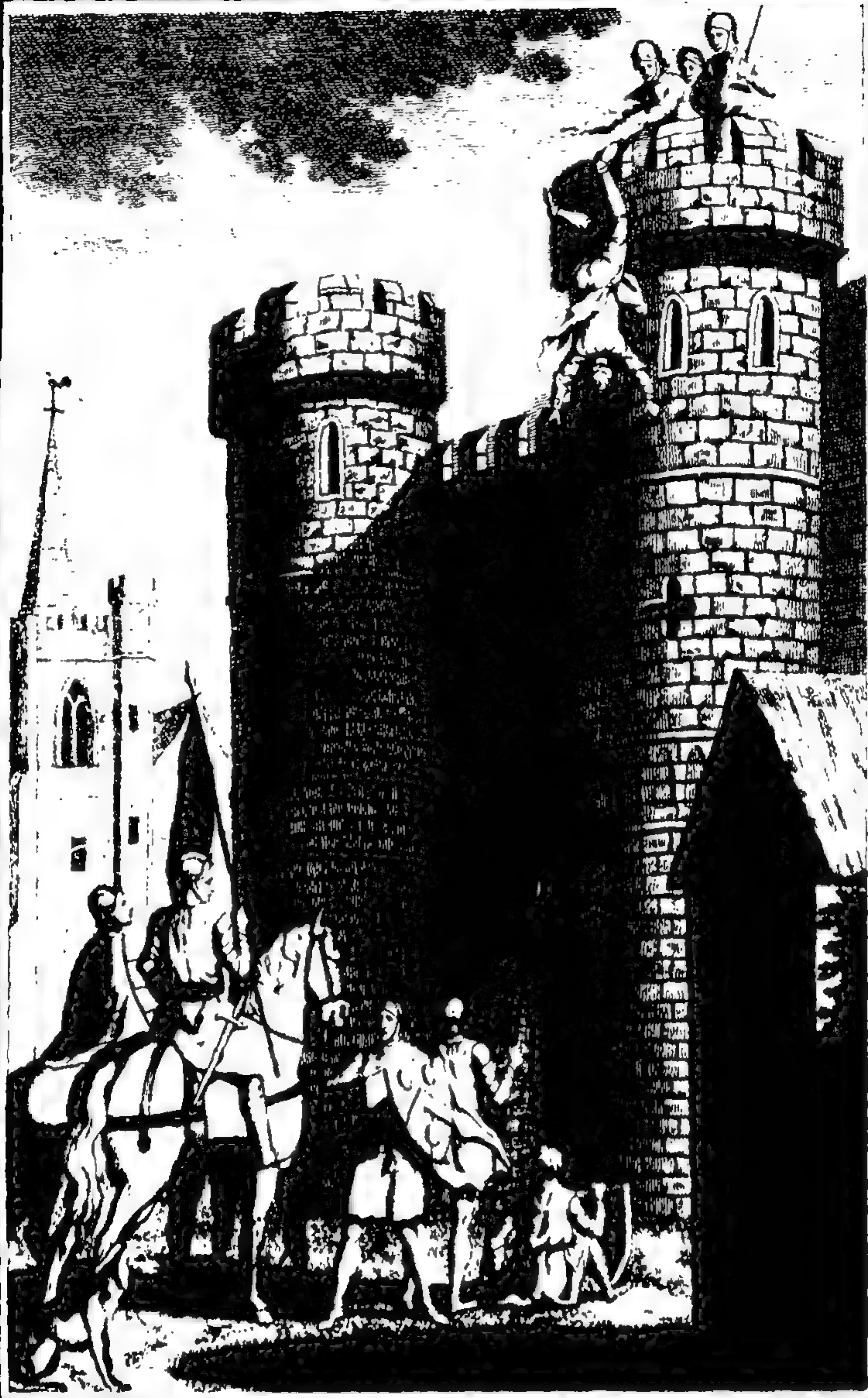
Having met with such success in his intrigues, Odo sent an account of the conspiracy to Robert in Normandy, assuring him, that nothing but his presence, at the head of a respectable body of Norman troops, was wanting, to recover that throne from which he had

been excluded by the unjust caprice of his deceased father; and Robert, though of an indolent disposition, had a soul not insensible to the call of ambition: he received this news with great satisfaction, and informed Odo, that as soon as his friends were in a condition to declare in his favor, they might depend upon being powerfully assisted by an invasion from Normandy, upon which the conspirators repaired to their respective castles, in order to make the necessary preparation, for taking the field, expecting soon to hear, that the Norman army was landed in England. The bishop of Coutances, and his nephew, Robert de Mowbray, struck the first blow, by seizing upon Bath, Berkeley, and Bristol, whence they made excursions, and ruined estates of those noblemen who had embraced William's party. Their example was soon followed by Roger Bigod, who raised a considerable party in the county of Norfolk, while Hugh de Grentmear made himself master of most of the fortresses and strong holds in Leicestershire. The earls of Hereford and Shrewsbury raised the Welsh, and all their own tenants, at the head of whom they over-ran the whole country, between the frontiers of Wales and Worcester. The behaviour of the good bishop Wollstan, on this occasion, deserves to be transmitted to posterity. Though he had many personal causes of dislike to archbishop Lanfranc and his clergy, he made private injuries submit to the love he bore his country; he refused to admit the forces of the malecontents into Worcester; and when at length he was obliged to submit to the superiority of numbers, and abandon the city, he retired into the castle, where he made so noble a defence, that he obliged the insurgents to raise the siege, and retire with the utmost precipitation.

In the mean time William, fully sensible of his dangerous situation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native English; and as that people were now so thoroughly subdued, that they no longer aspired to the recovery of their antient liberties, and were contented with the prospect of some mitigation in the tyranny of the Norman princes, they zealously embraced William's cause, upon receiving some general promises of good treatment, and of enjoying the licence of hunting in the royal forests. By the assistance, he was enabled to take the field, when he immediately entered upon action, by making an attempt to surprize Rochester, where he had been informed Odo, with a chosen band of the malecontents, had taken up their station; but, on his arrival before the place, he not only found it in an excellent posture of defence, but also that Odo was removed to Pevensey, another of his castles. This was no small disappointment to William, who thought if he could secure the person of that arch rebel, he should strike at the very root of those commotions that disturbed his reign: he therefore, leaving Rochester, marched to Pevensey, where Odo had fortified himself, expecting the arrival of succors from Robert. The king, without losing a moment's time, closely invested the place, and carried on his attacks with such force, that Odo, seeing no probability of relief, and dreading the fatal consequences that might follow an obstinate resistance, made an offer to capitulate; but William would hearken to no other terms than that of sparing his life, and that only on condition that he should abjure the realm, and prevail with the garrison of Rochester to surrender. Hard as these conditions were, Odo was glad to comply with them, and gave the king admittance into Pevensey; and then, going along with an escorte, appointed by William for that purpose, he presented himself before the gate of Rochester, summoning the town and those within to surrender to the king at his request. The garrison of Rochester was at this time composed of the flower of the Norman party in England, with many other



Engraved  
for Russell's History  
of England.



The GOVERNOR of ROUEN in Normandy thrown  
from the Battlements of the Castle by order of  
ROBERT, son of William the Conqueror



the principal French and English nobility: Eustace, count of Boulogne, was there also, who guessing the state of affairs from the countenance of Odo, and that he acted only upon compulsion, got together a strong party, and making a sudden sally, took Odo, and the persons who were with him prisoners, and retired with them into the city.

This disappointment did not damp the spirits of William, for on receiving information of the matter, he determined to seize by force what he could not gain the possession of by treaty. In consequence of which resolution, he marched his forces thither, and sat down before the city, which was so vigorously defended that he began to despair of success; but an epidemical distemper having got among the besieged, which carried off great numbers, they were at length compelled to propose terms of surrender, offering to take an oath of allegiance to William, and to serve him ever after with all duty and submission; but William, with a stroke of policy, affected for a while to treat these offers with great disdain, by which he had opportunity of obliging those of his party who petitioned for their friends and relations in the town: at length, suffering himself to be prevailed on by their intreaties, he gave the besieged leave to enjoy life and limbs, but no manner of hopes that they should ever be reinstated in their fortunes. As to Odo, he found means to escape by shipping to Normandy, where Robert made him lieutenant of his duchy; but all his great estates and possessions in England were seized upon by Rufus, who distributed them amongst those who had distinguished themselves by their fidelity and services.

All unsuccessful attempts to overturn a government, revert with tenfold loss upon the authors, and strengthen in proportion the hands of those in power. Robert's party was now entirely broken; and William, having no longer any thing to fear, thought himself at liberty to dispense with the performance of those promises which the former exigence of his affairs had prompted him to make; and the honest English, who, from their late services, thought themselves justly entitled to every reasonable mark of favor from a king whose throne they had so loyally and bravely upheld, found themselves cruelly disappointed, by his enacting several rigorous laws concerning forests. Lanfranc could not behold such proceedings in silence, but, with a becoming boldness, remonstrated to him how very inconsistent they were with the sacred promise he had made to him, when only a candidate for the crown. William's haughty soul was stung to the quick with this freedom of the archbishop's; but not judging it politic to break with a person of his great influence in the kingdom, he affected to laugh it off, by saying in a jesting manner, "Pish! man, dost think kings can keep all their promises?" It was not long, however, before William was delivered of this too honest counsellor, who died within a few months afterwards, justly regretted by the good men of both nations.

The exhortations of this venerable man being no longer a check to the king's inclinations, he began to indulge himself without restraint in that thirst for money-getting, which seems to have been the prevailing passion of his father and himself, but with this difference, that the first William always took care to keep his coffers well supplied against any sudden emergency; whereas this prince, avaricious without frugality, squandered the immense sums he drained from his subjects in idle expences, to gratify his own vanity, or satisfy the cravings of his favorites.

It was now that the kingdom felt all the weight of arbitrary power, the English were at once insulted and oppressed: even the privileges of the church, so sacred in early times, proved a feeble rampart against his usurpations. Mitres and crofters were put up to

sale, and the highest bidder was sure to be the purchaser. Nor were these illegal methods sufficient to satisfy his avarice; the appointing of successors to vacant benefices was delayed by this all-grasping monarch, that he might seize their revenues. The alarm occasioned by this tyrannical administration was universal; but the terror of his authority stifled the voice of complaint.

A. D. 1090. Robert's supineness, which had lost him the English crown, threatened also to deprive him of his Norman dominions. Robert was valiant, and at the head of an army prudent and intrepid; but he was a stranger to policy; he had no talents for holding the reins of government. The restless and independent spirit of his vassals was greatly increased by his loose and negligent administration. The sword of civil discord was drawn, and Normandy felt all the horrors of an intestine war. Robert had mortgaged the Contantin to his brother Henry for three thousand pounds. Perhaps a less degree of natural affection never subsisted than between the three sons of William the Conqueror. Henry, fearful of losing the dominions he had obtained, applied to William for assistance; and advised him to attack the Norman dominions of his brother, where he could not fail of the greatest success. Rufus, whose avaricious soul was never satisfied, passed over to Normandy, at the head of a powerful army. Robert was in no condition to oppose his brother; he beheld with astonishment his towns successively taken, and even the capital itself on the point of falling into the hands of the invader, by the treachery of the governor. He applied in vain to the king of France for assistance; that monarch was attached to the interest of William. Henry now saw his error, and trembled for his own dominions. He deserted the party of Rufus, and joined Robert with an excellent body of forces. The two brothers arrived just soon enough to save the capital; and Robert, exasperated at the perfidy of the governor, caused him to be thrown headlong from the battlements of the castle, when he was dashed to pieces.

A. D. 1091. The king of England having thus miscarried in his attempt upon Rouen, laid aside his design of making himself master of Normandy, and returned to England. Perhaps he did not think it prudent to engage the combined army of his two brothers: a defeat might have been attended with the loss of his crown. His tyranny had rendered the English ripe for a revolt, and they would gladly have joined the victorious army to hurl him from the throne. A peace was, soon after, concluded between Robert and William; by which it was stipulated, that on the death of either, without issue, the survivor should succeed to both dominions.

In this treaty, not the least care had been taken of the interests of Henry, which so much exasperated that prince, he retired to St. Michael's mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. Robert and William, with their joint forces, besieged him in this place, and reduced his forces to great straits for want of water. Robert hearing of his brother's distress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill timed generosity, he replied, "What! shall I suffer my brother to perish with thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" The king also, during this siege, performed an act of generosity, which was less suitable to his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a survey of the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers, and dismounted. One of them drew his sword in order to dispatch him, when the king exclaimed, "Hold, fellow! I am the king of England." The soldier suspended his blow, and raising the king

from



from the ground, with great marks of respect, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his service. Prince Henry was soon after obliged to capitulate; and being despoiled of all his estates, wandered about for some time, with few attendants, and often in great poverty.

Much about this period Edgar Atheling returned to Normandy from Palestine, and was kindly received by Robert; but Rufus, who entertained some disagreeable apprehensions of that prince, insisted on his brother's obliging him to quit his dominions, which he accordingly did; and William having seized upon the estates he held in England, Edgar found himself once more obliged to have recourse to Malcolm, king of Scotland, to whom he represented his hard treatment, in so affecting a manner, that the Scot resolved to revenge his cause on William, and to march at the head of a powerful army into England, in order to place him on the throne of his ancestors. And accordingly, taking advantage of William's absence in Normandy, he entered Northumberland, in May, ravaged the whole country, which was in a defenceless state; and, having made a considerable booty, retired again into his own country.

On receiving the news of this invasion, Rufus immediately made preparations to attack the Scots, both by sea and land; but the success of the war was far from being favorable to the English, for the fleet, which had been destined to make a descent on the Scottish coast, was mostly destroyed by a tempest, so that it could effect nothing of any consequence.

In the mean time, Robert, at the invitation of Rufus, came over from Normandy, to assist him in his land expedition against the enemy; and both brothers advanced with their joint forces as far as Scotwater, where they were met by an envoy from Malcolm, with this message to William, "That as he neither did nor would acknowledge him as king of England, consequently he could look on him only as the invader of his kingdom; but that if his brother Robert was with him, he was ready and willing to do that prince homage for Cumberland, as the eldest son of William I. his lord paramount."

The receipt of this message induced William to call a council of war, to consult upon the most proper measures to be pursued; when Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, a wise and experienced general, represented the necessity there was of coming to an accommodation, as the English were greatly weakened and distressed for want of provisions, the enemy having ravaged the country so entirely, that there was neither forage for their horses nor food for the men. These sage remonstrances had the desired effect, and Robert was pitched upon by the council to go to the Scottish camp with proposals to Malcolm, by whom he was received with the greatest complaisance; and his offers being seconded by the persuasions of Edgar Atheling, whom Mowbray had secretly found means to persuade that he would get him restored to his estates in England, and who had none of the ambition of a crown about him, Malcolm consented to a peace with Rufus, on the following terms: that William should restore to Malcolm twelve manors, which the latter had held under the first William, and pay him annually twelve marks of gold; and that Malcolm should do homage to William in the same manner as he had done to his father. At the same time William was obliged to receive Edgar Atheling into favor, and restate him in the possession of his estate.

Affairs being thus amicably adjusted between the two sovereigns, though, it must be confessed, in a manner not very glorious to William, the latter retired, with the shattered remains of his army, to England. And now Robert thought it was a seasonable opportunity to remind his brother William of the treaty

that had been made between them, and to require to be put in seizure of the estates which were to be given him in England by virtue of that treaty. William, however, only amused him with flattering promises, without shewing the least inclination to perform his contract; upon which Robert, in a pique, quitted England, and took Edgar Atheling with him.

Soon after William's return to England, he received the agreeable intelligence of the conquest of the county of Glamorgan and Morganwye, by Robert Fitz-hamon, a Norman, and his subject. The history of his conquest is a melancholy proof how fatally civil dissention operates to subjection; and how dangerous it is for a prince to attempt to assert his right, by calling in a foreign power superior to his own. One Jestyn, the son of Gurgant, possessed, as is said, by rebellion, the territories of Glamorgan and Morganwye. A war breaking out between him and Reis ap Tudor, who was prince of South Wales, Jestyn, finding himself too weak for his adversary, resolved to apply to the English for aid. Accordingly he dispatched one Enion ap Kadivor, his son-in-law, a nobleman of great interest in the country, to solicit aids. Enion applied to Robert Fitz-hamon, a warlike Norman, whose estate bordered upon Wales. This service, of itself, being of too important a nature, he imitated the conduct of the Conqueror: he took along with him twelve knights, who were to serve under him, and share in the profits of the expedition. Having stipulated with Enion what their pay should be, Fitz-hamon and his twelve knights, with as many men as they could raise, set out. The names of the twelve were as follow: 1. William of London, or de Londres. 2. Richard Granvil. 3. Pain Turbervil. 4. Oliver St. John. 5. Robert de St. Quintin. 6. Roger Bekeroul. 7. William Easterling, (so called because he was of German descent) whose posterity were called Stradlings. 8. Gilbert Humfravil. 9. Richard Siward. 10. John Fleming. 11. Peter Soore. 12. Reginald Sully. It was not long before both parties came to a decisive battle on Black-hill, where Reis was killed by the Normans, and Jestyn remained master of the field. Fitz-hamon and his knights, soon after demanded from Jestyn their stipulated wages, which occasioned some dispute between the principal and his auxiliaries. Enion, who had made the bargain, was appealed to, and gave in favor of the Normans. Fitz-hamon, glad of this handle, and allured by the fertility of the soil, made a new agreement with his knights, to which Enion was invited; and, all together, they resolved to attempt the conquest of the country for themselves. In this they soon succeeded, not so much through their own prowess, as through the civil divisions then prevailing all over Wales. The country contained, in length, according to Stow, from Rund bridge on the east-side, to Pallekinan on the west-side, seven and twenty miles; the breadth, from the haven of Aberthaw on the south side, to the confines of Brecknockshire about Morley's castle, is two and twenty miles. The barren part of it was granted to Enion, and the fertile part divided among the twelve knights (whom he called his peers) and himself on this condition: that they should hold their land, in fee and vassalage of him, as their chief lord to assist each other in common, and that each of them should defend Enion in his castle of Cardiff, and attend him in his court for the administration of justice.

When Robert returned to Normandy, A. D. 1092, he found his brother Henry in possession of Dintrout, a strong sea port town in Normandy, which had been delivered into his hand by Robert de Belleme, together with the whole province of the Cotentin. William now thought proper to support Henry secretly, not chusing to appear openly in the contest; so that Robert found it impossible to reduce his brother.



ther, or dispossess him of the territories he had seized. Nor was this the only instance which Rufus gave of his insincerity with regard to the treaty concluded with Robert: he was continually endeavouring to draw off the Norman barons from their allegiance, hoping to weaken his brother so effectually by degrees, as to be able to make himself master of Normandy with very little trouble, and no great expence.

In the ensuing year, the clergy were grown very uneasy with regard to the long vacancy in the see of Canterbury, and renewed their solicitations to have it filled; but William, who entertained a hearty contempt for the whole order, disregarded their remonstrances, till the affair was likely to take a very serious turn, the clergy having long maintained a powerful influence over the common people. At last one of the nobility proposed Anselm, abbot of Bec, as a person of unexceptionable character, and every way qualified to fill the archiepiscopal chair. But while this proposal was under consideration, William fell dangerously ill at Gloucester: and, as none but the truly virtuous are truly brave, William betrayed, on this occasion, all the signs of pusillanimity and terror. He had now recourse to the prayers and counsels of that order of men he had always before affected to treat with contempt; while they, true to their grand principle, the acquisition of power, embraced the present opportunity of improving the fears and terrors of the monarch, in order to gain their purpose. They succeeded, and the archbishopric of Canterbury was bestowed upon Anselm, who was then in England, on a visit to his friend the earl of Chester. At the same time Robert Bloet, one of the king's chaplains, was created bishop of Lincoln.

Rufus also promised Anselm to restore all the revenues of the archiepiscopal see, part of which had been given, at the death of Lanfranc, to persons in civil employments. But his disease had no sooner taken a favorable turn, and the king found himself freed from the immediate terror of a speedy dissolution, than he repented of the concessions he had made, and disregarding, on his recovery, all the promises he had made in his sickness, gave the clergy to understand, that they had taken unfair advantages of his weakness, and therefore countermanded several orders he had issued in their favor. These proceedings gave occasion to a contest between him and Anselm, which proved the source of many troubles to the nation.

Upon William's recovery, Malcolm, king of Scotland, sent ambassadors into England, to demand the performance of that part of the late treaty, which regarded the twelve English manors. William, instead of giving a direct answer to the demand, desired that Malcolm would repair in person to him at Gloucester, where justice should be speedily done him. Malcolm accepted the invitation, but was received in so haughty a manner by Rufus, that he returned in a transport of rage to his own country, where he immediately assembled a powerful army, at the head of which he entered Northumberland, and committed the most dreadful ravages. Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, collected what forces he could to oppose the invasion, but could not prevent Malcolm's besieging the castle of Alnwick, which had been seized by the English. Mowbray, unable to meet the Scottish army in the open field, came silently, by night, to the enemy's camp, and fell

upon the Scots with such fury, that both \* Malcolm and his son were slain.

In the beginning of the year 1094, William passed over to Normandy with a strong army: but, in order to give some colour to such unnatural hostilities, he sent to propose an interview with his brother, at which Robert made some proposals that were rejected with great disdain by king William. Robert then proposed a second conference, at which were present all the barons and great men who had sworn to guarantee the treaty; but numberless difficulties being started in the course of the negotiation, it was finally broke off, and both sides prepared to pursue coercive measures.

William, soon after the commencement of hostilities, made himself master of several places, the governors whereof he had bribed, and flattered himself with the hopes of quickly subduing the whole duchy. But the king of France, whose interest it was ever to keep the two brothers at variance, without suffering either to become too formidable, marched with an army to the assistance of Robert, and immediately changed the scene. The towns and castles, which Rufus had gotten possession of, were reduced one after another, and garrisoned with a mixture of Normans and French: and the affair became so serious, that William found himself under the necessity of returning to England for a reinforcement of troops.

Upon the receipt of William's message, levies were made, and twenty thousand men being raised, a general muster was appointed at Hastings; and as the men were to be employed in foreign service, the several barons or knights, under whom they had been raised, furnished each man, in compliance with an ancient custom, with ten shillings towards defraying their expences during the campaign; this made in all the sum of ten thousand pounds of the money of those times, equal to nearly two hundred thousand pounds of the present currency. William, who had expended vast sums in corrupting Robert's officers and governors, began to find his coffers almost exhausted, and therefore put in practice an expedient to recruit them, that must call the blush upon the face of any private man of the least honor, but stamps indelible infamy on the character of a king. He, either by the persuasions of some of his favorites, or of his own advisement, dispatched directions to Ralph Flambard, his prime minister and high-treasurer, to get this money, if possible, out of the hands of the soldiers, and transmit it over to him in Normandy. The minister meekly complied with this order; and having caused the troops to be drawn up on the sea-side, he there made a speech to them, in which he told them that the king his master having more occasion for money than for recruits, every man might be excused from the expedition upon paying the bounty money he had received into his hands, for the king's use. The men, whose livelihood and that of their families depended chiefly on their labour, readily embraced the composition, and having paid their money to the treasurer, the whole body was disbanded, and the men had liberty to return to their respective habitations.

In Normandy, however, William's affairs bore but an indifferent appearance. Most of his towns were now reduced, and he himself shut up in the city of Eu, waiting for supplies from England. Robert had formed a plan for terminating the war, by attacking Eu, and taking his brother prisoner. In this critical moment

\* The Scotch writers give a different account of this transaction, for they tell us, "That the governor of the place, whose name was Morel, having demanded a capitulation, on pretence of presenting the keys to Malcolm on the point of a spear, thrust the weapon into his eye, and killed him on the spot. Edward, Malcolm's son, seeing his father fall, called out,

'Treachery!' and prepared with his followers to revenge his death; but, being at some distance from their camp, they were all cut to pieces by the besieged, who immediately on seeing the fate of Malcolm, and the motions made by Edward, rushed out furiously upon him and his party. Thus fell the gallant king of Scots and his son, by one stroke of unexampled treachery.



moment William received the money, and well knowing, that the ruling passion of Philip, the French king, was avarice, he was persuaded that he might be induced, by a handsome sum, to desert Robert's party. William was not mistaken. Philip accepted the offer; and though he did not immediately withdraw his forces from Robert's army, yet he proposed so many difficulties, and occasioned so many delays in the operations proposed by Robert, that no transaction of consequence happened during the remainder of the campaign; and William was soon after prevented from prosecuting the war, by an insurrection in Wales, which called him back to secure his kingdom.

On his arrival he found no difficulty in repelling the enemy, but was not able to make any considerable impression on a country, guarded by its mountainous situation. He, therefore, contented himself with giving strict orders to the wardens of the marches to guard the borders with the greatest care, and to build strong forts, in proportion as they gained ground on the enemy.

About the year 1095, subsequent to his return from the frontiers of Wales, William received advice that a conspiracy was formed against his life, and that all his personal and political abilities would be wanting, to prevent the consequences. The Normans settled in England were persuaded that the contests, in which William was engaged on the continent, tended only to exhaust England of her money and best troops; and considering themselves as Englishmen, had formed a design, during William's absence, of bringing about a total revolution in the government. At the same time, Robert de Mowbray thought, that his merit in defeating the Scottish army had not been properly rewarded. This nobleman, having great power and interest in the north, his discontent soon infected William count D'Eu, Richard de Lanbridge, Roger de Lacey, and several other noblemen and gentlemen.

The recent invasions of the Scots were of great use to the conspirators; they furnished Mowbray with a pretence for building several forts, filling magazines, raising troops, and making other military dispositions, without giving the least suspicion of the real use intended to be made of these preparations. William, however, was persuaded that this excess of public spirit arose from some private views, and therefore sent several messages to Mowbray, requiring him to attend him at Winchester, to answer for his plundering four merchant ships, which had put into an English port under his jurisdiction. Robert, conscious of his guilt, or vain of his services, refused to obey the royal mandate. William therefore, marched immediately against him; and Mowbray, being in no condition to give William battle, shut himself up in Bamborough castle, which the king immediately invested. Mowbray knowing that the fortrefs, though impregnable must for want of provisions, be forced to surrender, found mean to escape from the castle. He repaired to Exmouth, and endeavoured to corrupt the governor; but before he could effect his purpose, a detachment of William's army followed him, and took him prisoner. The castle of Bamborough surrendered, and the governor impeached all the conspirators. Mowbray was sentenced to be confined for life in Windsor castle, several were executed, and the estate of the greater part of them confiscated.

In the mean time William count D'Eu was impeached by Geoffrey Baynard of high treason, in being privy to the late conspiracy. He denied the charge, and offered to vindicate himself by single combat, but being defeated by his antagonist, he was condemned to be castrated, and lost both his

eyes. His cousin William D'Alder, was sentenced to be publicly whipped, and afterwards hanged on a gallows thirty feet high. He suffered the whole punishment with the greatest intrepidity, and, with his dying breath, declared himself innocent of the crime laid to his charge.

The famous quarrel between Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, and king William, renders the year 1096 very remarkable, the particulars of which are as follow: William had some time since appointed Anselm to the see of Canterbury, and as it was customary, at that time, for persons raised to any place of dignity to make presents to the king proportional to the value of the post; William, in consequence, expected a very considerable sum from Anselm. But to his astonishment, the prelate's offering amounted to no more than five hundred pounds. Enraged at this parsimonious gift, the king refused to take it, and treated Anselm with great indignity. The archbishop left the presence, carrying the money with him; and could not be prevailed upon to furnish any aid towards the expences of government.

About this period a schism happened in the Roman church. Two prelates claimed the pontifical dignity, Odo, bishop of Ostia, under the name of Urban II. was acknowledged pope in Italy and France; while his competitor, Gilbert, archbishop of Revenna, under the title of Clement III. was considered as the successor of Peter, by several of the European powers, and particularly by the king of England. Anselm opposed his sovereign. The haughty prelate disdained to submit to any temporal authority. He even determined to mortify William, and accordingly demanded leave to repair to Rome, and receive his archiepiscopal pall from the hands of Urban II. adding, that he regarded him as the true head of the church. Provoked by this insolence, William was with the utmost difficulty prevented from laying violent hands on the churchman; and Anselm, perceiving that he should not be supported by the prelate and clergy, retired out of the kingdom, when William seized immediately on the temporalities of the archiepiscopal see.

It hath been justly observed, that superstition and enthusiasm formed two of the principal features of these times, and produced such consequences as have astonished people of more enlightened ages. A monk of Picardy, known by the name of Peter the hermit, having made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, represented at his return, in such strong colours, the outrageous oppressions exercised by the Turks on the Christian pilgrims, that Urban II. considered him as a proper instrument to exhort the sovereigns of Europe to undertake the conquest of the Holy Land. Peter was accordingly sent from province to province, in order to rouse the people to action.

While pope Urban II. perceiving that the first paintings of Peter began to produce the desired effect, held a council in the open fields near Placentia, at which above thirty thousand seculars, besides ecclesiastics, were present. The project of invading Palestine was universally applauded; but none engaged in the enterprize. Urban therefore, held a second council at Clermont in Auvergne, where he made a speech in the market place, in which he expatiated on the miseries suffered by the Christians in the Holy Land, and painted in the strongest colours, the scandal that was daily offered to the Christian prince by the Turks, in not suffering their subjects to visit the city, where the great author of their religion had laid down his life for the redemption of the human race. This speech, exactly calculated to the meridian of the times, produced the desired effect. The Italians, over the miseries of the Christians in Asia, the French took up arms in their defence. That country



then peopled with a great many new lords, restless, independent, and fond of a life of war and dissipation.

The pope promised them the remission of all their sins, and to open to them the gates of paradise, on the easy conditions of gratifying their predominant passion for war and tumult. No wonder that such terms were readily embraced by a multitude of enthusiasts. An infinite number of persons took the cross, and were ready to precipitate themselves upon Asia. Many even forgot, on this occasion, the duties they owed to themselves, to their families, and to their country. The glory of the undertaking banished all other considerations. They reflected not on the fatigues, the obstacles, and the dangers they must meet with before they trod the plains of Palestine. The churches and cloisters made their advantage of this enthusiastic madness; they purchased, at very low rates, many of the estates of the barons, who imagined that a little money and their arms were sufficient for them to conquer kingdoms in Asia. Every thing conspired to fill their minds with the most chimerical ideas. The glory of the enterprize, the piety which it indicated, the advantages that might result from it to religion, the honor of extirpating the infidels, and the brilliancy of an eastern conquest, acted too powerfully on the minds of a superstitious people to be withstood. The meanest lords of manors set out at their own expence, and the poor gentlemen followed them as squires.

Though this fanatical fury robbed Europe of millions of inhabitants, it had also its advantages. It tended greatly to establish the peace of nations. Great part of the turbulent barons with their vassals were removed to a distance, and their estates rested in the hands of more peaceable proprietors. The sovereigns enjoyed their crowns, and the people their estates in more tranquillity: they were no longer alarmed with the fury of those restless spirits that had often spread the horrors of civil discord over their respective kingdoms. The French monarchy recovered its lustre by this enthusiastic insanity: the principal part of the large estates of the most opulent and powerful barons being purchased by the crown. But no prince gained more, or deserved it less than Henry. Robert, his brother, infected with the enthusiasm of the times, and impatient to undergo all the fatigues of a holy war, took the cross, and applied himself to make preparations for leading an army into Palestine. But he soon perceived that the revenues of his duchy were too small to answer this purpose: they were not sufficient to enable him to appear in a manner suitable to his rank and station at the head of his vassals. He had therefore recourse to his brother, and mortgaged his duchy for three years to Rufus, for the trifling sum of ten thousand marks. William raised the money by contributions on his subjects; and Robert, after putting him in possession of Normandy, set out at the head of his vassals to gather laurels in Asia.

By this occurrence and accession of territory, which happened in the year 1099, William was considered as one of the most powerful princes of his time. England and Normandy were once more united, and the many contentions that had subsisted between the barons of the two provinces entirely laid aside. Both were subjects to William, and both felt the weight of his tyranny. But notwithstanding the great power of Rufus, a single baron dared to set that power at defiance. Helie, earl of la Fleche, a small town in Anjou, alarmed the monarch of England. That nobleman made so many inroads into William's dominions, and struck such terror into the inhabitants, bordering on his dominions, that Rufus was obliged to cross the seas several times, in order to drive him

out of his territories. But Helie was not to be intimidated; he embraced the first opportunity of William's absence to renew his incursions, and this year laid siege to the city of Mans. William was hunting in the new forest when he received advice of this transaction; when, turning to his attendants, he asked them in what direction the city of Mans lay from them. He was immediately answered, and turning his horse's head towards the place, rode full speed to the sea side, calling to those that were about him, "Let him that loves me, follow me." Dartmouth was the first sea-port town, and there they found only an old and crazy vessel, which William entered notwithstanding all the persuasions of his attendants to the contrary. The master of the vessel declared, that the tempestuous weather rendered it madness to put to sea, it was nothing less than running into unavoidable destruction. "Set sail, replied William; didst thou ever hear of a king that was drowned?" None daring to dispute his peremptory command, he arrived next morning at Barfleur in France. He then dispatched summonses through all Normandy, for his officers to repair to his standard at Mans; but the enemy, surprized at this prodigious dispatch, raised the siege, after a few skirmishes, and made a precipitate retreat, in which the earl of Fleche was taken prisoner. Being brought into William's presence, the latter could not help reproaching him for his conduct, not without a mixture of insult. But the earl fiercely replied, "That he had but little cause for triumph, for an advantage owing not to valor, but to fortune. Were I but at liberty once more, continued he, I know what I should do." William was glad of this opportunity to make amends for his insult on so brave a man: "And what would you do, sir, said he, were you at liberty? Haste! begone! fly! you are at liberty to do what you will; and, by the face of St. Luke, continued he, if ever it shall be your chance to conquer me, I shall demand nothing for this favor." "His actions, says Malmsbury, equalled his words; and he dismissed his foe, with admiration of his valor, rather than enmity to his person. William, continues the same excellent historian, was not a man of letters, and therefore we cannot suppose that, in this action, he followed a like instance of magnanimity recorded of Julius Cæsar, by Lucan. No, it was the effect of his own generous, unimstructed sentiments; they were such as were born with him; but, were there any ground for the Pythagorean transformation, we might be tempted to believe, that the soul of Cæsar animated the body of William."

William returned to England about September, after having restored peace and tranquillity to Normandy and Maine. Soon after his arrival the great bishopric of Durham, which had been for some time vacant, was bestowed upon Ranulph, who had long acted as first minister in England. This person, from a mean original, advanced himself by his eloquence and bold measures, to the office of lord steward of the kingdom, the most considerable post in England.

The same year is also distinguished by the taking of Jerusalem by the christian forces. Robert, duke of Normandy, being the most illustrious adventurer, as well as the greatest warrior in the whole army, was elected king of Jerusalem by the unanimous voice of the confederate princes. But the great reputation he had gained in the fields of Asia, filled him with the fond idea that it would now be easy for him to recover his duchy, and even get possession of the English crown. He therefore declined the sceptre of Jerusalem; upon which Godfrey of Boulogne, a prince of inferior rank but superior virtues, was elected, and while he lived the city was governed with great justice



justice and wisdom. But there is sufficient reason to believe, that Robert's declining this honor, was ever after attended with very fatal effects to his interest.

A. D. 1100. William, earl of Poitiers, and duke of Guienne, inflamed with the glory without being discouraged by the misfortunes which had attended former adventurers in the crusades, had put himself at the head of an immense multitude, said by some historians to amount to sixty thousand horse, and a much greater number of foot, and proposed to lead them into the Holy Land against the infidels. But wanting money to forward the preparations requisite for this expedition, he offered to mortgage his dominions to William, without entertaining any scruple of that rapacious hand into which he was going to consign them. Rufus, who despised and ridiculed the enthusiastic madness of the time, had kept his kingdom free from those bigotted expeditions; and, for some years past had been amassing large sums, from a persuasion that he should have an offer of making another purchase as valuable as that of Normandy. This offer of the earl of Poitiers convinced him he was not mistaken, and William readily accepted the offer; agreeing to pay down the sum demanded, provided he was put into immediate possession of the estates. This being complied with, a great army was raised, and a powerful fleet fitted out in England, the king intending to carry over the money in person, and take possession of the provinces of Poitou and Guienne, celebrated for their riches and fertility.

These proceedings joined to the aspiring spirit of Rufus, alarmed all Europe, then mad with religious rage, and weakened by unprofitable expences. A prince in the flower of his age, of great experience in war, of unbounded ambition in peace, master of England, and of the richest provinces of France, must have soon given laws to Europe; nor was it possible to see what was capable of restraining his ambition. But when every thing was ready for this important expedition, an accident happened which put an end at once to his life, and all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the favorite, and indeed almost the sole diversion and occupation of princes in that rude and barbarous age, when society was little cultivated, and the arts afforded few objects worthy of attention. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the new forest was the scene; and as William had dismounted after the chase, Tyrrel, impatient to show his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag, which suddenly started before him. The arrow glancing from a tree struck the king in the breast and instantly killed him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem; a penalty he imposed upon himself for this involuntary crime. The body of William was afterwards found in the forest by the country people, and buried without any pomp or ceremony in the cathedral church at Winchester. His courtiers were negligent in paying their last dues to a master who was so little beloved; and every one was too much occupied in the interesting object of fixing his successor to think much about the dead sovereign's burial.

In this manner, in the year 1100, fell William Rufus on the second of August, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twenty days. In his person he was of a middle stature, but appeared shorter than he really was, on account of his being very fat. His complexion was florid, his hair of a yellowish red, and one of his eyes spotted, which rendered it unlike the other. In bodily strength he exceeded most men of his time; his manner of speaking was disagreeable, from an impediment in his speech. His countenance

was severe and his voice strong, which he frequently exalted in order to intimidate those to whom he was speaking; though he was remarkably affable in private conversation with his nobles.

With respect to the character of this monarch, William's courage was such that he thought it a stain upon his honor, if, on any occasion, he was not himself the first who drew his sword, or suffered the meanest of his subjects to surpass him in time of danger. His magnanimity declared itself on many occasions, in a manner becoming the greatest of princes. He was a professed patron of persons of merit, in all professions, to whom his court was always open, and whom he always encouraged in proportion to their talents. He had the highest ideas of grandeur, and an extraordinary genius for architecture. But all these virtues were more than balanced by his vices. He was a violent and tyrannical prince; and a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; and the abilities he possessed were so confined under the government of impetuous passions, that they were of little use in his administration; governing his whole kingdom by that domineering policy, which, being blended with courage and vigor, was well suited to the age.

We shall corroborate this character by what William of Malmesbury, an accurate judge, and an excellent historian, says, of this monarch, "William Rufus, says that historian, was born in Normandy, long before his father invaded England. He was most carefully educated by his parents; and, by the pregnancy of his genius, he attained the highest pitch of power. He was, without all doubt, a prince not to be matched in his age, had it not been that he was overshadowed by the greatness of his father's reputation, and was hurried off the stage of life before he had corrected the errors of unbridled power and overboiling youth. When he ceased to be a boy, his youth was spent in military exercises, in riding, shooting, in rivalling the old in judgment, and the young in activity. He thought it a stain upon his courage, if, on any warlike occasion, any one had a sword in his hand sooner than him; and if he was not the first, either to challenge the foe, or, if himself challenged, to fight him."

He again adds, "That William's excesses this way, were in a great measure owing to his necessity at the commencement of his reign, to get the army, at any rate, on his side, by great largesses, and greater promises. His performance of those were punctual, till what was at first habitual became at last natural. Thus things with him were estimated not by the value, but by their price." Of these he gives an apt instance: "One morning, says he, as he was putting on a pair of new boots, he asked his gentleman of the bed-chamber in waiting, what they cost? He was answered, three shillings. You scoundrel, said the king, did you ever hear of a king wearing such pitiful boots as those? Go, bring a pair of a man's of silver. The bed-chamber man went, and brought a pair much worse; but told his master they cost what he had ordered. Ay, replied William, these are boots fit for a king to wear! and so put them on."

With respect to remarkable occurrences which happened, during this monarch's reign, we are told that in the second year after he came to the crown a dreadful earthquake shook the whole kingdom which was followed by a great scarcity of fruit, and so late a harvest, that corn was not full ripe at the end of November.

On the 5th of October, A. D. 1091. A violent storm happened in several parts of England, particularly at Winchellcomb, in Gloucestershire, where the steeple of the church was thrown down by thunder and lightning, and the crucifix with the image of the



Engraved  
for Rufolo's  
History of  
England.



Walden.

Walden.

(WILLIAM II. killed)  
near New Forest Hampshire  
by Sir Walter Scott.







Virgin Mary was broken to pieces ; this hurricane was succeeded by a noisome stench and thick fulphureous air. On the 17th of the same month another storm blew \* from the south-west, threw down above 500 houses, and blew off the roof of Bow-church, in Cheapside, London ; and at Salisbury, it not only destroyed many houses, but blew off the steeple belonging to the cathedral.

\* This was the very same point from which the dreadful tempest blew in the reign of queen Ann, and to which Mr. Addison alludes in his admirable poem, called the Campaign :  
 “ So when an angel by Divine command,  
 “ Spreads all his terrors o’er a guilty land ;

And to conclude. A. D. 1094 was remarkable for so great a mortality of men and beasts in England and Normandy, that the ground remained unilled, and a very severe dearth ensued.

William was never married, and consequently left no legitimate issue ; and hence the crown became contested between his two brothers.

“ Such as of late o’er pale Britannia pass,  
 “ Calm and serene he drives the furious blast,  
 “ And pleas’d th’ Almighty’s orders to perform,  
 “ Rides in the whirl-wind and enjoys the storm.

## H E N R Y I. SURNAMED BEAUCLERC.

### S E C T. III.

**I**NTELLIGENCE of the death of William was immediately carried to his brother Henry, who, at the time was also hunting at some distance in the same forest. The idea of seizing the crown to the injury of his elder brother Robert, directly struck his imagination ; but at the same it occurred to him that nothing could so effectually facilitate such a design as the immediate seizure of the deceased king’s treasures, which were deposited at Winchester. He accordingly posted away to that city with the utmost expedition to make himself master of the delinquent’s riches, considering them as the strongest sinews of war, and the greatest security of peace. When he arrived at Winchester, however, William de Breueil, a Norman nobleman, and eldest son to Wilham Fitzosbern, the favorite companion and general of the Conqueror, who was keeper of the treasury, flatly refused to give Henry admittance, pleading in excuse, that as he had sworn fealty to Robert, who had the right of primogeniture, he looked upon himself as much bound in duty to own him for his liege lord, as if he was personally present ; intimating at the same time, that this demand of Henry carried with it strong marks of a treacherous design. This altercation was on the point of becoming very serious, and might have had fatal consequences, had not Robert de Meulant arrived in a lucky minute with a number of the late king’s attendants, and declared in favor of Henry, obliging Breueil to deliver up to him the treasures, the possession of which was to Henry almost as desirable an object as the crown itself.

The prince having now a sufficient fund to reward the services of those who should espouse his cause, he soon found his party considerably increased ; and in less than four days after his brother’s death, his friends having assembled a council in London, of the principal nobility that could be gotten together at so short a warning, Henry was, by the majority of voices, declared king ; and the ceremony of his coronation was performed the following day (Sunday, August 5) by Maurice, bishop of London, who had been one of the first William’s chaplains. And thus, by a most surprising and unparalleled dispatch (if not previously concerted) a total revolution was brought about in the affairs of the nation : a king in the flower of his age, and in the zenith of his power, was cut off by an instantaneous death, the cause of which was never judicially enquired into ; the true succession was set

aside, the treasures of the kingdom seized by a person who had not the least claim to them ; and all this in less time than is commonly taken up to deliberate upon affairs of the most private concern, or of the least consequence.

Henry, immediately after his coronation, acted with great policy, for the ceremony was no sooner over, than to ingratiate himself into the affections of the people, he ordered a charter to be proclaimed and published, to secure to them their liberties ; which, on account of its great importance, and its having been the basis of many other charters obtained from succeeding monarchs, we shall here insert :

#### 1. Henry’s charter to all his faithful subjects.

Henry, by the grace of God, king of the English, to all his barons and faithful subjects, both French and English, greeting.

“ Know ye, that, by the mercy of God, and by  
 “ the common counsel (with the assent) of the  
 “ barons of the kingdom of England, I am crowned  
 “ king of the said kingdom ; and because the king-  
 “ dom has been oppressed with unjust exactions, I,  
 “ from the love of God, and the regard I bear you  
 “ (all) in the full place, free the holy church, so as  
 “ that I will neither sell nor farm it out, nor, upon  
 “ the death of an archbishop, or a bishop, or an ab-  
 “ bot, will I accept of any of the church’s property,  
 “ nor ought from any of its tenants, until a successor  
 “ enters upon the same. And I banish all the ex-  
 “ ulages with which the kingdom of England has  
 “ been (unjustly) oppressed, part of which evil days  
 “ I have let down. If any of my barons, knights, or  
 “ of my tenants, holding of me, shall die, his heir  
 “ shall not redeem his land, as was the custom in the  
 “ days of my brother ; but shall relieve the same by  
 “ a just and lawful relief. In like manner shall the  
 “ tenants of my barons relieve their lands from their  
 “ lords by a lawful (certain) just relief. And if any  
 “ of my barons, or other my subjects, have a mind to  
 “ give a (their) daughter in marriage, or sister, or  
 “ niece, let him treat with me ; but I will neither  
 “ accept any part of his fortune for such licence, nor  
 “ will I prohibit his disposing of her, unless it be to  
 “ my enemy. And if any of my barons, or subjects,  
 “ should, at his death, leave a daughter his heir, I  
 “ will dispose of her with advice of my barons, toge-  
 “ ther with her lands. And if, upon the death of  
 “ the husband, a wife shall survive without children,  
 “ she shall have her (own) dowry and marriage  
 “ portion, neither will I give her to a husband, but  
 “ with



“ with her own consent. But if the wife be left with  
 “ children, she shall then have her dower and mar-  
 “ riage-portion; nor will I give her to a husband,  
 “ but with her own consent; provided the wife shall  
 “ keep her body in chastity: and either the wife, or  
 “ some other relation, who is to deal justly, shall be  
 “ guardian of the children and the estate. And I  
 “ command my barons, that they act conformably  
 “ hereunto, towards the sons, daughters, and wives  
 “ of their tenants. The common mintage (2) money,  
 “ which was taken throughout cities and counties,  
 “ and was not in use under king Edward, I absolutely  
 “ forbid to be taken for the future. If any minter,  
 “ or other person, be taken with false money, let  
 “ right justice be done upon him. (3) All fines and  
 “ debts due to my brother, I forgive; excepting my  
 “ just farms, and those bargains which concerned the  
 “ inheritance of others, or for those effects which  
 “ justly concerned other persons. And I forgive all  
 “ bargains which any man has made with regard to  
 “ his right of inheritance. And if any (of my  
 “ barons or tenants) shall lie sick, so as that he shall  
 “ give or dispose of his money, I will, that such dis-  
 “ position stand good; but if he, prevented by war  
 “ or sickness, shall not give or dispose of his ef-  
 “ fects, let his wife, children or parents, or his  
 “ lawful tenants, divide it among themselves, as shall  
 “ seem best to them. If any of my barons, or  
 “ tenants, shall forfeit, he shall not give a pledge for  
 “ favor of the (whole) fine, as he did in the time of  
 “ my father and brother; but, according to the  
 “ measure of the forfeit, so shall he be fined, in such  
 “ manner as fines were laid on, under those, my pre-  
 “ decessors, who reigned before my father and bro-  
 “ ther: but if he shall be convicted of treason, or  
 “ wickedness, let him make satisfaction, as shall seem  
 “ just.”

## 2. Concerning the confirmation of king Edward's laws.

“ I pardon all murders committed before my co-  
 “ ronation; and those which shall be hereafter com-  
 “ mitted, shall be satisfied for, according to the law  
 “ of king Edward. I have by common consent of  
 “ my barons, retained in my hand the forests, in  
 “ like manner as my father had them. I also grant,  
 “ of my own free gift, to my knights (i. e. tenants by  
 “ knight service) who defend their lands by their  
 “ habergeons, that their demesne lands shall be free  
 “ from all unjust gilds or taxes, and all works (that  
 “ their fidelity may be in proportion to my kind-  
 “ nesses;) that, since they are eased of so great a  
 “ burden, they may the better provide themselves  
 “ with horses and arms, and to be made fitter and  
 “ more ready for my services, and for the defence of  
 “ my kingdom. I restore to you the laws of king  
 “ Edward, together with those amendments which my  
 “ father made by the advice of his barons.

“ If any one has taken any thing from me, or  
 “ from any other person, he shall forthwith restore  
 “ the same, without making satisfaction; and he,  
 “ upon whom any such thing is found, shall make  
 “ strict satisfaction to the owner.

“ Given in presence of the archbishops, bishops,  
 “ barons, earls, sheriffs, and nobles of all the  
 “ kingdom of England, on the day of my co-  
 “ ronation.”

N. B. The words inclosed within bracked, thus  
 ( ), are the supplements taken from Matt. Paris,  
 the Red Book of the Exchequer, the Rochester copy,  
 and others.

There were as many copies of this charter as there

were counties, and one of them was lodged in the  
 most eminent abbies in each county; nevertheless,  
 there was scarce one to be found in the reign of king  
 John, whose Magna Charta was founded upon it.  
 There is a copy at this day in the Red Book of the  
 Exchequer, and Matthew Paris has given us a tran-  
 script of that which which was sent into Hereford-  
 shire, which has been translated by Mr. Tyrrel.

This charter was not the only instance he gave the  
 people, that he was desirous of rendering them happy:  
 he committed Ranulph, bishop of Durham, the in-  
 strument of all the oppressions in the late reign, pri-  
 soner to the Tower, with an intention of giving him  
 up to the justice of his country. The charge against  
 him was, his advising the late king, whose confidence  
 he had abused, to oppress his subjects with many un-  
 just impositions. But the artful prelate found means  
 of escaping into France, where he endeavoured to  
 embroil England in trouble, since he could no longer  
 direct the measures of its administration.

Henry being sensible of the great authority Anselm  
 had acquired by his character of piety, and by the  
 persecutions he had suffered from William, sent re-  
 peated messengers to him at Lyons, where he now  
 resided, inviting him to return, and take possession of  
 his dignities. The prelate, at last, accepted the  
 offer, and, upon his landing in Kent, was received  
 with extraordinary joy and respect. But when the  
 king proposed to him the renewal of that homage  
 which he had done his brother, and which had  
 never been refused by any English bishop, Anselm  
 gave an absolute refusal: declaring, that so far  
 from doing homage for his spiritual dignity, he  
 would not even communicate with any ecclesiastic  
 who paid that submission, or who received invest-  
 tures from laymen. However provoked Henry  
 might be at this behaviour of the haughty prelate,  
 he thought proper to dissemble his resentment, and  
 only desired, that messengers might be sent to Rome,  
 to accommodate matters with the pope, and to obtain  
 his confirmation of the English laws and customary  
 privileges.

The prelate Anselm had not been long in England,  
 before an affair happened, which obliged Henry to  
 have recourse to his authority. Matilda daughter to  
 Malcolm, the third king of Scotland, and niece to  
 Edgar Atheling, had, on her father's death, and sub-  
 sequent revolutions of the Scottish government,  
 been brought to England, and educated under her  
 aunt, in the nunnery of Rumsey. This prince's  
 Henry proposed to marry. She was not only ac-  
 complished with all that could render a woman de-  
 sirable, but unexceptional in point of interest; her  
 uncle Edgar having no children, and the old English  
 party considering her as the only remains of the  
 Cerdic race, from whom they were to expect the con-  
 tinuance of that venerable line. But as she had worn  
 the veil, though never taken the vows, doubts might  
 arise with regard to the lawfulness of this action, and  
 it was absolutely necessary for Henry, not to shew  
 the religious prejudices of his subjects. Recourse  
 was therefore to be had to Anselm, whose authority  
 was decisive in this particular; but the prelate would  
 do nothing of himself. He summoned a synod to  
 meet at Lambeth, where Matilda proved, that she  
 never intended to embrace a religious life, and had  
 worn the veil, merely in imitation of a custom fami-  
 liar to the English ladies, who protected their chastity  
 from the brutal violence of the Normans, by taking  
 shelter under that habit, which amidst the horrid li-  
 centiousness of the times, was generally revered. The  
 synod, sensible that even a prince's, could have re-  
 course to no other method for the security of her  
 honor, admitted the plea as valid, and declared that  
 Matilda was free from all religious engagements, and  
 still at liberty to marry. Anselm, acquiescing with



his clergy, her marriage with Henry was celebrated by the archbishop, with the most solemn pomp.

During the interim, Robert returned from his eastern expedition, and took possession of the duchy of Normandy without opposition. On his return from the Holy Land, he passed through Italy, where he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter to the count of Conversana, a young lady of great beauty and merit, whom he espoused; and indulging himself in this new passion, as well as fond of enjoying ease and pleasure, after the fatigues of so many rough campaigns, he lingered a twelve-month in that delicious climate. By this delay, he lost the crown of England, which the great fame he had acquired during the crusades, as well as his undoubted title, both by birth, and the treaty formerly made with his deceased brother, would, had he been present, have infallibly secured to him; thus did he a second time prevent himself from being a king.

A. D. 1101. His arrival, though too late to ascend the throne of England, without meeting with a powerful opposition, revived at once the hopes and fears of the Normans of his party, who had possessions in France. He saw himself, contrary to his expectations, prevented from succeeding to the crown of England, and complained loudly of the injustice of his younger brother. Robert de Belleme, earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, having succeeded to the great estates of his family, both in England and Normandy, was, at this time, one of the most considerable of Henry's subjects. His genius was enterprising, his behaviour arrogant, and his principles entirely in favour of Robert. He was joined by his two brothers, Roger and Arnulf, William de Warenne, earl of Surry, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Gretnesnil, and many others of the principal nobility, who entered into an association, for inviting Robert to make an attempt upon England, and promised to join him with all their forces. Robert accepted the invitation, and applied himself closely to make preparations for invading England and ascertaining his right.

Henry was greatly alarmed at the defection of so many of his nobles, and still more at the great popularity of his brother, who was become the idol of the people, on account of his having so greatly contributed to rescue the holy city of Jerusalem out of the hands of infidels. Persuaded of the power of popular bigotry, and dreading the consequences of his injured brother's obtaining the crown, he had recourse to Anselm, whose sanctity and wisdom he now pretended to revere. He consulted him in all difficult emergencies, seemed to be governed by him in every measure; promised a strict regard to ecclesiastical privileges; professed a great attachment to Rome, and a resolution of persevering in an implicit obedience to the decrees of councils, and to the will of the sovereign pontiff. By these caresses and declarations he gained entirely the confidence of the primate, whose influence over the people, and authority with the barons, was of the greatest service to him in his present situation. Anselm became surety for the king, pledging his faith, that he would govern the kingdom, as long as he sat upon the throne, by just and equitable laws. By this means, the king was in a condition to oppose the great interest of his brother, which had already induced many of the barons to declare in his favor, and even to carry over to him the greater part of a fleet, which had been fitted out to oppose his passage, and prevent his landing.

With a greater degree of assiduity than usual, Robert seized this favorable opportunity to put to sea with a fine fleet, and landed at Portsmouth about Midsummer, A. D. 1101. Immediately upon the news of his debarkation, Henry, who had a strong army posted at Pevensey, on the Sussex coast, ad-

vanced to intercept him in his march to London, and prevent him from being joined by such of his adherents as had already shewed themselves inclinable to espouse his cause. Nothing could at this time have kept up the drooping spirits of Henry but the fidelity and steadiness of Anselm, who attended him step by step, and, with unwearied assiduity, harangued, flattered, and threatened by turns those of whose attachment he was most doubtful, representing in so lively a manner the heinousness of breaking their oath of allegiance, that all the principal officers swore to a man to stand by their sovereign against all invaders. To crown his labours in Henry's behalf, Anselm publicly declared his intention to excommunicate Robert, in case he persisted in his design of driving his brother from the throne. Ecclesiastical censures were, at that time, more formidable to the vulgar, than the most powerful armed force; and Robert soon found that his party, instead of increasing upon his arrival in vigor and numbers, daily grew weaker and dropped off. However, both armies continuing to march forwards, they came in sight of, and encamped over against each other on a plain not far from Winchester, in which situation they remained for several days, without either side offering to come to action; Robert declining the battle on account of his not being joined by the reinforcements he expected from his friends on this side the water, and Henry, from an apprehension that his soldiers would fail in their fidelity in the day of battle, and, by going over to his brother, put him in danger of losing his life and crown.

Thus were things situated, when the two brothers being equally desirous to come to a treaty, many messages passed between them, and many proposals were made and rejected on both sides; at length, by the mediation of Anselm, and some of the most prudent of the nobles in each army, an accommodation was effected on the following terms.

I. That the king should resign to the duke the Contantin, together with all the other places and strong holds he was then in possession of, in Normandy, excepting Donfront, which he could not cede without violating the oath he had given to the inhabitants when they admitted him into their town, that he would never give it up but with his life.

II. That the friends of each party should have full restoration of all their lands and estates, both in England and Normandy.

III. That Henry should pay to Robert the yearly sum of three thousand marks of silver; and that if either of the two brothers died without lawful issue, his demesnes should be inherited by the survivor, as well in England as Normandy.

This agreement being signed and sworn to by twelve lords on each side, as guarantees for its faithful execution, both armies were disbanded, and Henry carried his brother Robert with him to court, where they lived together in the greatest apparent harmony for the space of two months, at the end of which term duke Robert took his leave, and embarked for Normandy.

Henry, being now delivered from his formidable rival, and firmly established on the throne by the late accommodation, resolved to take severe revenge on such of the great men who had shewn themselves most zealous in the cause of his brother Robert. Opportunities of being revenged are seldom wanting to those who have the power in their own hands: accordingly, soon after the departure of his brother, he seized on the estates and persons of Hugh de Gretnesnil, Robert de Pontefract, and Robert de Mallet, on various pretences; but of all those who had espoused his brother's cause, no one was so particularly



the object of his indignation and revenge as Robert de Belleme, earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, on account of his having openly (and, indeed, with an unpardonable imprudence) declared, "that Henry was an usurper, and that it would be an eternal disgrace to all, of the Norman or English nations, who should permit, much more assist, him in holding the crown in prejudice of his elder brother." Accordingly Henry summoned this young nobleman to appear before him at his court, and answer to five and forty articles of impeachment which he published against him, the least of which was sufficient to bring him to the block. The earl, conscious that, by his unguarded behaviour, he had given the king too fair a handle to ruin him, asked leave for time to prepare his answer; which being granted him, he made use of the interval to fortify his castle of Shrewsbury, determined to defend himself to the last, rather than, by a tame submission, to encounter that fate which he knew was unavoidably prepared for him: at the same time he had recourse to his friends in Normandy, where he had a great estate, and sent his brother Arnulph to solicit aid from the Welsh.

A rebellious act of this nature gave Henry the most plausible excuse for effecting his total ruin. According he ordered him to be publicly proclaimed a traitor, for having refused to appear before his peers in the king's court when duly summoned; and issued out commissions for a general array of all the militia in England; and taking the field in person, went and laid siege to the earl's castle of Arundel, in Suffex: but he found it so strongly fortified, that he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. While this was doing, he ordered the bishop of Lincoln to besiege Teckhill, another strong fortress of the earl's, lying a few miles from Doncaster, while he himself advanced into Shropshire, the greatest part of which belonged to Robert de Belleme. Here he attacked Bridgenorth, accounted the strongest place in England, the earl, who was the most excellent engineer of his time, having exerted his utmost skill in fortifying it. This siege cost Henry some time and trouble, and it is more than probable that he would have found himself baffled in his attempt had he not had recourse to money to bribe the garrison, which consisted of a body of Welch, under Cadogan and Gervith, the two chief princes of Wales. This method proved effectual, and the Welch surrendered the place after having defended it three weeks. Almost at the same time Henry received advice, that the officer he had left before Arundel, had compelled that castle to surrender, and that the bishop of Lincoln had proved no less successful in his operations against Teckhill, so that Shrewsbury was now the only place of any consequence left in the hands of Robert: the roads to it were bad, narrow, and very languishing to an army in its march, the country being overgrown with thick woods, which the enemy had lined with archers, to gall the soldiers in their passage; but Henry, with admirable presence of mind, employing his men in cutting down the woods and opening the roads, soon got over these difficulties.

The desperate situation of his affairs struck Robert with dismay; he plainly saw it would be impossible for him to make head against so powerful a force as Henry was bringing against him; and, therefore, as the king drew near the town, he went forth to meet him, acknowledged his crimes, and, presenting him with the keys of the place, threw himself upon his mercy. The king accepted his submission, and thus this dangerous insurrection was quelled in little more than a month from its first breaking out. The earl and his followers were deprived of all their estates in England, and obliged to quit the kingdom.

Henry by this success, and the destruction of the great family of Belleme, saw himself absolute master of his kingdom: before this time he had never

considered himself as a real king; he now resolved to be so, by making himself independent of all powers abroad, and of every class of his subjects at home. It must be observed, that the most considerable power now left in the nation, distinct from that of the crown, was lodged in the bishops and abbots; and Henry could not, without a mixture of indignation and apprehension, perceive the attempts they were continually making to circumscribe the regal prerogative: the insolent and ambitious disposition of Anselm, not a little heightened by conscious merit of the late services he had done the crown, threatened Henry with little less than annihilation of all his authority in ecclesiastical matters. That haughty prelate had two favorite points in view; the one was to oblige the clergy to celibacy, and the other to wrest from the crown the right of giving the investiture to bishops and abbots. In the midst of his ambition he had, however, sufficient discernment to know that the compassing his designs could not fail of being attended with many and great difficulties; but, nothing daunted at the prospect of the obstacles in his way, he convened a synod, in which a sentence of excommunication was fulminated against married priests. Pleased with this success, Anselm determined to proceed, notwithstanding he perceived he should be opposed by the whole power of the crown. Nor was he contented with depriving Henry of a prerogative enjoyed by all the monarchs that had filled the English throne from the first establishment of christianity; he proposed, that all the bishops who had received the investiture from the king, should immediately resign their sees, or stand absolutely excommunicated. Exasperated at this insolent attempt, Henry summoned Anselm to appear in the king's court. He obeyed; and was commanded instantly to do homage to the king, to consecrate such persons as had been nominated to vacant sees, or to depart the kingdom immediately: the king declaring, in express terms, "That no persons should reside in any parts of his dominions who refused to pay the allegiance due to a sovereign." But Anselm despised the threats of royalty, and with the resolution of a man conscious of power, told the court, "That he was not intimidated from doing his duty; that he immediately retire to Canterbury, where he should continue to exercise his archiepiscopal functions, and wait the issue with resignation and tranquillity." As Henry was determined not to part with so valuable a branch of his prerogative, and the prelate not to recede from the cause he had undertaken, there remained no hopes of an accommodation. At last it was agreed by both parties to send a deputation to Rome, in order to lay the whole dispute before his holiness; and that in the meantime the bishops and abbots should continue to execute the functions of their respective offices.

A. D. 1103. This ecclesiastical dispute did not, however, divert Henry's attention from his military in other particulars. He had already greatly reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility, and resolved to pursue that intention still farther. William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, who retired into Normandy on the accommodation between Robert and himself, had been dispossessed of his English estates, but was continually importuning the duke to restore his offices with Henry, in order, if possible, to possess his being reinstated in his land. Robert, whose heart glowed with the benign warmth of friendship and compassion, determined to pay a visit to his brother in order to solicit to person the restitution of the earl of Surrey's possessions. Previously informed of the design of Robert's visit, Henry was fully prepared for his reception, and immediately on his arrival, pretended to be highly displeased at his brother's entering his kingdom without permission, and



bringing with him, in his retinue, those whom he well knew to be enemies to his person and government. At the same time the king charged Robert with a breach of the late treaty, by giving refuge and encouragement to the rebellious earl of Shrewsbury, and putting him in possession of his father's demesnes in Normandy. Robert now perceived the wrong step he had taken, by thus putting himself in the power of his brother; but it was too late to recede. He therefore remonstrated boldly with his brother, in behalf of the earl of Surry, but met with so bad a reception, that Robert began to apprehend his own liberty was in danger, and was therefore glad to purchase an escape, by resigning his pension. The earl of Surry was, however, restored to all his possessions, and remained ever after a faithful and useful subject to the king of England.

A. D. 1104. Henry pursued his design of wreaking his vengeance on the English nobles, whom he suspected of not being cordially attached to his interest. About the same time, William count de Mortaigne, in Normandy, and earl of Cornwall in England, the king's cousin German, claimed the earldom of Kent, as heir to Odo, bishop of Bayeaux, who had accompanied the duke of Normandy in his expedition to the Holy Land, and died at Palermo in Sicily. This claim he pressed in a manner rather too peremptory for a subject; but as it happened in the time of the public commotions, and that Henry suspecting him of favoring the rebellious earl of Shrewsbury in his heart, he was not willing to weaken his own interest, and strengthen that of his enemy, by the defection of a nobleman of so great power and interest; therefore he amused him with specious promises, which kept him quiet; but as soon as Henry found himself securely established on the throne, he thought it high time to take down his towering spirit, and make him an example to others of his subjects, who, presuming too far on their weight and importance, might be tempted to fly in the face of majesty. Accordingly, when the earl, upon finding the affairs of the kingdom settled upon a quiet footing, took an opportunity of repeating his claim, and demanding to be put in possession of the whole county of Kent, the king not only gave him a flat denial, but also exhibited against him a charge for divers maleversions in the government of those counties committed to his care, and, at the same time, with several misdemeanors against the state; and the different articles being proved to the satisfaction of the judges, the earl was declared guilty, upon which he immediately fled over to Normandy.

Hence it is pretty apparent, that the justices were the king's creatures, and ready to give any sentence that they thought agreeable to his ambition or avarice; for, upon the earl's withdrawing himself out of the kingdom, they condemned him not only to lose the lands which it may be presumed he had, like other rapacious Normans, usurped, but (what is utterly unconceivable) the earldom of Cornwall and all the great estates in Suffex and other counties, of which his forefathers were justly possessed, according to *Domesday Book*, and which he inherited from them by an undoubted title.

Hence, according to *Florence of Worcester* and the *Saxon chronicles*, we learn that William, who had retired to his estate of Mortaigne, in Normandy, hearing of these transactions, and incensed at the ingratitude, perfidy, and avarice of king Henry, fell upon those lands belonging to him and his partizans, that lay contiguous to his own, and had not been delivered up to Robert pursuant to the full article of the peace concluded between the two brothers. In these operations he was soon joined by a number of the exiled noblemen, who were all greedy of plunder; but what greatly strengthened his party was, the al-

liance between de Bellefine and him. This latter nobleman was in possession of no less than thirty four strong castles in Normandy, in which he had placed all the wealth he had amassed, and which were provided with good garrisons; so that these two turbulent chieftains and their adherents harrassed their native country with continual devastations, while Robert, either despising the world, and given up to devotion, or, as *Falmer* observes, amusing himself in plays and feasting, took not the least step to oppose their progress; and his indolence seeming to increase in proportion to the calamities of his country, he at length, without the privity or consent of his brother Henry, patched up an infamous peace with the rebels, which exasperated his subjects to such a degree, that they determined to throw themselves into the arms of Henry, for the protection of their lives and properties.

During all this time Henry had been acting the most crafty part. Ever since he had found himself in peaceable possession of England, he began to look with a wishful eye upon Normandy, and was greatly desirous of annexing that duchy to his crown. Robert's ill conduct had confirmed him in the hopes of one day compassing his end, and he waited only for a favorable opportunity to put his design in execution. With this view he made not the least effort towards chastising the rebels for their depredations on his Norman lands, either in person or by application to his brother. He knew full well that Robert's power was more to be feared than that of the malecontents, and therefore, with an unnatural and detestable policy, he suffered them to oppress his brother without offering the least assistance. This neglect of Henry's concurring with Robert's indolence, had been the chief inducement to the latter's having concluded the late disgraceful peace with the malecontents.

The opportunity which Henry had been impatiently waiting for now offered itself, and he did not fail to make the most proper use of it. *Salvo*, bishop of Sens, and Robert, abbot of the same place, were the first who broke forth into open discontent, (A. D. 1105) and publicly declared themselves, by excommunicating Robert, and flying over to England, where they were received with open arms by Henry, who now saw himself on the point of having his secret wishes fully satisfied. However, he had not as yet any justifiable pretence for coming to a rupture with his brother Robert; and moreover, he was fearful that if he should too prematurely declare himself, it might be a means of making the duke and the rebels join together for their mutual security.

Sensible of the blacknets of his design, he thought it necessary to give it the face of justice, by yet appearing to act from a motive the very reverse of what really inspired his proceedings. With this view he wrote a letter to his brother Robert, reflecting in the strongest terms, that his conduct lately had given just ground of complaint to all degrees of his subjects, who could not, without great concern, behold the indolence and inactivity of his disposition, and the little care he took either to redress their grievances, or secure their properties; and that the late infamous peace he had made with the enemies of the public, and the despoilers of his country, had given those under his rule but too strong reasons to believe that they had little cause to look to him for protection. He entreated him in the most pressing manner to resume the sentiments of the prince and the common parent of his people, and instantly to set about redressing the grievances of which his subjects complained, or otherwise not to think it strange that, in case he turned a deaf ear to these remonstrances, he himself should be obliged to espouse the cause of the distressed Normans. This artful letter, however it might be varnished over with the pretence of love and kindness, was, in fact, intended only as a libel to inflame the



minds of the Normans to a greater pitch of discontent against their duke. Henry took especial care to have it made as public as possible, and the issue fully answered his expectations; for, in a very short time afterwards, he received a general application from the Norman nobility, beseeching him to have compassion on the miseries of their church and state, and take them under his immediate care. This was what Henry aimed at; and accordingly he no sooner received the invitation, than he hastened to comply with it; and, about the autumn of the same year, he passed over to Normandy with a powerful armament.

Henry's conduct must appear to every unprejudiced person a downright violation of every civil and political tie; and there is no doubt to be made but that Henry would have loudly complained of, and severely reformed, the duke his brother's attempting to intermeddle in his government of the English, which, indeed, there seems to have been an equal reason for, since we find Henry, at the very time he was thus rebuking his brother for mal-administration, and assuming the character of protector of the distressed Normans, saddling his own subjects with exorbitant impositions, in order to defray the expences of his expedition to Normandy, in which this country certainly could have no concern; and this tax was levied with all the aggravating circumstances of rigor. But, indeed, we seem to have been fated, ever since our existence as a people, to be the dupes either of quarrels or alliances with the continent, for the most part equally frivolous and disadvantageous, notwithstanding that nature, by our insular situation, designed us to be exempt both from the one and the other.

As soon as it was known that Henry had landed at Barfleur, his court was filled with the Norman nobility, who all represented their real or fancied grievances in the most specious manner, imploring the king of England to take them under his protection. It required no great rhetoric to persuade Henry to gratify the principal wish of his ambition; but as the season of the year was too far advanced to admit of any military operations, he contented himself with having an interview with his brother Robert, which passed in recriminations on both sides: Robert, on his part, accused Henry with a design to stir up his subjects against him, and deprive him of his dominions. Henry charged his brother with having not only given asylum to rebels and the betrayers of their king and country, but with having made allies of those very pests to society, by agreeing to an infamous peace with them. This altercation would have grown very warm, had it not been for the interposition of some of the most moderate noblemen on each side, who pacified matters so well, at least in appearance, that Henry and his brother parted seemingly good friends; and the former returned to pass the winter in England, after having first made a kind of progress through those parts of his own estate in Normandy which he thought required his presence, and which he put in the best posture of defence he could against the ensuing spring. However, while he remained in Normandy, he, against all the laws of nature and nations, seized into his hands the strong town of Bayeux and Caen, belonging to his brother Robert, and garrisoned them partly with his own English troops, and partly with Norman malcontents.

A. D. 1106. The campaign was opened with the siege of Tenchebray; and it now became sufficiently evident, both from his preparations and progress, that he intended to usurp the entire possession of Normandy. Robert was at last roused from his lethargy, and being joined by the earl of Montague, and Robert de Belleme, earl of Shrewsbury, the king's inveterate enemies, he raised a considerable army, and approached his brother's camp, intending to finish, by one decisive battle, the quarrel between them. He

was now entered upon that scene of action, in which alone he was qualified to excel; and, accordingly, he so animated the Norman troops by his example, that they made a great impression on the English, and had nearly obtained the victory, when the flight of Belleme threw the whole army into disorder, and occasioned a total defeat. Henry, besides making a great slaughter among the enemy, took near ten thousand prisoners, among whom was duke Robert himself, together with most of the considerable barons, who adhered to his interest.

Hence this victory was followed by the entire reduction of Normandy: Rouen immediately submitted to the conqueror: Falais, after some negotiation, opened its gates; and by this acquisition, before rendering himself master of an important fortress, Henry got into his hands the person of prince William, the only son and heir of Robert. He now assembled the states of Normandy; and, having received the homage of all the vassals of the duchy, settled the government, revoked his brother's donations, and dismantling the castles lately erected, he returned to England, carrying with him the duke as a prisoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, when he died in the castle of Cardiff, in Glamorgenshire: happy, if, without losing his liberty, he could have relinquished that power, which he was not qualified to hold or exercise. Prince William was committed to the care of Elias de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who, being a man of more probity and honor, than was common in those ages, executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in his expedition to Jerusalem, and who had since resided with him in Normandy, was another illustrious prisoner, taken in the battle of Tenchebray; but Henry gave him his liberty, and settled on him a small pension, with which he retired, and lived to a good old age in England totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was distinguished by great probity; but nothing can be a stronger proof of the mediocrity of his talents, in every other respect, than that, notwithstanding he possessed the affections of the English, and enjoyed the only legal title to the crown, he was allowed during the reigns of so many violent and jealous usurpers, to live unmolested, and descend to his grave in peace.

In the year 1107, the famous controversy between king Henry and the primate was brought to a conclusion. The deputies who, as we have already observed, had been sent to the court of Rome, were now returned to England. Their success with the haughty pontiff had been very indifferent. His holiness had behaved with great decency, but with remarkable firmness. He wrote two letters, one to Henry, and the other to Anselm, both of them condemning all lay investitures, in direct terms. That directed to Henry was delivered into his own hands, and consequently the contents of it were known only to himself, and perhaps to the prelates who had been sent on this embassy, and who were entirely in Henry's interest. Anselm made no secret of the contents of his letter; he imparted them to all, and applauded himself for acting so agreeably to the sentiment of his holiness. Vexed and chafing to be defeated in a cause so intimately connected with the dignity of his crown, Henry had recourse to a subterfuge, which, to the enlightened age, will perhaps appear something extraordinary. He again summoned the archbishop before his court, and insisted on his immediately complying with his will, in regard to investitures, or quitting the kingdom. Anselm was astonished at this peremptory demand, so directly contrary to what he had reason to expect. He represented to the king, that the last



with which the pope had honored him, left him no room for compliance, and intreated his majesty to impart to him the contents of the letter he had received, since he was both ready and willing to obey the will of his sovereign, as far as his own conscience, and the commands of his holiness would give him leave. But this Henry absolutely refused; and plainly told Anselm, that the pope's determination had very little influence with him; that he did not think himself obliged to produce his letter, and that if he did produce it, the contents would, perhaps, be very far from answering the primate's expectations: in short, that the question now solely regarded his submission, and that he expected his direct compliance. This answer favored too much of absolute power. Anselm appealed to the contents of his own letter, for a vindication of his conduct; and Henry was obliged to have recourse to another expedient. He appealed to his deputies, who now declared, that with regard to the letters in question, they were entirely ignorant of what they contained; but that they were perfectly acquainted with the pope's sentiments, and that they had verbal instructions, to inform both the king and his court, that, provided the king behaved with proper submission to the holy see, in other respects, he would dispense with the matter of investitures. With regard to the letters, they observed, that it would have been extremely improper for the pope to have given any such indulgence under his hand, since it might have encouraged other princes to expect the same favor. Anselm's two messengers, who were both monks, affirmed, that it was impossible this story could have any foundation; but their word was not esteemed equivalent to that of three bishops; and the king, as if he had entirely gained his cause, proceeded to fill up the sees of Hereford and Salisbury, and to invest the new bishops in the usual manner. But Anselm, who, from sufficient reasons, gave no credit to the asseverations of the king's messengers, not only refused to consecrate these prelates, but even to communicate with them; and the bishops themselves, finding how odious they were to the people, returned back to Henry the ensigns of their dignity. The quarrel every day increased between the king and the primate: the former, notwithstanding his great prudence, and the moderation of his temper, threw out menaces against all such as should pretend to oppose him in exerting the ancient prerogatives of his crown; and Anselm, sensible of his disagreeable and dangerous situation, desired leave to undertake a journey to Rome, in order to lay the case before the sovereign pontiff. Henry, well pleased with being freed, without having recourse to violence, from so inflexible an antagonist, readily granted him permission; and Anselm set out on his journey. He was attended to the sea shore by an infinite number of people of all ranks, who regarded his departure as the final dissolution of religion and piety in this kingdom. But the king, though he had granted Anselm leave to repair to Rome, immediately confiscated all the revenues of his see, and sent William de Warelwast to negotiate with pope Pascal, and to find some means of bringing this delicate affair to an accommodation.

Anselm and the envoy had an audience at the same time. Warelwast, presuming upon the experienced compliance of the Roman see, when it was treated with any degree of firmness, opened his master's cause with great spirit, and boldly told the pontiff, "That whatever opinions might be entertained abroad, he knew his master would as soon part with his kingdom, as with his right of investitures." The pope, who was then in full consistory, could not bear this freedom. He listened very attentively to the beginning of Warelwast's harangue; but now interrupted the ambassador, crying out in a vehement manner, "Your master will part with his kingdom, as soon as

"with the right of investitures! Know then, that while Pascal is pope, he shall never quietly enjoy them." All the cardinals present applauded this resolute answer, which greatly disconcerted Warelwast, who relied principally upon their friendship. Anselm himself did not speak a single word on this occasion. He was too well pleased with the manner of proceeding, to offer any thing to mitigate the pope's indignation. At last, both the prelate and ambassador had leave to return, after the pope had given sentence in the most express terms against lay-investitures, and charged Anselm with letters to Henry on the occasion.

The ambassador now perceived, that any further application would be in vain, and therefore set out with Anselm, whom he accompanied to Lyons. On their arrival in that city, Warelwast took an opportunity of hinting to the primate, that unless he would consent to give up his claim to investitures, he could not return with honor and safety to England. Anselm was himself of the same opinion, and therefore contented himself with sending Henry an account of the success of his commission, with the pope's determination, intimating, that he could not return to England, but upon the terms he himself had previously proposed.

Observing the firmness of the two prelates of Rome and Canterbury, Henry proceeded with equal resolution. He seized all the revenues of the vacant bishoprics and abbies, and caused the rents of the archbishopric to be collected by two of Anselm's tenants. This resolute behaviour daunted his holiness, notwithstanding all his late shew of resolution. The archbishop still continued in exile, till Henry's interest made him lend an ear to the intercession of his sister the countess of Blois, when matters were so far made up, that all farther talk of excommunication was laid aside, and the archbishop, about the time of the battle of Tinchebray, returned into England, where he afterwards received a letter from Henry himself, with an account of that great success; and, soon after, matters were made up amicably.

This year likewise died Edgar king of Scotland, brother-in-law to Henry, after a peaceful reign of nine years and six months, in which his gratitude to the Norman race appeared by his never giving, as was the manner of his country, any diversion to the English arms, when embroiled either in foreign or domestic wars. In the next year Henry held a great meeting of the states, in which he was importuned by his nobility, both spiritual and temporal, to give way to the redress of many grievances which had crept in, to the great oppression of the common people. His court and attendants had, for some time, claimed and practised a barbarous privilege of living upon free quarter in all places through which their matter passed. This occasioned the land to be abandoned by the inhabitants, when they suspected a royal progress; for the insolent attendants spoiled and plundered all that came in their way, while the people retired, with all the provisions they could carry off into woods and recesses. An effectual stop was now put to this abuse by the king's proclamation, which inflicted severe corporal penalties, such as the loss of eyes, hands, and limbs, upon all who were guilty, for the time to come, of the like depredations.

Adulterating and defacing the current coin of this kingdom was another grievance, which called aloud for redress. The loss of eyes and other members was inflicted on all counterfeiters. Small money, such as pence and half pence, were often broken by the country people, for the convenience of smaller pieces; by this means, when they were not broken in equal pieces, the smaller ones remained on the hands of the proprietor, to his great prejudice. This abuse, which was grown to a great height, was remedied by coming



pence in one round piece, with two creases intersecting it into four equal parts; so that, by breaking it according to those creases, it might fall into two half-pence, or four farthings.

Besides these, several other very useful regulations seem to have been made at this time, which we shall take notice of, the rather as they have been past over by our other historians. The barbarous custom, which is a reproach even to later ages then prevailed, of the proprietors of those shores where a ship happened to be wrecked, seizing on the wreck as their own property, while the poor sailors were turned ashore to hunger and misery, and often met on land the fate they had escaped at sea. This custom was abolished by Henry, who issued out a proclamation, that, in such cases, if one single soul in the ship remained alive, the whole, including both the bottom and cargo, that should be saved, should belong to him. But this excellent edict was repealed under his successor, to the reproach of his reign. The reader is here to observe, that Henry's making those regulations by proclamation is far from being an argument that the royal proclamations in those days had the force of an act of the states. The regulations themselves were no other than putting in force, reviving and recommending the laws which were already in being, but their execution neglected or perverted by inferior magistrates, and therefore a proclamation was sufficient for all the purposes of the subject. The regulation of measures was the subject of another proclamation. A law had passed in the first year of Henry's reign, that every yard should be the length of the king's arm. This regulation had been greatly neglected and abused, but was now revived and enforced by royal proclamation.

All these regulations could not fail of being very agreeable to the English nation; but Henry was not quite disinterested as to the motives of his patriotism. The heavy tax of Dane-gelt was now revived, at the rate of two shillings upon every hide of land; and many oppressive forest prerogatives, brought in by his father and brother, were continued.

In the interim, while Henry was making himself powerful at home, a storm threatened to break upon his dominions abroad. Philip king of France being dead, he was succeeded by his son Lewis. This prince, jealous of Henry's greatness, since he had re-annexed the dukedom of Normandy to the crown of England, took occasion, upon some disputes about the fortresses on both frontiers, to make great preparations for invading Normandy. Robert had left in France a young prince, his son, whose name was William, of promising capacity, and beautiful in his person. Henry, perceiving the hostile dispositions of the king of France, grew apprehensive lest he should tamper with this young prince, and prompt him to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions. About the beginning of August, therefore, in the year 1108, without discovering his real intentions, Henry, having nothing to fear in England, passed over to Normandy. At first he seemed to mind nothing but the putting his frontiers in a posture of defence; but all of a sudden he gave orders to Robert Beauchamp, viscount of Arches, to seize the person of the young prince of Normandy who was then in a castle belonging to his tutor, Elias count of St. Saen. This order was not kept so secret, but that the prince had timely notice of it, and made his escape into France, while Elias's castle was seized upon by Henry, and the custody of it committed to William de Warren. As to William, his tutor carried him first to the court of France, and afterwards to those of the neighbouring princes, whom the gracefulness of his person, and the sweetness of his manners, disposed to attempt somewhat in his favor. But the activity of Henry, at this juncture, prevented all endeavours of that kind. The party

of Robert, however, were indefatigable in their solicitations. Robert earl of Shrewsbury still retained an implacable enmity to Henry and his government, and, in conjunction with the young prince's tutor, applied not only to Lewis king of France, but to William duke of Poitou, Henry duke of Burgundy, and Alan duke of Brittany. Those princes, all of them, discovered the best dispositions towards the disinherited prince; but all he could now obtain, were assurances of supporting him at a proper juncture. Henry, not ignorant of the dispositions of his neighbours, redoubled his attention to the state of his Norman territories and frontiers, and at the same time negotiated an alliance which might counterbalance all the interest of his rival on the continent.

This alliance was with Henry, the fourth emperor of Germany. The territories of the two princes were too discontinuous for them to enter into any treaty, on account of mutual support, against a third power; an alliance of blood was therefore necessary to cement their interests, so distant in point of territory. Henry had a daughter at this time, whose name was Maud, but of too tender years for a connubial state, but this was no objection to a match of interest. A marriage between the young lady and the emperor was negotiated, and agreed upon; and the imperial ambassadors were to demand her in form for their master, as soon as Henry should return to England.

Henry had put his affairs in Normandy upon a good footing, that, notwithstanding all the interest of his brother's family, he was able to hold a great council of his states, on Whit Sunday, 1109, at Westminster.

Here the emperor's ambassadors made their demand of his daughter, and the terms were finally agreed upon. It had been a custom, in all countries where the feudal system was established, for the subjects to furnish an extraordinary subsidy upon the marriage of their king's eldest daughter. Henry laid hold of this custom for imposing an extraordinary tax this year, of three shillings upon every hide of land throughout the kingdom; by which he raised a noble portion for the young lady, who continued in England till next year. This practice gathered strength with time, and its vestiges are still discernable upon the like occasion. But it must be owned, that the nation is not now near so liberal that way as it was formerly, since, by a moderate computation, the money raised by Henry for his daughter's portion, amounted to the value of eight hundred thousand pounds of the present money.

This year is memorable for the death of the famous Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, of whose character it were superfluous to say any thing in this place. It is likewise a celebrated era of learning, and the revival of letters in the university of Cambridge.

A. D. 1110, the betrothed emperors left England with a noble retinue; and Henry's affairs were in his tranquillity, that he was now at leisure to prosecute several of his great barons, who had either openly or secretly favored the cause of his enemies. Of these we have the names of Philip de Braule, William Mallet, and William Barnart; but Huntingdon only delivers the fact, neglects to inform us of the particulars of their impeachment, for he only relates that they lost their estates for their treason. At the same time we learn, that Elias the famous earl of Maine, was put to death by order of Henry, worthy of the feudatory he was. The history of this prince's rebellion is of importance to our history, and comes continually in here. Henry wanted to seize into his own hands the earldom of Maine, but was prevented by Fulk, earl of Anjou, who had married the daughter of Elias, and who strengthened his interest with the Normans, by openly espousing the part of William the prince of Normandy. Fulk, by the acquisition of



Maine, became now a considerable power upon the continent, and entered into engagements with the king of France. Almeric earl of Montfort, nephew and heir to William earl of Evereux, and Robert the restless earl of Shrewsbury, for invading Normandy. To give the better colour to their cause, a treaty of marriage was opened between William the Norman prince, and the daughter of Fulk, and great preparations were made for supporting his interest; while Henry, on the other hand, accused Fulk of usurping the duchy of Anjou, and declared his intentions of conquering it by force, though then too late in the year to open the campaign.

Henry crossed over to Normandy in August, A. D. 1111, and continued two years abroad, during which time he prosecuted the war against the favorers of his nephew with various success, and had no small difficulties to encounter; however, by a perseverance which would have done honor to a better cause, he at length surmounted all obstacles. He found means, towards the end of the year 1112, to detach the earl of Anjou from the party of William and the French king, upon a promise of marrying his son to the other's eldest daughter, and bestowing on him the earldom of Maine, for which he was to do homage. As to the earl of Shrewsbury, who was his most inveterate enemy, having been sent by Lewis on an embassy, about a treaty or conference in order come to an accommodation, and coming to Bonneville on the Tonque, Henry caused him to be arrested, and sent to Cherbourg, and from thence into England, where he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment at Warcham-castle.

The apprehending of the person of Robert de Belleme was attended with the most salutary consequences to Henry's Norman affairs; for the court of France, thus deprived of, or abandoned by, its most powerful friends, found itself too weak alone to support prince William's pretensions; and soon after, to the amazement of all the world, Lewis and Henry had an interview at Gisors, which was followed by a treaty of peace, in which the former agreed for ever to renounce his pretensions to the dukedom of Maine and the sovereignty of Bretagne. And the prince of Normandy, thus deserted, was obliged to take refuge in the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who generously gave him protection, and a subsistence suitable to his birth.

Henry, having thus happily terminated these troubles, returned to England in July, 1113. Before he had undertaken his Norman expedition, he had admitted into England a great number of Flemings, who, by the inundation of the sea on their own coasts, had been obliged to emigrate in quest of new habitations. They were kindly received by Henry, and first of all settled in the more barren parts of Yorkshire; but were afterwards transplanted into Rofs and Pembrokeshire, where they formed a strong barrier against the neighbouring Welsh, who were every now and then disturbing the frontiers between the two nations by their invasions. These latter, enraged to find themselves thus bridled by a set of vagabonds, became so troublesome, that Henry was obliged to march against them in person, and make the entire conquest of their country. Accordingly he entered Wales, in the year 1114, with a numerous army; but, after many vain endeavors to bring them to a general engagement, which they always eluded by retreating to the mountains on the king's approach to give them battle, he found his army so embarrassed by the fatigues of their march through an almost impassable country, that they were in the greatest distress, and as there appeared no likelihood of drawing the enemy out of their holes and lurking places, he thought it most politic to listen to terms of accommodation; a peace was made with them, and thus the

expedition ended, with little advantage, however, to Henry.

Returning then to London, he yielded to the intreaties of several of his nobles, both ecclesiastical and secular, and filled up the vacant see of Canterbury, the revenues of which he had kept in his hands for five years. Ralph, bishop of Rochester, was on this occasion unanimously chosen archbishop, to the great satisfaction of the people, by whom he was highly esteemed; and Thurstan, one of the king's chaplains, was nominated to the see of York. At the same time all other vacancies were filled up, but with such glaring partiality to the Normans, as made the English in general murmur loudly, and indeed not without just reason.

In the same year, Henry went over to Normandy, in order to get his son William, then only twelve years of age, recognized as his successor in his Norman dominions. This point he effected, and all the great barons swore an eventual fealty to the royal minor; and Henry returned to England, where the year following he did the same, in order that nothing might be wanting, that human prudence could invent, to secure a long continuance of the sceptre in his own line. In the month of September, he called a great council of his peers, both spiritual and temporal, at his palace of Westminster, where several matters relating to the preservation of the peace of the kingdom were discussed and provided for.

A. D. 1116, Lewis, still jealous of Henry's rising power, had resumed his engagements with prince William of Normandy, son to duke Robert; and claiming, as sovereign lord of Normandy, a right to dispose of that duchy, he gave the investiture of it to the young prince, and promised to assist him with all his power: he also found means to bring several of the French princes to join his army; and affairs put on so serious an aspect, that Henry found it absolutely necessary to pass over into Normandy. But before he set out on that expedition, he summoned a great assembly of the states at Salisbury, on the thirteenth of March, in which he got his son William to be publicly acknowledged as his successor, and all present took an oath to defend his right against all pretenders whatever.

The king of England passing over to Normandy, Rees, the prince of South Wales, redoubled his hostilities against the English, and the other subjects of Henry, lying upon the borders of Wales. In the first run of his success, he took several of Henry's castles, which he burned and levelled with the ground. Encouraged by this, he entered Rolle and Dywent with great fury. The Normans and Flemings, inhabiting those countries, upon this met, and resolved to call unto their assistance such of the Welsh noblemen as remained still firm to the English interest. The castle and town of Carmarthen were at that time of much importance, and in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. It was therefore proposed, by Henry's subjects, that the Welsh in his friendship should, by turns, garrison the castle, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. The Welsh, among whom we have the names of Owen ap Rythorch, and Rythorch ap Tudor, undertook this service; but Rees, being informed of their determination, resolved to prevent them. Understanding the castle to be but meanly garrisoned, he suddenly assaulted it. Owen ap Caradoc, who then commanded the place, hearing the shouts of the assailants, immediately attacked them, but found himself all at once abandoned by his men. Unwilling however, or unable to retreat, he fell with his sword in his hand; and Rees forced his way into the town, which he took, and led in also the castle itself, which was likewise taken, full of great damage. This success gave such encouragement to the



the other Welsh, that, in a few days after, a body of brave young men entered themselves under the command of Rees.

Those successes of Rees raised him to the general command of the Welsh. They who had been dispossessed of their habitations by the Normans and Flemings repaired to his standard; the castles belonging to Strongbow were taken, and their garrisons put to the sword; at last, laying siege to a castle, named Aberystwyth, a party of his men were intercepted by the English, and drawn into an ambuscade, in which most of them were cut to pieces. Henry, after this, sent Robert, his natural son, to command against the Welsh. This nobleman was joined by another Owen ap Caradoc, Owen ap Rytherech, and Lhywarch ap Trahern, Gerad, steward of Pembroke, advanced likewise, at the head of the Flemings, to join the royalists; but an ancient animosity subsisting between him and Owen ap Rytherech, who did not dream of being attacked by those of his own party, the steward took advantage of Owen's security, and killed him, with many of his men. This disgusted the Welsh in the king's interest to a great degree; however, they being at variance among themselves, the government of England found means to secure the peace of the kingdom.

Henry, at the same time, was in Normandy, where the war again broke out between him and the king of France. The latter pretended a promise which Henry had made him, of demolishing, within a prefixed time, the important castle of Gisors, which was as it were a key for a passage either into Normandy or France. Henry being in possession of it, was too sensible of its consequence, to comply with the repeated demands of the French for its demolition. This exasperated Lewis to the highest degree, and a strong confederacy was formed for reducing Henry's exorbitant power in France. The contracting parties were the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Blois and the earl of Nevers.

The confederates, in the year 1116, attacked Normandy, and marched as far as the river Epte. Here they found Henry's forces drawn up on the opposite bank; but neither party was able to force its passage in the face of the other. Lewis, however, who was a prince of great spirit, and little command of temper, as the agreement between him and Henry, about demolishing Gisors, had been personal, and as they differed in fact, their late honor obliged him personally to maintain his own reputation. He, therefore, sent a solemn deputation to Henry, upbraiding him with breach of promise, and appealing him to single combat. Henry, though personally very brave, not choosing to forego an advantage for an idle point of honor, sent his antagonist word, "That true valor was best seen by his conduct in field, at the head of their armies, and in that character, he never would decline to meet him, when time, and proper place and opportunity permitted." Though this reply greatly exasperated Lewis, yet he found himself in no condition to pass the river.

Thus both armies for some days lay facing one another, till the want of provisions obliged the Normans to extend their line towards Gisors; and leaving the river unguarded a little above that fort, the French, early in the morning, took the opportunity of passing it without loss. They were opposed by the Normans, and a bloody dispute ensued. At last, the latter, receiving constant supplies from Gisors, the French were repelled, though they were in great hopes of opening a passage into the castle by their swords. The defeat disabled the French from making any further progress this campaign, and they were obliged to retire into their winter quarters. The winter was spent in idleness, endeavouring to fortify itself by new alliances. Great subsidies and great

armies were paid, which were severely felt by England. The earl of Brittany, however, was a powerful support to Henry; and the French, in all their attempts, still found him so well provided, that they were always disappointed in their expectations: for Henry was contented to keep himself on the defensive. He found the princes and noblemen of France growing every day more jealous of his power, and his brother's interest daily increasing, not so much through an affection to his cause, as from their own aversion to Henry, whom they considered as aiming to give laws to the kingdom. In short, fresh claims were made every day against Henry, and the confederacy against him became almost general. Almeric de Montfort reviving his claim to the earldom of Evereux, had that city delivered into his hands by Pointel, its governor. This success encouraged other princes and great men, who had not yet ventured to declare themselves, openly to espouse the party of William, son to the then imprisoned duke. Stephen earl of Albemarle, and Robert de Gournay, were of this number; and Henry, on a sudden, found himself attacked from all quarters. Had he been able to depend upon the fidelity of the Normans, he might have made head against all his enemies; but he found the spirit of dissatisfaction to his government so strong among them, that he was obliged to garrison some of his most important towns with English.

The earl of Flanders had attacked Normandy, upon the side of Telleu, with so much vigor, that he over-ran great part of the country, and burnt a great number of towns, even in sight of the king, who durst not trust to the loyalty of his Normans to give him battle. Encouraged by this success, he laid siege to Bures, a strong town garrisoned with English. The garrison made a brave defence; and, in a sally, not only cut off great part of the besiegers, but mortally wounded the earl himself, and the siege was raised. In the mean time, the king of France and the counts of Anjou were carrying fire and sword into other parts of Normandy, where duke Robert's party, or rather that of his son, became so strong, that every day brought Henry accounts of some great noblemen revolting from his interest, and being in arms against him. In this distress of his affairs, he summoned a council of his states at Rouen, to consult about restoring the peace of that country. It was now the beginning of October; and we meet with many English noblemen, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, who sat in this assembly. From the circumstance there is reason to believe, that the king of England, as well as of Normandy, took up part then time, and that the necessity of Henry's presence in his dual dominions prevented his holding any assembly of his states in England. The deliberations of this assembly at Rouen seem to have produced but little effect, as we find the general discontent became rather greater than ever. Among other Eustace de Brethuel, who had married one of Henry's natural daughters, threw off his allegiance to father in law, of whose situation he had taken advantage, to persist in some unreasonable demands. His vassals, however, returned to their duty, and he made peace with the king. But it must be owned that Henry, at this time, was obliged to pursue measures very mortifying to a high spirit. Almeric de Evereux was one of his most dangerous enemies. Henry courted into his friendship, by offering him the earldom of Exeter, but that nobleman, who had been highly exasperated by Henry, continued faithful to his engagements with the other party. Henry, it is true, was somewhat more successful with the earl of Anjou, for he had been agreed that the young prince of England should marry this earl's daughter. As the parties were then too young for a conjugal state, the marriage was



been delayed; and views of interest intervening, very little regard was paid, by either party, to the agreement. Henry, however, at this time, secretly renewed this negotiation; but the earl having experience of the king's interested politics, was very cautious of his artifices.

A. D. 1118 is distinguished by the death of the excellent Matilda. This princess had lived in great harmony with her husband; and the peace of England, during the long absence of Henry, was, in a great measure, owing to her virtues and moderation. The respect which the old English still retained for the blood of Cerdic, was, doubtless, of great advantage to Henry's government; and the issue of the royal pair was looked upon as so many shoots, springing from that illustrious stem, which the fate of arms and invading ambition had cut down to the root. She was buried in Westminster-abbey. One circumstance relating to her burial must not be omitted here, as it concerns the antiquities of England. For it appears, by a famous roll (which formerly was mistaken for a roll of the fifth of king Stephen; but has been, by a great antiquary, restored to the year and reign we now treat of, that the sheriffs of London had the care of her funeral; since, in their accounts passed in the said roll, they charge the crown with fifteen shillings and two-pence halfpenny, for oil expended in burning upon her tomb; and with three shillings, for cloth for covering the same. Her death happened upon the thirtieth of April, and her memory was celebrated in an epitaph, some lines of which would do honor to the politest of later ages.

In the same year happened the death of Robert earl of Mellent. This nobleman, who was a foreigner by birth, connection, and interest, was Henry's first minister; and considering England only as a conquered province, he was the author of many pernicious schemes, for the supplying his master with the means of preserving and acquiring his foreign territories. The war between Henry and Lewis continued to rage. The Normans began now to see, that, instead of England becoming an accession to Normandy, Normandy, in fact, had become so to England. For though the English themselves bled, yet Normandy had thereby no relief, her miseries being increased in proportion as Henry was supported by his regal dominions. As we have seen before, their greatness had introduced luxury, and luxury corruption; the sources of corruption having been dried up, they became needy, and then seditious. The court of France knew how to improve those dispositions; and nothing but the excessive sums, with which Henry was supplied from England, could have prevented all Normandy, at this juncture, from falling into the hands of Lewis. For though the interest of duke Robert and his family was made the pretence of the war, yet it was plain, that had the French arms succeeded, the duchy must have fallen into the hands of Lewis. Both parties, in the year 1119, exerted all their strength. The Normans who continued still faithful to Henry, were such as had great estates in England, or were under ties of personal obligation. The names of the chief were Richard earl of Chester, Ralph de Conchus, William de Waren, William de Rohmar, William de Tancarville, Ralph de Sancto Vitore, Walter Giffart, Nigel de Albney, with his brother William, with Waleran and William, the two sons of the deceased earl of Mellent. Those noblemen, though few, were firm and powerful. As they had but one point in view, which was the supporting their interest, their strength was undissipated, and therefore considerable. On the other hand, the Norman party, though numerous, was divided. The French interest then grew to be visibly superior in the council of the deposed prince, and the earl of Anjou, dreading more the power of France than that of

Henry, began now to lend a willing ear to the advances of the latter; but fearing lest his giving any open encouragement to the English party should alarm the French court, he still continued to act with his allies. For Engeram de Chaumont having surprized the castle of Andely Sur Seine, which put the French in possession of all the country, from the river Epte to the town of Pont St. Pierre; the French, at the same time, besieged the castle of Alanson, in Maine. As the loss of this castle must have been attended with that of all Henry's interest in that county, he advanced in person to relieve it; but he was met by the earl of Anjou, who, after some action, obliged him to retreat, and then he himself forced the castle to surrender. This bad success was, in some measure, repaired, by the earl of Flanders being at this time taken off from the confederacy. The late earl Baldwin had been mortally wounded at the siege of the castle of Ou, which he took from Henry, whose implacable enemy he was. He was succeeded by Charles, his nephew, and son to the king of Denmark, who being a prince of a more placable disposition, studied to preserve his dominions in peace, and therefore left the allies. He was followed by Fulk earl of Anjou, whose late successes in the county of Maine had rendered him more independent than he had hitherto been on the French court. He, therefore, gave Henry to understand, that he was ready to conclude on the terms that had been offered; and it was mutually agreed, that William, the prince royal of England, should come over into France immediately, to espouse the earl's daughter. No sooner was the prince arrived, which he did in May, than the earl sent to acquaint Henry, that he was prepared to give him the last proof of his friendship; and all matters being made up, the marriage was celebrated, in presence of the king and earl, in June following. At the same time we learn, that William Talvace, the son of the earl of Shrewsbury, was, through the mediation of the earl of Anjou, put in possession of his father's Norman estate. The defection of the earls of Flanders and Anjou from the allies, changed the face of affairs greatly in Henry's favor. He had, for some time past, been contented with acting on the defensive, being yet apprehensive of a general defection of the places he still held in Normandy; but he now took the field, and carried fire and sword into the castles and possessions of his rivals. His first fury spent itself upon the more inconsiderable barons, who had been busy against him during the late war. Those he either severely chastised, or effectually overawed. He next laid siege to the castle of Evreux, then in the hands of Almeric, the most implacable of all his foes, which he took and reduced to ashes.

This progress alarmed the court of France. Lewis, who certainly knew little of Henry's character, imputed his late conduct either to weakness or cowardice, and dropped some insolent expressions, intimating, that he should have been pleased to have met his brother of England in the open field. But Henry, of all mankind, was the most insensible of that glory, which must be purchased by an equal venture. In contempt, therefore, of the romantic humour of the age, he even bore the reproaches of his friends, and coldly answered, That he had learned a maxim from his father, which was to suffer the French to spend their first fury, and then they might be easily conquered. And it was not long before Lewis was convinced of the truth of this maxim; the king of England determined to give him battle, that he might have an opportunity of displaying his military abilities. The English army was divided into three bodies; the van consisted of the chief nobility, who served on horseback with their military tenants, the main body was led by Henry in person at the head of his guard and household troops. And the rear, on which his chief dependence



dependence lay, was composed of English infantry, led by two of his own natural sons.

On the other hand, Lewis, that he might retain the Normans in his interest, affected to shew great regard for their young prince. He gave him the second command in his army, and ordered him to advance towards Audely on the river Sein; he himself proposing to support him with the main body, and to come up time enough to join him in case of a battle. William accordingly moved forward at the head of a large detachment, when he heard that his uncle had marched his army into the plain of Breuville, in order to give him battle. He immediately sent an account of this intelligence to the king of France, who advanced without delay, and disposed every thing for a general engagement. The French army was divided into two lines; the first was commanded by the prince of Normandy, and consisted of the flower of the Norman and French nobility, who all served on horseback; the second line was headed by Lewis himself, and contained the allies and French infantry.

The Norman prince began the charge at the head of the French squadrons, with so much fury, that he broke through the first line of Henry's army. This division, consisting wholly of cavalry, the disorder was communicated to the second line, where Henry himself commanded in person; and the French still pursuing their advantage, the king was oppressed both by his friends and foes. Henry, however, maintained his post with great intrepidity, and rallied his men, but was in the utmost danger of losing his own life; for when the engagement became close, the French had the advantage, and William de Crispin, a nobleman of Normandy, in the interest of Robert, cut his way even to the spot, where Henry was giving his orders. Persuaded that the king's death would finish the dispute, he attacked him with so much resolution, that Henry owed his life to the temper of his helmet; for Crispin struck him twice upon the head, with so much force, that though he could not pierce the helmet, yet he bruised it so greatly, that the blood poured down the king's face. Henry, however, preserved his usual coolness, and, taking the advantage of an unguarded stroke, he aimed a blow at Crispin so happily, that he fell, together with his horse, at the monarch's feet, and Crispin was immediately taken prisoner.

In the mean time the third line of Henry's army, consisting wholly of English, was drawn up at too great a distance, to assist the rest of the army during the furious attack of the French cavalry; and Lewis marching up immediately with his second line, so well supported the success of the Norman prince, that the first line of Henry's army was very roughly handled, and on the point of yielding to the enemy. In this desperate state of the battle, the English flew to the relief of their sovereign. The French, till then, sure of the victory, had now a battle to fight, with inferior numbers, but with men, who would not submit to be vanquished. The fortune of the day was changed, and the French totally routed without so much as daring to stand the charge of the English. A great number of prisoners were taken in the pursuit, among whom were many noblemen, and Henry returned to Rouen in triumph. Among other spoils of the day, was Lewis's standard, which Henry redeemed from one of his own knights, who had taken it, for twenty marks. The Norman prince behaved with the greatest intrepidity during the whole action. On the first appearance of the rout, he dismounted and fought on foot; by which means his fine horse, with his rich furniture, fell into the hands of Henry, who, when the battle was over, sent it back to the young Norman, together with a noble present, by his son, the prince royal of England. An act of true magnanimity.

A. D. 1120. As both parties were now heartily weary of the war, there was but little difficulty in bringing about an accommodation between them, which was soon after effected by the mediation of the pope; but the interests of young William were entirely neglected. Soon after the peace was concluded, the prince royal of England did homage to Lewis, king of France, for the duchy of Normandy, and received the proper investitures. However, this public prosperity of Henry was soon over-balanced by a domestic calamity. Henry had ordered a numerous fleet to rendezvous at Barfleur, where he set sail in a kind of triumph for England, and was soon carried out of sight of land. The prince was detained by some accident; and his sailors, as well as their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephen, having spent the interval in drinking, were so intoxicated, that being in a hurry to follow the king, they ran the ship upon a sunken rock, where she immediately foundered. The prince was put into the long-boat, and had got clear of the ship, when hearing the cries of his natural sister, the countess of Perche, he ordered the sea-men to row back, in hopes of saving her: but the boat no sooner came to the side of the ship, than the imminence of the danger, which had destroyed all respect to person, prompted every individual to take care of his own safety, and such numbers crowded into the boat, that she immediately sunk, and the prince, with all his retinue, perished. Above an hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families in England and Normandy, were lost by this accident. A butcher of Rouen was the only person on board who escaped: he clung to the mast, and was taken up the next morning by some fishermen. Fitz-Stephen, the captain, took hold also of the mast, but being informed by the butcher, that prince William had perished, he declared he would not survive the disaster, and accordingly threw himself headlong into the sea. Henry entertained hopes for three days, that his son had put into some distant port of England: but on receiving certain advice of the dismal calamity, he fainted away; and it was remarked, that he never was seen to smile, nor ever recovered his former cheerfulness.

A. D. 1121. The king now had not any legitimate issue, except Matilda, or Maud, who was betrothed in the year eleven hundred and ten, when only eight years of age, to the emperor Charles V. and sent over to be educated in Germany. Henry, therefore, fearing her absence from the kingdom, and her marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the succession, resolved to enter into a second marriage, as queen Matilda having been dead some years. Accordingly he made his addresses to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lovaine, and niece to pope Calixtus, a young princess of a very amiable disposition, and beautiful person. Deputies were accordingly sent to the count of Lovaine, and the young queen soon after arrived in England, where she was crowned by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury. Soon after the ceremony of the coronation was over, the earl of Anjou sent to demand his daughter, the consort of the late prince royal. She had fortunately come over with the king, and by that means escaped the fate of her husband, when Henry complied with the demand, and sent her back to her father.

A. D. 1122. The only material circumstance which happened during the course of this year, was the death of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and of an excellent character, except in matters which fancied his prerogative was concerned. He succeeded in the archiepiscopal see by William Corbet, abbot of St. Benedict's.

But A. D. 1123 the troubles of Normandy began to revive. The earl of Anjou being disappointed in his ambitious expectations, by the death of his father-in-law, sent over to England to demand back



daughter's portion, as the marriage between her and prince William had never been consummated. Perhaps Henry would have readily agreed to this demand, had he not been convinced, that it was made only to furnish a pretence for further commotions. He had discovered, that the natural inconstancy of the Normans had again induced them to join with his enemies, and that a powerful confederacy was now already formed by the intrigues of the court of France. This confederacy consisted of some of the first persons among the Norman nobility, who, from Henry's having no male issue, revived the claim of William, son to duke Robert. These noblemen were supported by the earl of Anjou, who now gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the prince of Normandy, and with her the duchy of Maine: assuring him, at the same time, that he would assist him with all his forces, to recover his parental inheritance. Henry, not being in a condition of passing over into Normandy this season, dispatched thither his natural son Robert, and Ranulph earl of Chester, with what forces they could get together, in order to stop the progress of the rebels. They accordingly crossed the sea, and were joined by all the king's troops in that duchy; but the insurgents, not having committed any act of hostility, they contented themselves with visiting all the fortified places, and putting them in the best posture of defence.

During all these transactions, cardinal de Crema was sent by pope Calixtus into England, with a legantine commission, in order to reform several abuses that had crept in among the clergy. The legate was received in the most pompous manner, but at the same time given to understand, that he must not attempt to make innovations in the kingdom, or do any thing prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

A synod was, however, called at London, where, among other canons, a vote passed, enacting severe penalties on the marriage of the clergy; and the cardinal, in a public harangue, declared it to be an unpardonable enormity, that a priest should dare to officiate immediately after he had risen from the side of a strumpet, the decent appellation he bestowed upon the wives of the clergy. But it happened, that the very next night, the officers of justice breaking into a disorderly house, found the cardinal in bed with a courtesan; an incident, which threw such a ridicule on his legantine character, that he immediately stole out of the kingdom: the synod broke up abruptly, and the canons against the marriage of clergymen were executed with more remissness than before; but in order to prevent all disputes with the holy see, for the future, Henry sent William, archbishop of Canterbury, to remonstrate with the court of Rome against these legantine commissions, and to assert the liberties of the English church. It was a usual maxim with every pope, when he found he could not prevail in any pretension, to grant princes or states a power which they had always exercised, to resume, at a more proper season, the claim that appeared to be resigned, and to pretend, that the civil magistrate had possessed the authority only from a special indulgence of the Roman pontiff. After this manner, the pope, finding that the French nation would not admit his claim of granting investitures, had passed a bull, giving the king that authority; and he now practised a like invention to elude the complaints of the English monarch. He constituted the archbishop of Canterbury his legate, renewed his commission from time to time, and still pretended, that the rights which that prelate had always exercised as metropolitan, were entirely derived from the indulgence of the holy see.

A. D. 1125. While Robert, and the earl of Chester, were augmenting and repairing the fortifications in Normandy, Henry was providing both money

and troops in England; and, about the middle of the summer, landed at Rouen, where he ordered a general rendezvous of his army. But no action of consequence happened during the whole course of the campaign, both parties employing themselves in strengthening their respective interests with the people and nobles. In the mean time, the king of France supplied the conspirators with all kinds of necessaries, though he had not yet declared himself in their favor. Henry, therefore, thinking it more for his interest to have an open than a secret enemy, declared war against France, and both parties made preparations for taking the field early in the spring.

Accordingly, in A. D. 1125, on the twenty fifth of March, the army of the insurgents advanced from Belmont to Watteville, with a design of penetrating into Henry's Norman dominions; but were met by the royal army, which had been increased by draughts from all the neighbouring garisons, in order to oppose the progress of the enemy. William, earl of Tankerville, who commanded Henry's army, concealed the greater part of his men in a bottom, where they could not be seen by the enemy. Having formed this stratagem, he charged the insurgents, at the head of a small body of troops, near the village of Teroud, about eight miles distant from Rouen. The French vivacity, at first, bore down all opposition, and Tankerville retreated, with very little loss, towards the place where his men were planted in ambush, where the conspirators soon found themselves surrounded, without being able to form themselves properly for making resistance. The rout was general, and the number of prisoners more than double that of the slain. Henry took particular care to improve this victory, and accordingly marched against all the castles and forts belonging to the conspirators, which generally surrendered on the first summons, or, at least, after a very feeble resistance. Additional works were also raised round Rouen, and the fortifications of many other important places repaired and augmented. But notwithstanding all his success and precautions, Henry found it impracticable to conquer the aversion which the Normans ever retained to his title.

It is proper here to notice, that while Henry continued in Normandy, Alexander the Pierce, king of Scotland, paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded in the throne by his brother David, earl of Huntingdon, who, with the crown of Scotland, inherited large possessions in the English dominions.

Henry, having thus terminated the rebellion in Normandy, passed over into England, in A. D. 1126, where he found the people in general very discontented, on account of the enormous taxes that had been imposed upon them, for supplying the exigencies of the campaigns in Normandy; while the miseries suffered by the populace had almost driven them to despair. The persons intrusted with the government during his absence had almost totally neglected the executive part of justice, by which means robberies, thefts, and murders, were become so frequent, and perpetrated in so daring and open a manner, throughout the whole kingdom, that neither the life or property of any person was secure. Henry, therefore, made it his first care to reform these abuses, and enacted several severe laws against all disturbers of the public peace: at the same time, he caused forty four criminals, who had been convicted of enormous crimes, to be executed, and punished others in a very exemplary manner. While Henry was employed in restoring justice, and protecting his people from violence, the emperor Charles V. died without issue, leaving Maud, the daughter of Henry, a young widow and the greatest fortune in Europe. This prince's last duties were paid to the ro-



mains of her husband, came over to England, when Henry, who had now no prospect of children by his consort, assembled the states of the kingdom at Windsor, where it was proposed, that an oath should be taken by all present, to receive the empress Maud as queen of England, in case the king should die without male issue. The proposal, after a solemn debate, was unanimously agreed to, and the oath was taken accordingly.

A. D. 1127. Henry flattered himself with having now secured the peace of his dominions, but a few months convinced him, that his hopes were destitute of foundation. Fresh disturbances soon broke out in Normandy, which called for his presence. Henry's treatment of his brother Robert was, at once, unjust and inhuman. His conduct with regard to France had so thoroughly disgusted that court, that a sincere reconciliation could hardly be expected; and the French lying more contiguous to the princes who were capable of giving Henry disturbance, it was much easier for them to raise, than for him to quell any commotions excited in his dominions. Lewis had now a favorable opportunity for distressing Henry. Charles, earl of Flanders, who had long been a firm and useful ally to the latter, fell by a conspiracy of his nobles, while he was at his devotions in the church of Bruges. The right of investiture of this province belonged to France, and the earldom was claimed by William, duke of Normandy, in right of his grandmother Matilda, queen to William the Conqueror. Perhaps the French court would have paid little regard to William's right, had it not been subservient to their own interests. But on William's resigning into the hands of Lewis all the territories he before possessed in France, together with those given him as a portion with his wife, he received from the French monarch the investiture of the earldom of Flanders.

Henry feared that this accession of power might render the young prince formidable to him in Normandy. He therefore resolved to detach the count of Anjou from his alliance, by forming with him a nearer connexion than ever, and one more material to the interest of his family. Accordingly, he proposed a marriage between his daughter the empress Maud, and Geoffrey Plantagenet, the eldest son of Fulk, count of Anjou. This offer was readily accepted, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated by the archbishop of Rouen, the king himself assisting at the ceremony in person.

Henry had flattered himself that the choice of this husband would be more agreeable to all his subjects, than that of the emperor, as it secured them from the fears of falling under the dominion of a great and distant potentate, who might bring them into subjection, and reduce their country to the rank of a province; but the barons were displeased, that a step so material to the interest of the nation, had been taken without consulting them, and Henry had too sensibly experienced the turbulence of their disposition, not to dread the effects of their anger.

A. D. 1128. Lewis of France openly declared his intention of putting William in possession of the dukedom of his deposed father. And Henry, in order to prevent his designs from being carried into execution, invaded the French king's territories, at the head of a powerful army, having previously excited the Flemings to a revolt against their new earl, in favour of Thierry, landgrave of Alsace, who also pretended a title to that province. Henry advanced as far as Espargne, where he offered Lewis battle for eight days successively; but the French monarch, sensible that his army was greatly inferior to the English, declined an engagement, and exerted all his abilities to put himself in such a posture of defence, as would render it impossible for the enemy to force him to fight on unequal terms. During this situation

of the two armies, the earl of Flanders was making prodigious efforts for recovering the town of Alost, which had revolted to his rival, the landgrave of Alsace. He had reduced the town to great extremities, when Thierry, at the head of an army, much superior to that of William, came to its relief. A battle ensued, in which the landgrave was defeated, and forced to fly into Alost for succour. William immediately returned to the siege, and would certainly have taken the place, and his rival prisoner, had he not been wounded in the ball of his thumb, by the thrust of a lance, during a fall made by the besieged. The wound, though at first considered as of little consequence, soon after mortified, and he died in a few days; which unhappy accident, together with the great superiority of Henry's army, induced Lewis to conclude a peace with the king of England, who was now left the undoubted heir to the duchy of Normandy, which had so long been a bone of contention.

A. D. 1129. Henry having surmounted all opposition, began to taste the sweets of ease and tranquillity. He now suffered the milder sentiments of mercy and forgiveness to succeed those of fury and resentment, which had so long ruled predominant in his breast. He extended his pardon to all who implored it, and attached several persons of great credit and influence to his interest, by acts of generosity and kindness: he released many of the late conspirators, and among the rest Mellent and Fitzgervas, whom he restored to their Norman possessions. These acts of mercy greatly increased his reputation both at home and abroad; and his situation with his neighbours was such as promised, that his life, which had hitherto been tempestuous and cloudy, would close in serenity. During A. D. 1133, all every thing in England continuing in the utmost tranquillity, Henry took the opportunity of visiting Normandy, to which he was invited, as well by his affection for that country, as by his tenderness for his daughter, the empress Maud, who was always his favorite. Some time after that princess was delivered of a son, who received the name of Henry; and the king, in order to insure her succession still farther, prevailed upon all the nobility of England and Normandy to renew the oath of fealty, which they had already sworn to her. In the interim, while Henry was enjoying his ease in Normandy, his brother Robert, whom he had, for some years, treated with great cruelty, paid the debt of nature in the castle of Cardiff, after being confined twenty seven years, and was buried in the cathedral of Gloucester, A. D. 1134.

A. D. 1135. The satisfaction Henry enjoyed in the company of his daughter rendered his residence in Normandy very agreeable to him; and he seemed determined to spend the rest of his days in that country, when an incursion of the Welsh obliged him to think of returning to England. He was accordingly preparing for the journey, when he was seized with a sudden illness at St. Dennis le Froment, from eating, too plentifully of lampreys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than his constitution.

Henry now finding his disease was attended with mortal symptoms, became sensible, that his dissolution was approaching. He therefore sent for Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, his natural son Robert, earl of Gloucester, William de Warren, and several other noblemen, then in Normandy, to receive his last commands. He recommended to them, in the most pathetic manner, the interests of the empress, without mentioning her husband Geoffrey, with whom he was highly displeased, declaring her, and her children, by lawful succession, to be the heirs of all dominions, both in England and on the continent. He then ordered considerable sums to be disposed of in charitable uses, and gave above sixty thousand



pounds sterling among his domestics. He ordered that all his debts should be discharged; that all forfeitures and mulcts, lately fallen to the crown, should be remitted; that all the exiles should be restored to their country; and that all, who had been unjustly deprived of their estates, should be restored to them, and suffered to enjoy them in peace and safety. Having thus settled his temporal concerns, he resigned himself up to the care of the clergy, and expired on Sunday, the first of December, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. His body was carried the next day to Rouen, attended by a prodigious throng of people; and being there embalmed, was conveyed to Caen, and thence to England, where it was buried in a monastery, founded by himself at Reading, in Berkshire.

Henry had many amiable qualities, both of mind and person. He was at once a warrior, a politician and a scholar. His superior eloquence and judgment would have given him an ascendant, had he even been born in a private station; and his personal bravery would have procured him respect, even though it had been less supported by art and policy. By his great progress in literature, he acquired the name of Beauclerc; but his application to these sedentary pursuits abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government. He was a tender husband, an affectionate parent, and a generous master. He knew the true interests of his people better than any prince of his time; and though England suffered many oppressions under his government, yet it also enjoyed many advantages. The uninterrupted course of tranquillity, except from the incursions of the Welsh, invited over great numbers of foreigners, especially manufacturers, who disseminated their arts through the kingdom, and laid the foundations of a more extensive commerce. At the same time, these virtues were sullied by cruelty and avarice. The inhuman treatment of his brother affords a sufficient instance of the former, and the groans of an oppressed and impoverished people of the latter. Had he possessed less power, or could he have been persuaded to resign part of what he had acquired, he might have enjoyed the remainder in peace and tranquillity. But his conduct sufficiently demonstrated, that he was too much disposed to sacrifice all the maxims of justice and equity to his ambition.

With respect to his person, Henry was of a middle stature; his hair black, and towards his forehead bushy; his eyes clear and penetrating; his chest broad and full. The affability of his address encouraged those who might be overawed by the sense of his dignity or his wisdom; and though he often indulged his facetious humor, he knew how to temper it with discretion, and always kept it at a distance from indecent familiarities with his courtiers.

Henry's legitimate children were, 1. One son named William, the manner of whose death we have already related. 2. One daughter, generally known by the name of Maud the Empress, on account of her last marriage. Her second husband was Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, by whom she had Henry, afterwards Henry II. king of England; and two other sons, Geoffrey and William, that died without issue. The natural children of Henry were, 1. Robert, whom he created earl of Gloucester in the ninth year of his reign, by Nesta, daughter of Rees ap Tudor, prince of Wales. 2. Richard, by the widow of one Ansell, a baron in Oxfordshire. He was deceased with his half brother, prince William. 3. Reynald, created earl of Cornwall in the third year of king Stephen, by Sibylla, daughter of Sir Robert Cabot, of Alcester, in Gloucestershire. 4. Robert, by Editha, daughter of an English nobleman. 5. Gilbert. 6. Henry, by Nesta also called. 7. William de Tracy, so named from a town in Normandy,

he died soon after his father. 8. Matilda, countess of Perche, who perished with her brother William in his fatal shipwreck. 9. Another Matilda, married to Conan, earl of Brittany. 10. Julian, married to Eustace de Paiz, natural son of William de Breteuil, eldest son and heir of William, and elder brother of Roger, earl of Hereford, in England. 11. Another daughter, married to Matthew, son of Borchard de Montmorency, from whom are descended the antient family of that name. 12. Elizabeth, by Elizabeth, sister of Walleran, earl of Meulant or Mellent, married to Alexander I. king of Scots.

The most remarkable occurrences of this king's reign are thus handed down to us by different historians: In the second year of his reign, Gloucester and Winchester were burnt. In his fourth, a comet appeared; and four circles were seen about the sun. In his seventh, another comet was seen; and on Thursday night before, two full moons appeared, one in the east and another in the west. In his tenth, a third comet was seen, and an earthquake happened in Shropshire. In his eleventh year, the river Trent, near Northampton, ceased to run its course for four and twenty hours, and so long the channel was dried up. There was, this year, a great mortality of men, a murrain among cattle, both domestic and of the field; the fowls also perished in abundance. In his thirteenth year, Worcester city, the church, castle, and many citizens were burnt; and the water of the river Medway failed so much, for many miles, in the midst of the channel, that the smallest boats could not float; and the Thames was so low, between the Tower and the Bridge, that many men, women, and children waded it over on foot, which was occasioned, says Sir John Hayward, by reason of a great ebb in the ocean, that laid the sands bare several miles from the shore, which continued for a whole day. The city and chief monastery of Chichester was burnt to the ground; and there were violent tempests, with a comet. During the next year, almost all the bridges in England, being then built with timber, were broken down by the ice, when it thawed after a severe frost. In Henry's sixteenth year, on the first of November, there fell a prodigious storm of hail, accompanied with unusual claps of thunder and flashes of lightning: in December a great earthquake happened, and the colour of the moon appeared like that of blood. In his seventeenth, the cities of Bath and Peterborough were burnt. In his twentieth year, there was an earthquake, in September. In his twenty-second, the city of Gloucester was burnt; and Lincoln the year following. Matthew Paris gives us the following history of founding the order of the knights templars of Jerusalem under this year (1122.) "About this time (says he) several noble knights formed themselves into a society, obliging themselves to celibacy, and to live after the manner of regular canons. The founders of this order were Hugo de Pagan and Godfrey of Eadmer, who were so poor that they had but one buckler and one horse between them; in commemoration of which, the seal of the order has two knights mounted on one horse. As they had no dwelling place, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, assigned them an apartment in his own palace for their residence, and the canons of the Temple granted them an area near the palace to erect their offices. The king himself, as well as the clergy, granted them a daily allowance for their table and cloathing. The knights at first undertook to clear the roads towards Jerusalem from the banditti and robbers, with which they were infested; and in a short time the order was so respectable, that it spread all over Europe, and was embraced by persons of the most distinguished birth and abilities." In his twenty-third year, Henry built or repaired the palace of Woodstock, and adorned it with a park, the first that ever was in England. In his

thirteenth



thirtieth year, Rochester was almost destroyed by fire: and London in his thirty-second. In the year before he died, on the second of August, just as he was about to take shipping for Normandy, an eclipse of the sun and moon appeared; at which time William of Malmesbury, who was then living, writes that he

saw the stars plainly about the sun. This eclipse was followed by a most horrid earthquake, in which the same author relates, the house wherein he sat was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time settled again in its proper place.

## STEPHEN.

### SECTION IV.

**T**HE uncertainty of human events was never in any instance more conspicuous than in the succession of Stephen to the throne of England. No prince could take more prudent measures for securing the sovereignty to his daughter and family, than did the late king; notwithstanding which, it devolved on the very person whom Henry had the least suspected of making any pretensions to the English crown.

Stephen, earl of Boulogne, was the third son of the earl of Blois, by Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. His graceful personage, his courage, his affable demeanor, his liberality, and many other distinguished qualities, had so endeared him to Henry, that he seemed to take pleasure in making him rich and powerful, having bestowed on him many valuable possessions, particularly the great estate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the earl of Mortaigne in Normandy. The king had married him to Matilda, daughter and heir to Eustace, count of Boulogne, by which marriage he acquired a new connexion with the royal family of England; Mary, his wife's mother, being sister to David, king of Scotland, and to Matilda, the wife of Henry, and mother to the empress Maud.

In return for the many favors received from Henry, Stephen professed a great attachment to him, and appeared so zealous for the succession of Maud (empress of Germany and daughter to the late king) that when the barons swore fealty to that princess, he contended with Robert earl of Gloucester, the king's natural son, who should first be admitted to give her this testimony of devoted zeal and fidelity.

Notwithstanding these outward appearances of respect, Stephen had self-interested views at heart; he took great pains to cultivate, by every art of popularity, the friendship and affection of the English nation, and the many virtues with which he appeared to be endued, favored the success of his intentions. By his activity and vigor, he acquired the esteem of the barons, and by his generosity and familiar address, he obtained the affection of the people, particularly the Londoners. And though he was fearful of taking any step towards his farther grandeur, lest he might expose himself to the jealousy of so penetrating a prince as Henry, he still hoped, that by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might some time or other be able to wear that crown, which had adorned the brow of his greatest patron.

The empress Maud had a great spirit, and was naturally of a very turbulent disposition. She had been bred up in the arbitrary maxims of the family; she possessed the Norman dominions of her father; she was married to a foreign prince, a stranger to the customs and constitution of England; so that the clergy and people of that kingdom had no prospect from her government, but a continuance of that mode which had been practised by her father.

We have already observed, that Stephen was the third son of the earl of Blois, and he had a brother

still younger than himself. His eldest brother was defective, and therefore incapable of managing any affairs of a public nature. His second brother succeeded to his father as earl of Blois, and claimed in right of his mother the investiture of the duchy of Normandy. Though this claim was neither founded on justice or policy, yet he soon found a strong party in his favor, and made himself master of several important places, before the earl of Anjou, (the second husband of Matilda or Maud, empress of Germany) could gain a footing there firm enough to prevent him. This prince appears to have been without the vivacity or ambition of his brother Stephen, but possessed more honour than seems to have been common with the princes of that age.

Very different was the character of Henry, the younger brother of Stephen. He had been bred in the monastery of Augny, and was made, by the late Henry, first abbot of Glastonbury, and then bishop of Winchester.

His disposition was turbulent, his spirit bold, his tongue voluble, and his morals faithless. He was inconstant or resolute, haughty or submissive, a priest or a prince, just as objects appeared to his own contracted views and narrow understanding. But, with all these faults, his learning and high quality, joined to an address peculiar to his nature, had gained him a prodigious interest with the clergy; and he was, in consequence of this, esteemed one of the most confident subjects in England.

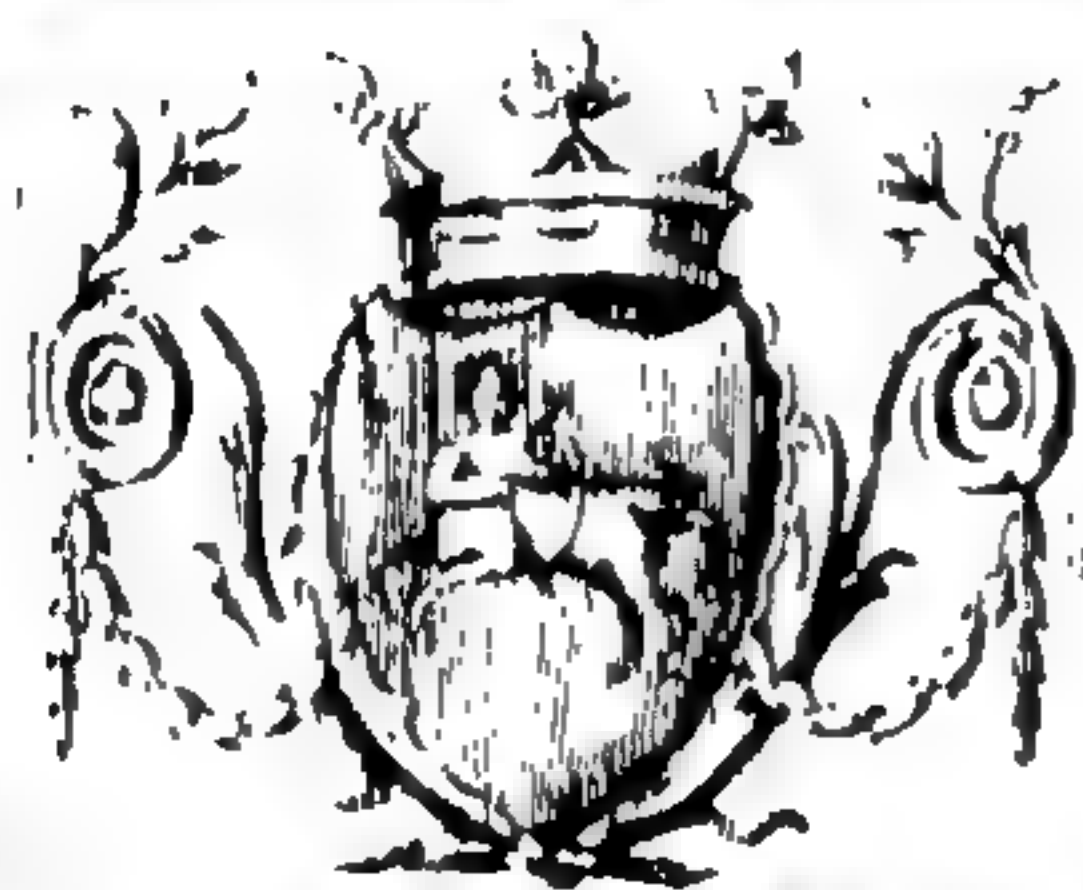
Stephen, at the time of Henry's death, was in France; and no sooner did he hear of the event, than, insensible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, and blind to every danger, he immediately embarked for England. On his landing, the inhabitants of Dover and Canterbury shut their gates against him, in consequence of which he hastily passed to London, where his brother, the bishop of Winchester, and other noblemen of his party, had been so allured in promoting his interest, that he was received with the greatest acclamations of the people, who unanimously announced him their sovereign.

Elated with the success he had thus met with, the next point was, to acquire the good will of the clergy, without which, he well knew it would be impossible to wear the crown of England, either with pleasure to himself or advantage to the kingdom. His brother the bishop of Winchester, had great wealth; William archbishop of Canterbury; and Roger bishop of Salisbury, who was rich and powerful, to envy, was the professed enemy of the empress and her party. Her ambition, her education, her principles, and her despotic spirit, were repudiated on all occasions, in the most aggravating terms. It was every where insinuated, that it was most scandalous, for so many brave men to be under the commands of a woman and a child.

Those, however, who had sworn fidelity to the empress and her family, were not to be moved by invective and ridicule. It was therefore necessary to have recourse to some other means to gain the



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desired effect: accordingly, an expedient was found, though equally dishonorable with the other steps with which this great revolution was effected. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, came before the primate, and voluntarily made oath, that Henry, on his death-bed, had expressed his concern for the settlement he had made of his crown; and, at the same time, declared his intentions of setting aside the empress Maud and her children, if he ever survived his sickness. This deposition, together with the persuasion of the bishop of Winchester and others, so effectually prevailed on the credulous archbishop, that he readily embraced the interest of Stephen.

In consequence of this a great council of the states was immediately summoned, in which the party of Stephen appearing the most numerous, it was resolved to exclude the empress and her children from the succession, and set Stephen on the English throne. The archbishop accordingly anointed him, placed the crown upon his head, and declared him the rightful sovereign of England. Stephen, however, was not insensible, that great opposition would soon be made by the empress and her party; he, therefore, the better to secure himself, passed a charter, in which he made liberal promises to all orders of men. He assured the clergy, that he would speedily fill all the vacant benefices, and would never receive the rents of any of them during the interval: he promised the nobility, that they should not be prosecuted for hunting in their own forests; and the people, that he would not only remit the tax of Danegelt, and restore the law of king Edward, but would also grant them such other privileges as should make them happy under his government.

The English appearing satisfied with these concessions, Stephen repaired to Winchester, where he seized upwards of one hundred thousand pounds, which had been amassed by Henry, for the use of his daughter. By means of this treasure, he insured the compliance, though not the attachment, of the principal clergy and nobles. But not trusting to this frail security, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Brittany and Flanders, great numbers of those soldiers of fortune, who are always ready for any desperate enterprize, and who, under Henry, had found no employment. With these, and the English mercenaries, he formed a powerful army, which struck such a terror in the empress Maud's party, that there were little hopes of any attempt being made in favor of that prince.

A. D. 1136. In the beginning of this year the corpse of the late king was brought over from Normandy and interred at Reading according to his own request, Stephen himself walking as chief mourner on the occasion. Those noblemen, who still adhered to the empress Maud, were so astonished and disgusted at the rapid success of Stephen, that, unable to resist the torrent of popular favor, they retired to Scotland, where they were kindly received by David the then king, who was an equal advocate for the party they espoused.

During these transactions, Robert, the earl of Gloucester, natural son to the late king, and a person of great valor and great abilities, was embarrassed as to the measure proper for him to pursue in this critical emergency. To swear allegiance to Stephen appeared to him very dishonorable, and a breach of the oath he had taken in favor of the empress; to refuse giving this pledge of his fidelity was to banish himself from England, which must render him totally incapable of serving the royal family, or contributing to their restoration. He therefore resolved to take the oath of allegiance to Stephen, but with such express conditions as he was persuaded a usurper would infallibly violate.

Used in his resolution of having recourse to this

expedient, he came over to England and offered to swear fealty to Stephen on this express condition, that the king should maintain all his stipulations, and never invade any of Robert's rights and dignities. Stephen, though sensible this reserve, so unusual in itself, and so unbecoming the duty of a subject, was intended only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the first favorable opportunity, was, notwithstanding, obliged to accept his terms, on account of the numerous friends and retainers of that popular nobleman.

The interest of Stephen was farther increased by the attachment of the Norman nobility, who no sooner heard of his having taken possession of the English crown, than they transferred their allegiance to him, and put him in possession of their government.

The great success of Stephen so enraged that part of the nobility, who were advocates for the empress Maud, that they determined to make some attempt in her favor. Among these was Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon, and lord of the Isle of Wight. He had received many favors from the family of Henry I. and always objected to recognize Stephen's title to the crown. But not content with refusing to take the oath of allegiance, he fortified the castle of Exeter, notwithstanding the opposition of the citizens, who were in Stephen's interest, and had applied to him for assistance.

Stephen lost no time in protecting his friends: he marched at the head of all the forces he could collect, and besieged the castle: but the place being strongly fortified, the garrison held out for three months, when they were obliged to capitulate for want of water, on condition of marching out with their baggage. In the mean time the earl, who was not in the castle, repaired to the Isle of Wight, whither he was pursued by Stephen, who obliged him to fly to France, and afterwards seized on all his English estates.

This intestine commotion was immediately followed by another. Robert de Batherton, a nobleman of a very debauched life, revolted, and fortified his castle. Stephen immediately made preparations for reducing him, and Robert, dreading the consequence of a defeat, offered to deliver the castle into the hands of the king's officers. Accordingly a party was detached for that purpose; but Robert found means to intoxicate them with liquor, and then retired back into his castle, which he now determined to defend against Stephen.

Exasperated at this behaviour, the king marched against Robert in person, and Batherton, endeavouring to escape over the castle wall by means of a rope, was taken prisoner, when Stephen, contrary to his usual disposition, ordered him to be hanged up in sight of his garrison. The sentence was accordingly executed, which struck such a terror into the besieged, that they immediately surrendered.

The English nobility, alarmed at these disturbances, began to fortify their respective castles, and to garrison them with their own vassals, or with soldiers of fortune, who flocked to them from all quarters. But as the barons could not procure them subsistence, they had recourse to rapine, so that England soon became a scene of violence and devastation. Stephen, finding that the laws were incapable of curbing his licentious nobility, determined to make his own power the measure of his conduct, and to violate all those concessions which he himself had made on his accession to the throne, as well as the ancient and established privileges of his subjects.

The earl of Gloucester was so situated at beholding the miserable situation of his country, that he determined to attempt a revolution. Accordingly he settled with his friends the measures necessary to be taken in forming a powerful insurrection against the government, but the king's adherents were so numerous,

He then took possession,



allegiance, and upbraided him with the breach of those conditions, which he had engaged to perform when he received the regal dignity.

A. D. 1138. The tranquillity of Stephen was now greatly interrupted by David king of Scotland, who entered England at the head of a powerful army, in defence of his niece's title to the throne, and penetrated into Yorkshire, committing the most horrid devastations in all the country through which he passed. The fury of his massacres and ravages enraged the northern nobility, who determined to assemble their followers, and repel the army of those cruel invaders.

David was no sooner informed of this resolution, than he retreated with his army, and besieged Norham, a castle belonging to the bishop of Durham. After a short siege the castle was taken, and the bishop refusing to renounce his allegiance to Stephen, the Scottish monarch ordered it to be totally destroyed.

This success so elated David, that he detached William, his grand nephew, at the head of a considerable army, into Yorkshire, in order to attack the van of the English army, which was advanced to Clithero in Lancashire. William was so successful, that he surprised this body of the English forces, cut great numbers of them to pieces, took some prisoners, and put the remainder to flight.

While William was employed in this business, David laid siege to the castle of Wark, the garrison of which had carried off his provisions, and routed several of his parties; but the fortress proving too strong to be taken by assault, and hearing of the success of his arms at Clithero, he left some of his officers to continue the siege, and advanced at the head of his army to York, intending to give the enemy battle, as soon as he was joined by the detachment under William. He accordingly entered the bishopric of Durham, and laid the whole country waste with fire and sword; and being now joined by all his forces, found himself at the head of a very considerable army.

Though the English had been reinforced by a strong body of horse, sent by the king, under the command of Bernard de Baliol, yet they were far inferior to the Scots in numbers, and therefore continued to act on the defensive. They were soon after joined by several noblemen from the counties of Nottingham and Derby, and continued their march as far as Northallerton, where all the associated barons agreed to stand and fall by one another; and in confirmation of this resolution, they raised the famous standard, which consisted of the mast of a small vessel, erected on a wheel carriage, and having on the top of it a silver crucifix, while the pole was decorated with the banners of Beverley, St. Wilfred, St. Peter and St. John.

The English were drawn up in such a manner as to surround this sacred standard; and the front was composed of pikemen and archers intermixed, to receive the first shock of the enemy. The Scotch army was also drawn up in order of battle, and the Galloway men, who were descended from the ancient Britons, placed in the front line. The second line, composed of a body of knights and archers, together with the militia of Cumberland and Lancashire, was commanded by the prince of Scotland, and the third, which consisted of Scotch Highlanders, and the forces of Lothian and Murray, was headed by the king himself.

The attack was begun by the Galloway men, who ran valiantly on the second line of the English, but they soon gave way to their impetuosity, but being supported by the banners of the rest of their body, and deriving great advantages from their armour, and the momentum they gained, they galled the enemy with a continual shower of arrows, in such terrible a manner, that many of their two leaders, Ulfic and Donald,

they were so intimidated, that they fled with the greatest precipitation.

Irritated at this, the prince of Scotland marched up to the attack, at the head of the second line, and fell upon the enemy with so much fury, that he pierced to the rear of the English army, but met with such resistance, by the closing of the separated troops on every side, that it was with the utmost difficulty he retreated. A total rout of the Scottish forces now ensued; and the king of Scotland, with his son, were left to maintain their ground, attended only by their own guards. They made a very resolute resistance, and for some time maintained the field against the united efforts of the enemy. But finding it in vain any longer to resist the victorious English, the king made the best disposition he could of his few remaining followers, and retired to Carlisle, where he continued for some days inconsolable, imagining he had left his son dead on the field of battle; but that prince, after breaking through a great body of the English, made his escape, and soon after repaired to his father at Carlisle. The loss of the Scots in this engagement is said to have been no less than 10,000, but that of the English is not mentioned.

When Stephen received information of this victory, and of the conduct of his generals, he was so well pleased, that he conferred on William, earl of Arundel, the additional title of earl of Yorkshire, and bestowed the earldom of Dorsetshire on Robert de Ferraris, these two noblemen having particularly distinguished themselves in the late engagement.

The king of Scotland, determined to persevere in the business he had undertaken, renewed his incursions, and took the castle of Wark, after an obstinate defence made by the garrison. The miseries suffered by the inhabitants of the northern counties, induced Albert, bishop of Ostia, the pope's legate, to interpose his good offices for bringing about a peace between the two kingdoms; but all he could obtain was a truce for a few months, during which interval Stephen had leisure to attend to the transactions in Normandy, where the friends of the empress, encouraged by the late commotions, had taken up arms, and were making great preparations for invading England. Stephen, therefore, found it necessary to send a body of troops over to Normandy, under the command of the earl of Mellent, and William de Ypres; but the two generals soon found that the enemy was too strong for them to hope for success, if they came to extremities. The defection, indeed, was so general, that the city of Rouen was the only place of importance that was left in the possession of the English.

It must be here observed, that Stephen, at the beginning of his reign, had granted liberty to all his subjects to build and fortify castles on their own estates. The great barons, particularly the bishops, together with all those who were secretly in the interest of the empress, made use of this indulgence, to multiply their castles to such a degree, that Stephen found himself, in a manner, garrisoned the kingdom almost himself.

The bishop of Salisbury had built two strong castles, one at Sherborne, another at the Devises, and had laid the foundation of a third at Malmesbury. The bishop of Lincoln, nephew to the bishop of Salisbury, had also raised a strong fortress at Newark.

The king now saw his error, and had recourse to unpopular measures to correct it. He resolved to begin with destroying the castles of the clergy, which by their sanction, seemed less entitled than the barons to such military securities.

He did not wait long for a favorable opportunity, carrying his intention into execution. A quarrel happened between the followers of the bishop of Salisbury, and those of the earl of Brittany, in which some of the latter were killed. In consequence



this, the prelate was summoned before the council, to answer for the riotous behaviour of his men, who had been the aggressors. The bishop obeyed the summons, and repaired to the council attended by his two nephews, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and Nigel, bishop of Ely. On their appearance, the king insisted on their making satisfaction for a breach of the peace within the verge of his own court. The bishops absolutely refused to comply; upon which the king ordered them to deliver up their castles, as a security for their future behaviour, and ordered their persons to be taken into safe custody. The bishop of Ely had, however, the good fortune to escape, and immediately repaired to the castle of the Devises, which he determined to defend till the last extremity. But William de Ypres, being sent against the fortress, at the head of a powerful army, carried with him the two other bishops. On his arrival before the castle, he caused a gallows to be erected in sight of the garrison, threatening to hang up both the prelates, unless the castle was immediately surrendered. This menace had the desired effect; the fortress was surrendered, and the prelates were obliged to purchase their liberties, by delivering their other castles, and submitting totally to the will of their opponents.

The whole body of the clergy were greatly alarmed at these proceedings. The principal security of that order, the privilege enjoyed by prelates of not being tried in the king's courts, was attacked. But the person who resented it most was, Henry bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, now armed with a legatine commission, from whence he conceived himself an ecclesiastical sovereign, equally powerful with the civil.

This prelate assembled a synod at Winchester, in order to vindicate the privileges of the church, which he pretended were now openly violated. In this assembly, he, forgetting the ties of blood, which connected him with the king, complained of the impiety of Stephen's measures, who had employed violence against the dignitaries of the church, instead of waiting for the sentence of a spiritual court, by whom alone, he affirmed, they could lawfully be tried and condemned, if their conduct had merited censure or punishment.

The charge being thus exhibited, the synod sent a summons to the king, requiring him to appear before them, and justify his conduct. Stephen, well knowing the consequences of ecclesiastical censures, sent Aubrey de Vere, to plead his cause before that assembly. That nobleman enlarged upon the insolence and offences of the bishop of Salisbury, and the suspicions he lay under of favoring the enemies of the crown. He gave several instances of his disaffection, which, he said, amounted to more than suspicion: nor was his contempt of the great nobility forgotten. Aubrey also revived the famous distinction made by the conqueror, who seized Odo, as a peer of the court, not as a prelate of the church. But the synod refused to try the cause, or examine their conduct, till those castles, of which they had been dispossessed, were restored to them. Aubrey replied, that the bishops were not allowed castles by the canons of the church; that they were repugnant to their functions, as the preachers of peace, and could be considered only as the fortresses of disloyalty, and the asylums of rebellion.

This spirited answer so exasperated the clergy, that they seemed determined to pronounce an ecclesiastical anathema against the king and his adherents; and the bishop of Salisbury appealed to the pope. But Aubrey, who came prepared for all events, resolutely declared, that the first person who should presume to pronounce any spiritual interdict against his sovereign, should never live to behold the fruits of his sentence, and that whoever dared to carry any

appeal to the pope should never again enter the kingdom. The assembly were so intimidated at this answer, that they began to reflect on the consequences of laying a powerful kingdom under a spiritual interdict, without the knowledge of the pope: they were well acquainted with Stephen's resolute spirit, and therefore dreaded, that their perseverance might so highly exasperate him, as to render both their functions and persons unsafe. These considerations prevented affairs from coming to extremity between the crown and the mitre; and the synod was dissolved, without pronouncing any ecclesiastical censures.

This difference with the bishops, however, had fatal effects upon Stephen's government. He principally owed the possession of the English crown to them; and the great barons, who espoused the interest of the empress, were now encouraged into more open declarations of their designs. The people were also greatly discontented at this quarrel, which, added to the grievances they had laboured under, now produced almost a general disaffection.

A. D. 1139. The empress, availing herself of this opportunity, and secretly encouraged by the legate himself, landed in England, with Robert earl of Gloucester, and a retinue of an hundred and forty knights. She took up her residence in Arundel-castle, whose gates were opened to her by Adela, the queen dowager, now married to William de Albini earl of Suffex. The empress had hitherto made no public declaration, either of her own or her son's demands, upon the crown of England; but as her pretensions were no secret, Stephen used every precaution in his power to prevent her intentions from being executed. He instantly marched with his army against the castle of Arundel. But the queen dowager, disconcerted at his expedition, and being in no condition to sustain a siege, sent a message to the king, assuring him, that she was in no respect accessory to the landing of the empress, and that she only entertained her from a respect to her birth and quality, augmented by a friendship long subsisting between them.

Stephen readily accepted the queen's apology; and ordered, that the empress should be safely conducted to any place in his dominions she might chuse for her residence. Bristol was named on the part of the empress; and the king accordingly sent his own brother, and Walleran earl of Meient, to conduct her safely to that city, with an escort suitable to her quality. The earl attended her to Calce, in Wiltshire, and the bishop continued with her till the arrival of Robert, earl of Gloucester, who came with a body of forces to her assistance.

The empress had no sooner reached Bristol, than she openly declared her title, and asserted her claim to the crown of England, requiring all her subjects to come and pay their allegiance. This produced the desired effect; the people flocked to her from every quarter, and seemed to vie with each other in duty and affection. But what was still of more consequence to her interest, was the acquisition of Miles, high constable of England, who abandoned the party of Stephen, and declared for the empress. This nobleman was then in possession of the castle and city of Gloucester, one of the most important fortresses in the kingdom, as it commanded all the adjacent country to the borders of Wales. He had also great interest with many powerful noblemen, and was possessed of immense riches, which he freely gave the empress, for the support of her interest and family. His example was soon after followed by many other barons, by which means, the party of the empress became so formidable as to be able to contend with Stephen for that crown, which he had so manifestly usurped.

The military events that happened during the course of this year are of such little consequence in them-



selves, and related in so confused a manner, both with respect to time and place, that they neither afford instruction or entertainment. We shall therefore pass them over, and only observe, that the war was spread in every quarter of the kingdom, and that those turbulent barons, who had already, in a great measure, shaken off the restraint of government, having now obtained the pretence of a public cause, carried on their devastations with redoubled fury, exercised the most implacable vengeance on each other, and set no bounds to their oppressions over the people. The castles of the nobility were become receptacles of licensed robbers, who falling forth day and night, committed the most cruel ravages on the open country, the villages, and even on many of the cities; put their captives to the torture, in order to make them discover their treasures; sold their persons into slavery, and set fire to their houses, after pillaging them of every thing valuable. The fierceness of their disposition leading them to commit wanton destruction, their rapacity was frustrated of its purpose, and the property and persons, even of the ecclesiastics, generally so highly revered, were, at last, from necessity, subject to the same outrages, which had laid waste the rest of the kingdom. The land was left uncultivated, the implements of husbandry destroyed or abandoned, and a dreadful famine, the natural consequence of these disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the inhuman spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most abject state of distress.

To remove the farther progress of these horrid devastations, in the following year, 1140, recourse was had to negotiation, and treaties between the contending parties were frequently made, and as frequently broken. At last an event happened, which gave a new turn to political cabals. Ralph, earl of Chester, who had lately married the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, was now firmly attached to the empress. This nobleman, assisted by his half brother, William de Roumare, surprized the castle of Lincoln; upon which the citizens, who adhered to Stephen, invited the king to assist them in retaking it. The king readily accepted the invitation, and immediately advanced to besiege the fortress.

The earl of Chester, apprized of the king's design, and finding himself in no condition to maintain a siege, left his countess in the castle, and repaired to his estate on the borders of Wales, in order to solicit assistance from the Welsh princes. He also applied to the duke of Gloucester, and it was determined in the council of the empress, to come to a decisive battle with Stephen, who was now carrying on the siege of Lincoln castle.

A. D. 1141. Stephen having been informed of the enemy's motions, determined to meet the forces of the empress in the open field. Accordingly he raised the siege of the castle, drew off his troops, and put them in battle array.

The king's army was inferior in number to that of the empress, who depended chiefly on the Welsh, a people defeated by Stephen. The army of the empress was divided into four bodies. The first was composed of Welsh, and headed by two of their princes; the earl of Chester led the second, which was composed of his own tenants; the third consisted wholly of persons whom Stephen had outlawed, and seized on their estates; and the fourth, composed of foreign mercenaries, and English forces, who had joined the empress, was led by the earl of Gloucester.

Stephen also divided his army into four bodies; one of which was commanded by himself, another by the earl of Meffent, a third by William de Ypres, and the fourth by Allen duke of Brittany.

The two armies being met, the battle was begun

by William de Ypres, who attacked the Welsh at the head of his division with such vigor, that they were soon thrown into disorder. At the same time, the division of the outlaws fell with equal fury on the division commanded by the duke of Brittany, who, though supported by the earl of Meffent and his cavalry, was totally routed.

In the mean time, the earl of Chester, observing the disorder of the Welsh, detached a body of forces to their relief. This assistance entirely changed the fortune of the day in favor of the empress. A total rout of the cavalry and the division under de Ypres ensued; and that able general himself, together with the brave Albemarle, earl of Yorkshire, who had also a post in the same division, was obliged to abandon the field of battle.

The fortune of the day now intirely depended on Stephen's own division, which still continued unbroken, and animated by his presence and example, opposed the repeated attacks of the enemy. Armed with a battle-axe, and fearless of danger, he led them on, and performed wonders in his own person. Alone he was irresistible, and excited admiration even in his enemies; but borne down by numbers, which pressed him on every side, he was at length obliged to submit. But even in this desperate state he refused to surrender to any ignoble hand; he called out for the earl of Gloucester: the earl quickly appeared, and admiring the valor, while he was touched with the misfortune, of his enemy, he received the royal prisoner into his protection. The earl had too great a soul to treat Stephen with disrespect, he paid him every honour due to the character of royalty, while he continued in his custody. This treatment was far different to that which Stephen received from the empress, for he was no sooner delivered up to her than she ordered him to be thrown into prison.

Stephen's captivity threw a universal dejection over his party; and Maud must have remained the sole and undisputed mistress of the English crown, had not her good fortune been blasted by that impotence of mind which prosperity alone discovers. Tho' patient under misfortunes, her temper was forward and peevish, and her disposition tyrannical. She endeavoured to arrive at power, that she might be arbitrary; and sought the crown that she might exercise an uncontrouled and despotic authority. She was, however, convinced, that it was necessary to gain the confidence of the clergy, in order to secure success, and therefore necessary to them in appearance, before she could secure the reality of royalty.

The conduct of the legate had been, for some time, very ambiguous; and shewed that his intentions were rather to humble than ruin his brother. She therefore treated him with the greatest respect, and had recourse to every art to fix him in her interest. She held a conference with him in an open plain near Winchester; where she promised upon oath, that if he would acknowledge her for his sovereign, recognize her title as the sole descendant of the late king, and return to the allegiance, which both himself and the rest of the clergy had sworn her, he should, in return, be sole minister, and disposer of all vacant bishopricks, and abbies, at his own pleasure.

These offers were too powerful to be rejected by the ambitious legate, who promised the empress the allegiance, on the conditions she had proposed. Accordingly the next day, the empress was conducted to the cathedral church of Winchester in solemn procession, the legate leading her by the right, and the bishop of St. David by the left hand, attended by a long train of nobility, both spiritual and temporal. The empress being seated, the legate denounc-



curse against all her enemies, and poured out blessings upon her friends; excommunicated such as were rebellious, and granted absolutions to all that were obedient to her.

Though the empress had thus gained the protection of the legate, yet there was another important matter to be effected in order to secure her the throne; and this was to prevail on Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to recognize her title. This prelate, from a conscientious scruple relative to the legality of swearing fealty to two competitors for the crown, had absented himself from the conference held between Maud and Henry. This behaviour of the primate could not fail of giving uneasiness to Maud's party, and it was determined to gain the archbishop over to their interest. Accordingly, the court removed to the monastery of Wilton, where the legate required the attendance of Theobald, assuring him that such arguments would be offered, as could not fail of removing effectually all his present scruples. The archbishop obeyed the summons of the legate; but when he was desired to acknowledge the empress Maud as sovereign of England, he declared that his conscience would not permit him to comply, until Stephen, the sovereign to whom he had already sworn allegiance, should absolve him from his oath, and leave him at liberty to follow his own inclinations. He therefore requested permission to visit the unfortunate Stephen, in order to receive from his own mouth the answer that was to regulate his future proceedings. This request was readily complied with, and the prelate, attended by most of the clergy, and a great number of the laity, repaired to Bristol, where they found the monarch ingloriously fettered, like a common malefactor. Oppressed with the weight of his misfortunes, and knowing the consequence of a refusal in his present condition must be fatal, Stephen consented to dispense with the primate's fealty, and gave both him and the nobles who attended him, free liberty to comply with the necessities of the times. This concession, which the exigence of circumstances forced from Stephen, was considered as an act of free-will, and the archbishop so readily acquitted his conscience, that immediately on his return, he joined the legate, and swore allegiance to Maud.

The only hopes the captive king now had depended upon the disobliging imprudence and haughtiness of the empress, which soon after gave her enemies advantages they could never have expected, either from their arms or their councils. She was, however, so desirous of insuring the attachment of the clergy, that she was willing to receive the crown from their hands; and insisted on assembling an ecclesiastical council for that purpose. Accordingly, a general assembly of the clergy was summoned by the legate, who, well knowing that their importance would be greatly diminished if they did not act unanimously, omitted nothing in his power to bring them over to the party of the empress. The night before the assembly met, the legate applied to several of the members, who were the most likely to make the greatest opposition, and had the address to persuade them to revoke their former sentiments.

All necessary precautions being thus taken, the session was opened by a speech from the legate, who, addressing himself to the assembly, told them, that in the absence of the empress, Stephen, his brother, had been permitted to reign, and, previously to his ascending the throne, had seduced them by many fair promises, of honoring and exalting the church, of maintaining the laws, and of reforming abuses: that it grieved him to observe how much that prince had been, in every particular, wanting to his engagements; public peace was interrupted, crimes were daily committed with impunity, bishops were thrown into prison, and forced to surrender their possessions,

abbies were put to sale, churches were pillaged, and the most enormous disorders prevailed in the administration: that he himself, in order to procure a redress of those grievances, had formerly summoned the king before a council of bishops; but instead of inducing him to amend his conduct, he had rather offended him by that expedient: that however misguided that prince might be, he was still his brother, and the object of his affections, but he could not help regarding his interests as much subordinate to those of his heavenly father, who had now rejected him, and delivered him into the hands of his enemies: that it principally belonged to the clergy to elect and ordain kings; he had therefore summoned them together for that purpose; and having invoked the divine assistance, he now pronounced Matilda or Maud, the only descendant of Henry, their late sovereign, the rightful heir to the English crown.

After the legate had finished his harangue, he acquainted the assembly that he had taken care to summons the city of London, whose influence on public affairs was, at least, equal to that of the greatest noblemen, to send deputies to the council, and had furnished them with passports for that purpose: that he should therefore suspend the business till the next day, when he again expected their attendance.

The citizens of London were the only people capable of checking the presumption of this assembly. Stephen had endeared himself to them by the openness of his conduct, by his royal qualities, and the virtues of his queen Matilda; and they still retained that affection for him which is consistent with the duties of loyal subjects.

When the city deputies entered the council, they were required not to give their opinion, but to submit to the decrees of the synod. They were not, however, so passive; but on the contrary, insisted that their king should be released out of prison. The legate answered, with all the contempt of pontifical arrogance, that it did not become the Londoners, who were regarded as noblemen in England, to take part with those barons, who had basely forsaken their master in battle; with those by whose advice he had dishonored the holy church, and who joined the citizens only to defraud them of their money.

The deputies finding all their opposition would be vain, left the assembly, fully determined to use their utmost endeavours to subvert such measures as might be decreed by the senate against their king. But all their resolutions proved abortive, and they were at length obliged to comply with the necessities of the times, and submit to the empress, whose authority, by the prudent conduct of earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom.

Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her husband; and offered, that if her request was granted, he should renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. The legate desired that his nephew, prince Eustace, might inherit Boulogne, with the other patrimonial estates of his father; and the Londoners applied for the establishment of king Edward's laws, instead of those of Henry, which they considered as grievous and oppressive.

These petitions were all peremptorily rejected by the empress, whose ambition seemed to be most gratified when she had the opportunity by her power of persecuting those whom policy and humanity should have directed her to protect. These rebuffs, however, were productive of disagreeable consequences to herself: the haughty prelate (who had probably never been sincere in complying with Maud's government) was so exasperated at her refusing the request he had made, that availing himself of the ill humour excited by this unpious conduct, he secretly instigated the Londoners to a revolt, and a conspiracy



was accordingly formed for seizing the person of the empress. This design, however, was not kept so secret but the empress obtained some intelligence of it, on which she retired hastily to Gloucester, in order to have recourse to the counsel of the earl of Hereford, being disgusted with her brother the earl of Gloucester, who had advised her to pursue conciliating measures, contrary to her arbitrary inclinations. After staying here a few days, she went to Oxford, where she ordered a general rendezvous of her troops, and summoned together all those who had professed themselves her adherents.

While things were in this situation, the earl of Gloucester repaired to Winchester, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation between the legate and Maud; but all his endeavours proving abortive, he returned to Oxford, where he found the empress preparing to set out at the head of her army, with a design of reducing the legate to reason. She was attended by the earl of Hereford, and expected the arrival of the earl of Chester, who had promised to march to her assistance; but he had privately made his peace with the legate and the royal party. She, however, repaired with her army to Winchester; but the bishop found means to escape, and having assembled all his followers, he joined his force to that of the Londoners, and Stephen's mercenary troops, who had not yet evacuated the kingdom. With these reinforcements he marched against the empress, took the city of Winchester, and besieged Maud in the castle. Before he reached that fortress he had been joined by the earl of Chester, who now openly declared in favor of Stephen. The siege of the castle was pressed with remarkable vigor, and the empress soon reduced to great extremities. But as nothing but famine could force her army to surrender, her generals applied their whole attention to secure a communication with the adjacent country. For this purpose they detached a strong party to seize and fortify the monastery of Warwell, which lay about six miles from Winchester. But William de Ypres, who had continued faithfully attached to Stephen's fortune, advancing at the head of a body of troops drove them from the monastery into the church, where, refusing to surrender, he set fire to it, and every soul perished in the flames.

The castle was now become quite destitute of provisions; and the generals of the empress, fearing the consequence, thought no time was to be lost in making the best retreat in their power. The disposition was made by the earl of Gloucester, whose chief care was the preservation of his sister's person. Accordingly he drew up his forces, and sent off the empress with the main body under the command of earl Reginald his brother; while he himself, at the head of no more than two hundred chosen followers, engaged to make good their retreat, and give the empress sufficient time for effecting her escape.

As soon as the king's troops perceived the flight of the empress they attacked the rear of her army, where the earl commanded in person; and it was chiefly owing to the courage and example of this nobleman, assisted by the king of Scotland, who served under him as volunteer, that so small a body of men made a vigorous resistance till the empress had time to reach the castle of Lutterthall in Wiltshire, when each was obliged to take care of his own safety. The Scot escaped by the fidelity of David Olphant; but the earl of Gloucester was taken prisoner.

The empress finding it impossible to make any resistance in the castle of Lutterthall, dressed herself in the habit of a countryman, and fled on horseback to the castle of the Devises. But the legate was no sooner informed of this flight, than he dispatched thither a body of horse to scour the adjacent country, and prevent her escape, till the main body of the

army should arrive to besiege the castle. The empress was now reduced to the most dangerous situation, and in order to avoid being taken prisoner, she was obliged to continue her flight to Gloucester, where she was joined by Miles, earl of Hereford, who had long been violently attached to her interest.

The earl of Gloucester was carried back to Winchester, and presented to Matilda, Stephen's consort, who from the noble principles of generosity and gratitude, treated him with all the respect due to his rank and merit; at the same time she had recourse to every method in her power to bring him over to Stephen's party; but the earl continuing inflexible to the cause he had embraced, was, at last, sent prisoner to the castle of Rochester.

Though this nobleman was only a subject, yet he was as much the life and soul of his own party as Stephen was of the other; and the empress, sensible of his merit, consented to exchange the prisoners upon equal terms. The earl was accordingly brought to Winchester, to which city the king also repaired on his obtaining his liberty. Stephen was a stranger to that jealousy so common to those who dispute for empire, and therefore held a familiar and friendly discourse with the earl; after which they took leave of each other, but with open protestations on both sides, of each continuing his utmost endeavours to distress the other's interest by his sword.

In the beginning of the year 1142, both parties prepared to carry on the civil war with greater vigor than ever: but it was easily foreseen, that while the empress, by whose proud and arbitrary conduct, all the advantages gained by her friends had been lost, continued at the head of her party in England, they could never hope for success. A general meeting of her adherents was therefore summoned, to meet at the Devises, where it was agreed, that Geoffrey Plantagenet, husband to the empress, should be requested to send over the young prince Henry, that he might appear at the head of his partizans in England. The earl of Gloucester accordingly went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had submitted to the earl of Anjou. The earl succeeded in his commission, and accordingly brought over the young prince with him to England.

Stephen in the mean time had surprized the castle of Wareham in Dorsetshire, taken the city of Oxford, and besieged the castle, whither the empress had retired for safety. But on the landing of the earl of Gloucester, affairs put on a more pleasant aspect; he again reduced the castle of Wareham, took possession of the island of Purbeck, and advanced at the head of an army to raise the siege of Oxford castle. Stephen had for some time pressed the siege with the greatest vigor, but the necessity of the season, the winter being now far advanced, had so reduced his army, that he had not troops sufficient to surround the place. The empress took the advantage of this and escaped to Walmersford, where she was soon after joined by the earl of Gloucester; and Stephen, after having reduced the castle, retired to London, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1147. From the time of the escape of the empress from Oxford, nothing material happened between the two contending parties; a few castles were taken, and some skirmishes happened between detachments from each army, but nothing decisive. The year was, however, marked with an event of the utmost consequence to the empress. The earl of Gloucester, the principal support of her cause, died of a fever, and was buried at Bristol. In this accomplished nobleman, the empress lost the only person that deserved her entire confidence, perhaps the only one that served her without views of interest. He was prudent, intrepid, generous and sincere, and



enemy to tyranny, an enemy to injustice, an enemy to deceit. He was beloved by his friends, beloved by his foldiers, and beloved by his country. His death was lamented by the good and the virtuous, and even Stephen himself dropped a tear of respect to his memory.

The death of this gallant nobleman gave a mortal blow to the party of the empress. She saw it would be impossible for her to contend any longer for the crown. Her troops deserted, her friends acted with coolness, and every thing indicated a sad reverse of fortune. She wisely prevented the blow that was aimed at her liberty, by passing over to the continent, and leaving Stephen in the quiet possession of the throne.

A. D. 1150. Geoffrey Plantagenet, the husband of Maud, now perceived his end approaching; and desirous of settling the succession of his dominions on the surest foundation, invested young Henry with the honors and revenues of his duchy. In consequence of which the prince, immediately after his death, took possession of the duchy of Normandy, as also of the province of Anjou and Maine. About the same time he also contracted a marriage, by which he acquired a great accession of power, and became very formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heiress of William duke of Guienne, and earl of Poitou, had been married sixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a crusade, which that monarch commanded against the infidels: but having there lost the affections of her husband, and even fallen under some suspicions of gallantry with a handsome Saracen, Lewis, more delicate than politic, produced a divorce from her, and even restored to her those rich provinces, which she had annexed, by her marriage, to the crown of France. Young Henry, neither discouraged by the inequality of years, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantry, made his addresses to that princess, and married her in six weeks after her divorce, by which he attained possession of all her dominions as her dowry.

A. D. 1152. Stephen had imprudently involved himself in a quarrel with the pope, at a time when his crown tottered on his brow. The holy father had, indeed, given him sufficient reason for his resentment. He had summoned a council to meet at Rheims; but instead of permitting Stephen, or even the church of England, to elect the five deputies required, the pope nominated them himself. Stephen complained loudly of this breach of national privilege; but Eugenius, who then filled the papal chair, regarded not his remonstrances. Enraged at this insult, the king refused them permission to attend; and the pontiff, in revenge for this interpolation, laid the kingdom under an interdict. By this sentence all the offices of religion were suspended; the churches shut up, and the dead were not suffered to be interred in consecrated ground. An universal terror spread through the nation; and it became necessary to make submissions to the pope, in order to procure a reversion of the sentence, which was at length happily effected.

A. D. 1153. The great power which prince Henry had acquired produced such effects on his party in England, that they formed themselves into confederacies, and determined to exert themselves in defence of the lawful heir to the English crown.

Stephen, not imagining that this spirit of party could have any effect on his interest, and desirous of turning the crown to Eustace, required the archbishop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his successor. But the primate, to the astonishment of the king, refused to comply, and to avoid the violence and revenge of Stephen, made his escape to the continent. This flight rendered the king's attempt to secure the succession in his family abortive, it being

then considered that the archbishop of Canterbury possessed an unalienable right to crown the kings of England.

The archbishop's refusal of anointing the king's son his successor, still more animated the party of Henry, and messengers were sent to that prince, requesting his presence in England. Henry, readily listening to their importunities, immediately embarked, and landed on the 6th of January, 1154. at the head of a very small body of troops; but their number was soon increased by the greater and most respectable part of the nobility in the kingdom.

Stephen saw the gathering storm, and laboured assiduously to break its force. The severity of the season had no effect to lessen his ardor. He marched, at the head of his forces, to meet the duke of Normandy; but the badness of the roads so greatly retarded his progress, that Henry made himself master of several strong castles before Stephen could afford the garrisons the necessary relief. At last the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, and made preparations for deciding, by a general action, the great contest for the English crown. But the nobles, unwilling to sheathe their swords in the bowels of their countrymen, interposed their authority: a cessation of arms was proclaimed at the head of both armies, and soon after a general peace took place between the contending princes; by which it was stipulated, that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life, and that Henry should succeed him as lawful heir by hereditary right.

The chief person that appeared dejected on this occasion was Eustace, Stephen's son, who easily foresaw that there could be no agreement between his father and a prince of Henry's ambitious temper, but what must be greatly to his prejudice. His late and near prospect of being raised to the throne, embittered his reflections. He had warmly expostulated with his father not to assent to the terms stipulated; but Stephen, though far from being deficient of parental affection, was obliged to give way to the necessities of the times. Filled with rage and despair, Eustace left the army and retired into Cambridgeshire, where he took the field at the head of an independent body of troops, resolving to lay the whole country waste, without even sparing the most sacred edifices. But he did not long continue to exercise these acts of cruelty; for he died soon after at St. Edmundsbury, and was buried at Faversham, near his mother, the excellent Matilda, who had paid the great debt of nature about three months before.

As soon as the treaty between the two princes was properly ratified, the barons did homage to Henry as lawful heir to the crown; and they both repaired to London, that Henry might receive the fealty of the citizens. They were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the people, who now hoped they saw a final period to all their miseries; and Henry soon after embarked for Normandy.

Stephen being, by this reconciliation, freed from all apprehensions of an enemy, employed himself to remove the sufferings of the people, and heal the wounds of his bleeding country. He reformed many abuses; he issued several wise and salutary edicts, and gave many striking instances of his great abilities and love of justice. In a word, he seemed determined to devote the remainder of his days to the ease and benefit of his subjects; to pursue every method for securing their properties, protecting their persons, and diffusing through the whole kingdom universal harmony and undisturbed repose. But while he was employed in these offices of justice and humanity, he was seized with a disorder called the illiac passion, of which he died on the 25th of October 1154, in the 50th year of his age, and in the 19th of his reign.



He was buried in the abbey church of Feverham, which he had founded himself, and where the remains of his wife and son had been so lately deposited.

Stephen was certainly, both in his person and qualities, the most amiable of all the Norman princes that had enjoyed the crown of England. He possessed, in a very remarkable manner, the talent of gaining mens affections; and the chief blemish he had was giving too great a loose to ambition, of which he retained a very ample share.

He was, however, a prince of great fortitude, courage, activity, prudence and generosity. He harboured not the passion of revenge, and malevolence seems to have been a stranger to his breast. He dispensed justice impartially to his subjects, and cherished the virtue of forgiveness. In a word, he was possessed of so many amiable virtues, that had he ascended the throne by right of inheritance, and lived in more peaceable times, his name would have been transmitted to posterity in much fairer characters than historians have thought themselves authorized to give it:

Or had kind fortune, in this vale of strife,  
Doom'd him to figure but in private life;  
Clear had each ray of social merit shone,  
Obscur'd by clouds that hover round a throne.

Stephen had three sons and two daughters by his wife Matilda, or Maud, who was the daughter of Eustace, earl of Boulogne, by Mary, sister to Matilda, queen of Henry I.

Baldwin, his eldest son, was born in the reign of Henry I. but died an infant.

Eustace, his second son, and heir apparent of both him and his wife Matilda, was created earl of Boulogne when his father was made king, that dignity being the inheritance of his mother. He married Constantia, sister of Lewis VII. king of France, and daughter of Lewis the Fat. He died on the 10th. of August, in the year 1153.

William, his youngest son, married Isabella, daughter and heir of William Warren, the third earl of Surry. After his father's death king Henry II. made him a knight, resumed those honors that he held of the crown, and restored him to all that his father had before he was king, namely, the honors of Boulogne, Surry and Mortaigne. He died without issue in the month of October 1160.

Matilda, Stephen's eldest daughter, was born before he was king, and died in her infancy.

Mary, the youngest, was a nun and abbess of the monastery of Rumley in Hants. from whence she was privately taken by Matthew, younger son of the earl of Alface; and after cohabiting together ten years, they were divorced by sentence of the pope, and the lady obliged to return to her monastery, where she continued during the remainder of her life.

Besides these, Stephen had two natural sons, named William and Gervase. The former of these has been by some mistaken for the same William that was earl of Boulogne; while others will have it that Stephen had no other son named William but the lawful one. The best authority we have to adjust this matter is from William earl of Boulogne himself, who, in an ancient charter of his still extant, not only mentions this William as a witness, but at the same time calls him his brother.

Gervase, Stephen's second natural son, was begotten on a gentlewoman named Damietta, and born in Normandy. His father brought him over to England in the year 1140, and soon after made him abbot of Westminster, which he retained for twenty years. He died in the year 1169, and was buried in Westminster abbey.

The most remarkable occurrences that happened in Stephen's reign were the following.

On the day he landed to take upon him the sovereignty

of England, there fell a most dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which being in the winter season was considered by the people as an omen of those troubles which afterwards attended the reign of their new monarch.

In his fourteenth year there fell so much rain in the summer season, that all the fruits of the earth were destroyed, and a dreadful famine ensued, which lasted for some time, till relief could be obtained from foreign countries.

On the 9th of December, in the same year, began a very severe frost, that continued till the 9th of February following, in which time the river Thames was entirely frozen over, so as to admit a safe passage not only for people, but also for horses and carriages.

On the 21st of March 1140, there happened a prodigious eclipse of the sun, by which it was so dark, that candles were lighted at noon day, and several stars were seen near the sun. This struck a universal terror in the people, many of whom imagined a great dissolution was at hand; which is a proof of the little progress the sciences had made in this island at that period.

The history of learning, during Stephen's reign is very short and defective. The numerous rebellions and civil wars that desolated the kingdom, disturbed the repose of the studious, and prevented the generality of the muses from taking up their abode in Britain. The little learning that subsisted was confined to the cloister, and chiefly employed in ecclesiastical controversies, that had no other tendency than that of setting the nation in a flame, and exalting the authority of the mitre above the power of the crown, of rendering ecclesiastics independent of the laws of civil government, and of placing the observance of superstitious ceremonies above the practice of morality. A few, indeed, there were, who employed some part of their time in the study of history, of the antiquities of their country, and to whose labors we are indebted for our knowledge of the transactions of these uncultivated ages. Their names and valuable productions are as follow:

Florence, a monk of Worcester, (often called Florentinus Baronius) who composed a chronicle of the world, from the Creation, to the year 1118. He lived but a short time after he had executed this performance, but his Chronicle was continued 50 years farther by another monk of the same monastery.

Alured, or Alfred, a priest of the college of Evesham, of which he was likewise treasurer. He was author, who was contemporary with the former, was born in the north of England, and educated at Cambridge. He appears to have been a writer of great industry and abilities; but his works have suffered greatly from ignorant transcribers. He began his history of the difference between Henry I. and archbishop Anselm. In his time no person was thought proper to be accomplished, who did not make the British tongue his study. This writer died in the year 1126.

Eadmerus, an author of sense and gravity; he was contemporary with Alured, and intimately connected with the famous Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. He wrote the history of William I. William II. Henry I. His works may be admitted as nearly correct, especially when we consider that he was a zealous advocate for the papal authority.

William of Malmesbury, so called from being a monk and librarian of the college of Malmesbury in Wiltshire. This writer is distinguished at the head of all the English historians of that time. His sentiments are bold and manly, his style nervous and elegant; far superior to what might have been expected from the barbarous age in which he lived. His chief work is intitled *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, written in five books, with an appendix of two more, which he calls *Historia Gothorum* and *Historia Francorum*.







These contain a judicious collection of whatever was to be found on record from the arrival of the Saxons till the reign of king Stephen. This writer died in the year 1142.

Simeon of Durham was a monk and preceptor of that place. He distinguished himself by his indefatigable care and assiduity in collecting the monuments of English learning that had escaped the ravages of the Danes. He flourished in the reign of Henry I. and Stephen.

The most distinguished composition, however, of this age is that called the Saxon Chronicle, which

begins with the birth of Christ, and ends with the death of Stephen. From the variety of style, and other circumstances, it is evident that these annals were composed by different writers, and at various periods of time. Their authenticity, however, has ever been indisputable, especially with regard to the wars between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons; and they have been the foundation of all our histories to the Norman conquest.-----An accurate edition of this celebrated Chronicle, with an elegant translation, were published at Oxford in 1692, by Dr. Gibson, afterwards bishop of London.

## B O O K VI.

*From the Accession of Henry II. to the Death of Henry III.*

### S E C T I O N I.

## HENRY II. SURNAMED PLANTAGENET.

**N**OTWITHSTANDING Stephen had, a short time before his death, been very vigilant in endeavouring to restore peace and tranquillity to England, yet the troubles in which the nation had for a long time been involved were far from being intirely suppressed. The calamities, indeed, which he had just removed, rendered the most distant prospect of peace so agreeable, that the people strove to outvie each other in demonstrating their attachment to Henry, who ascended the throne with the important advantages of an indisputable title, and an elevated reputation.

Henry, at the time he received intelligence of Stephen's death, was engaged in besieging a castle on the frontiers of Normandy; but fearless of the efforts of William, the son of Stephen, who was too contemptible to form a party, he continued the siege till the garrison surrendered. As soon as this was accomplished he embarked for England, where he landed on the 8th of December 1154, and was received by the nobility amidst the universal acclamations of the people. On the 19th of the same month he was crowned at Westminster, together with his queen Eleanor, by Theobald, then archbishop of Canterbury.

After the ceremony of his coronation was over, he retired to the abbey of Bernonsey, with an intention, as he pretended, of spending his Christmas there, but in reality, to concert such measures as might be most conducive to the interest and tranquillity of his people.

A. D. 1155. The first display that Henry gave of his good will for the welfare of his country was by dismissing all those mercenary soldiers, who had committed infinite disorders in the kingdom. These he sent abroad, together with their leader, William de Ypres, the great friend and confident of Stephen. He then revoked all the grants made by his predecessor, and even those which necessity had extorted from the empress his mother; and that princess, who had resigned her rights in favor of Henry, made no objection to a measure so necessary to support the glory of the crown. He repaired the coin which had been shamefully debased during the late confusion, and took proper measures for preventing a repetition of the like abuses. He likewise, in order to preserve proper authority to the laws, demolished the castles that had been erected since the reign of

Henry I. which had become the sanctuaries of robbers and disturbers of the peace, retaining only a few on account of their advantageous situation for the defence of the kingdom.

Having taken these necessary precautions, he formed a council to assist him in the weighty concerns of government. The principal of these were Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, archdeacon of the same see, lately made chancellor, and Robert, earl of Leicester, high justiciary of the kingdom.

Matilda, the king's mother, being a princess of natural sagacity, improved by experience, was declared president of this council, by the advice of which, Henry convened a general assembly or parliament, where he caused the barons to take the oath of allegiance to his two sons, Henry and William, though then in a state of infancy. He also restored the laws of Edward the Confessor, confirmed the charter granted by Henry I. his grand-father, and made several regulations to the interest and welfare of the realm.

These measures reflected great reputation on the new government, and so conciliated the affections of the people, that Henry enjoyed the crown in uninterrupted tranquillity. But a state of inactivity was not agreeable to the inclination of Henry, and the conquest of Ireland soon employed his thoughts. A bull from pope Adrian was obtained for that purpose; but this expedition was postponed, according to some historians, because the empress Matilda, who was now in England, disapproved of it.

A. D. 1156. In the beginning of this year Henry embarked for Normandy, in order to oppose the attempts of his brother Geoffrey, who, during his absence, had made an incursion into Angou and Maine, and taken possession of a considerable part of these provinces, to which he pretended a right. On the king's appearance, the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffrey, finding it would be in vain to contend with the superior power of his brother, resigned his claim for an annual pension of a thousand pounds. But, at the same time, Geoffrey took possession of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Nocl, their prince, put into his hands.

When Henry had thus settled his affairs in Normandy, he returned to England, where he found



that the restless Welsh had made several cruel invasions during his absence. On this occasion Cadwalader, brother to Owen, one of the princes of Wales, applied to Henry for protection, and encouraged him to revenge the insults of the Welsh, by invading their country. Henry accordingly marched at the head of a powerful army to Chester, where he received advice, that Owen had advanced as far as Basingweark to meet him. Henry immediately resolved to attack the Welsh prince, and accordingly set out, at the head of a detachment, consisting of the flower of his army, to give him battle; but in his march through a thick wood, he was attacked by the enemy, and the English, being pent up on every side, by eminences possessed by the Welsh, were very roughly handled. In the midst of this confusion, Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer, being seized with a panic, let the royal standard drop from his hands, and betook himself to flight, exclaiming that the king was slain. But Henry soon appeared in person, rallied his troops, and brought them off with great honor, though, from the advantageous situation in which Owen had placed himself, he was obliged to retire to Rutland castle.

A. D. 1157. In the beginning of the spring, Henry again marched with his forces against the Welsh prince, and having experienced the danger of passing through morasses and unknown forests, ordered the woods to be cut down, and the roads to be opened, marching with the utmost caution, and sending out parties to reconnoitre the country as they passed. By these means, he proceeded to Snowdon without interruption, where Owen and his barons, finding themselves unable to oppose his progress, sued for peace, swore fealty, delivered hostages, and restored all the castles and lands they had taken during the reign of Stephen.

Soon after the king's return from this expedition, Henry de Essex was accused, by Henry de Montfort, of treason and cowardice. As the fact was notorious, the accused had no other defence than that of single combat, in which he was vanquished by his accuser. The king, however, thought proper to save his life, which was now forfeited, but confiscated his estate, and ordered him to be shut up in a monastery during the remainder of his life.

A. D. 1158. The king's happiness was this year increased by his queen being delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Richard, and afterwards succeeded him on the throne. And the following year his family was farther increased by the birth of a fourth son named Geoffrey, on which occasion he and his queen were again crowned at Worcester. At this solemnity the king and queen laid their crowns on the altar, and solemnly swore never to wear them again; and this is supposed to have abolished the custom of the kings wearing their crowns at the celebration of great festivals, as we do not find any instances of it in the succeeding reigns.

Geoffrey, the king's brother, who had lately taken possession of Nantz, dying about this time, Henry, though he had no other title to that county, than the voluntary submission or election of the inhabitants, laid claim to the territory as devolved to him by hereditary right, and went over to support his pretensions by force of arms. Conan, duke or earl of Britany, pretended that Nantz had been lately separated by rebellion from his principality, to which of right it belonged; and accordingly, on the death of Geoffrey, took possession of the disputed territory. Henry, in order to prevent Lewis the French king from interposing in this controversy, paid him a visit; and to allure him by caresses and civilities, that an alliance was contracted between the two monarchs, and they agreed that young Henry, heir to the English crown, should be betrothed to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age, and the

latter still in her cradle. Secure from meeting with any interruption from France, Henry now advanced at the head of his army into Britany; and Conan, despairing of success against so powerful an enemy, delivered up the county of Nantz to the English monarch. But this incident procured Henry still greater advantages than the surrender of Nantz. Conan, harrassed by the turbulent disposition of his adherents, was desirous of procuring the support of so powerful a monarch; and accordingly betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third son, who was then of the same tender years.

A. D. 1159. The acquisitions thus obtained, were far from satisfying the ambitious temper of Henry, who now resolved to carry into execution his grand project of entering the city of Tholouse, with all its dependencies. Philippa, mother to his queen, Eleanor, was the only issue of William IV. count of Tholouse; and should have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, desirous of preserving the succession in the male-line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de St. Giles, by a contract of sale, which, in that age, was regarded as fictitious and illusory. By this means the county of Tholouse came to be disputed between the male and female heirs; and the one or the other, as opportunities favored their pretensions, had obtained possession. Alphonso, the son of Raymond, was the reigning sovereign; and on Henry's reviving his claim, had recourse for protection to the king of France. Lewis himself, when married to his wife, had asserted the justice of her claim, and, in consequence, demanded possession of Tholouse; but his sentiments changing with his interest, he now determined to defend, by his power and authority, the title of Alphonso. Henry was therefore convinced that nothing but a powerful army could support his pretensions.

The feudal constitution required that each military tenant should attend the prince, with a certain number of his vassals. But Henry, convinced from experience, that an army composed of such troops was very untractable and undisciplined, levied upon vassals in Normandy and other provinces, remote from Tholouse, a sum of money instead of their service; and this commutation, by reason of the great distance, was still more advantageous for his English vassals. He therefore imposed a scutage of ten pounds on every knight's fee, a condition, which though unusual, perhaps the first to be met with in history, the military tenants willingly paid; and with this money Henry hired an army that was more obedient to his command, and on whose service he could place a more certain dependence.

Besides these precautions, Henry had taken care to gain over to his party, Berenger, count of Barcelona, and Trincavel, count of Nismes. Assisted these princes he invaded the county of Tholouse, and after taking Verdun, Callenau, and other places, he besieged the capital of the province, and was likely to succeed in his attempt, when Lewis, advancing before the main body of his army, threw himself into the place with a small reinforcement. He was urged by some of his ministers to prosecute the siege, take Lewis prisoner, and impose his conditions in the pacification; but this he rejected, declaring that he would not attack a place defended by him in person. He accordingly raised the siege, and a treaty of peace was soon after concluded between the two monarchs.

A. D. 1160. The peace, however, was but of short continuance. Ambition soon dissolved the ties of amity. Henry's eldest son had, for some time, been affianced to Margaret, the daughter of Lewis, and it was agreed, by the marriage treaty, that the prince should have the city of Gisors, which Philip



Norman Vexin, for her portion; and that these places should remain in the custody of the Knights Templars, till the marriage was celebrated. Desirous of obtaining the possession of those valuable places, Henry prevailed upon the cardinals Pisa and Pavia to grant him a synodical decree, dispensing with the nonage of the parties. The nuptials were immediately celebrated, though the prince was but seven, and the princess only three years of age; and the Templars, considering themselves as free from their engagements, delivered up the castle of Gisors and the other places assigned as Margaret's dower to Henry.

It is little to be wondered at that such conduct as this should greatly exasperate Lewis. His first resentment fell upon the Templars, to whom the custody of the castle had been committed, and who were banished from his dominions. This would certainly have been succeeded by a war between the two monarchs, had it not been for Pope Alexander III. who, desirous of preventing the effusion of human blood, interposed, and brought about a reconciliation. Alexander, who the preceding year had been driven from Rome, by the anti-pope Victor IV. had retired into France, Lewis as well as Henry having acknowledged him for the true successor of St. Peter, and the pontiff in return was desirous of bringing about a peace between the two princes, who were equally his friends. The contending monarchs met his holiness at the castle of Torci on the Loire. They immediately dismounted to receive him, and each of them holding one of the reins of his bridle walked on foot by his side, and in this manner conducted him into the castle. Such was the superstitious bigotry of the times!

This year William, earl of Blois, son to king Stephen, died in his return from the expedition of Tholouse, in which he had accompanied the king.

A. D. 1162. Henry had been now so long in Normandy, that his affairs in England required his presence. He accordingly embarked, and landed at Southampton, where he was received by all the nobility, both spiritual and temporal, with great demonstrations of joy. Soon after his arrival, he began to execute a project which he had a long time before concerted. The clergy had, for several years, been making gradual advances on the prerogative of the crown, and their power was now arrived to such an amazing height, that it became doubtful, whether the king, or the archbishop of Canterbury, should be considered as the head of the kingdom. Henry had, for some time, determined to stop the rapid course of ecclesiastical ambition; but the mild character, and advanced age of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, together with his merit, in refusing to place the crown on the head of Euilace, the son of Stephen, prevented Henry, during the life time of that prelate, from taking any measures against the multiplied encroachments of the clergy. That obstacle was, however, now removed, the bishop having, some time since, paid the debt of nature, and Thomas a Becket, the chancellor of state and prime minister, placed in the archiepiscopal see.

Henry now flattered himself with possessing a long series of peace and tranquillity; but he was greatly deceived, and his life rendered unhappy by the very person who owed his whole fortune to his bounty. This was the celebrated Thomas a Becket, lately promoted to the see of Canterbury, whose conduct set the nation in a flame, and rendered abortive the scheme that Henry had formed for confining the ecclesiastical jurisdiction within proper bounds, and of repressing the licentiousness of the clergy.

As this person makes a considerable figure in the present reign, we shall be particular in describing the rise and progress of his power, with the conduct he exercised after the various emoluments to which he was raised.

This famous ecclesiastic was the son of a citizen of London, and had spent his youth in the study of the civil and canon law at Boulogne. He was possessed of very singular talents, and had a spirit not to be daunted even by the frowns of royalty. He had been raised by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to considerable preferments in the church, and on Henry's accession to the crown, was recommended to him by that primate as a person worthy of his confidence and favor. Henry accordingly promoted him to several places of trust, and soon after to that of chancellor, one of the first civil offices in the kingdom. After obtaining that high post, Becket was made provost of Beverly, dean of Mailing, and constable of the Tower: he was put in possession of the honors of Eye and Berkham, two large baronies, which had escheated to the crown; and, to complete his grandeur, he was entrusted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldest son, and heir apparent to the crown.

The pomp of his retinue, the sumptuousness of his furniture, the luxury of his table, and the munificence of his presents, were conformable to these great preferments, or rather exceeded any thing which England had before seen in any subject. A great number of knights were retained in his service; the greatest barons were proud of being received at his table; his house was a place of education for the chief nobility; and the king himself frequently condescended to take part of his entertainments. As his way of life was splendid and opulent, so his amusements and occupations were gay and sprightly. He employed himself, at leisure hours, in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship; he exposed his person in several military actions; he carried over, at his own expence, seven hundred knights to attend the king in his wars at Tholouse; in the subsequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he maintained during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand of their train; and, in an embassy to France, with which he was entrusted, he astonished that court with the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Theobald, the late archbishop of Canterbury, being a stranger to ambition, had, like his immediate predecessor, lived in a good correspondence with the state, and all great points of controversy between the royal and ecclesiastical powers, had lain rather dormant than explained. Becket had another view to little like a churchman, that Henry never imagined he would revive the controversy, especially as the former was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather of confining, within the ancient bounds, all ecclesiastical privileges.

Becket, however, was no sooner invested with this high dignity, which rendered him, during life, the second person in the kingdom, with some pretensions of aspiring to be the first, than his demeanor and conduct were both altered. He now endeavored to retrieve the character of sanctity which he had, in a great measure, lost, by his busy and ostentatious course of life. Without consulting the king, he immediately returned into his hands the commission of chancellor, pretending, that he intended now to attach himself solely to the exercise of his sacred function. He affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification. He wore fustian for his habit, which, by his affected care to conceal, was necessarily the more remarked by all the world. His food diet was bread, his drink water, which he rendered still farther unpalatable, by an infusion of bitter herbs. He daily, on his knees, washed the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents. He gained the affection of his monks by his great charity to the convents and hospitals. Every person who made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of piety and humility,



humility, as well as the piety and mortification of the holy primate.

A. D. 1163. Becket, having by this conduct obtained the general applause of the people, determined to oppose the measures formed by Henry to restrain the ecclesiastical power: in the commencement of which he endeavoured to intimidate the king by the intrepidity and boldness of his enterprizes. He summoned the earl of Clare, a nobleman of great interest and reputation, to surrender the barony of Tunbridge, which had formerly belonged to the archbishopric of Canterbury, but had been in the possession of the family of that nobleman ever since the conquest. Becket alledged, that it was not in the power of any of his predecessors, to alienate lands in prejudice of the church. But the earl having received his estate from the crown, disregarded the summons. The primate went still farther, and claimed, upon the same principle, from the king himself, the custody of the castle and tower of Rochester. He also claimed the right of presenting to all the vacant churches belonging to the tenants who held of the archbishopric. In consequence of this claim, the primate presented one Lawrence, a priest, to the church of Eynesford; but the incumbent was violently expelled by William de Eynesford, a military tenant of the crown, and patron of the living in question. The archbishop, who acted both as judge and party, in spiritual courts, excommunicated Eynesford, who complained to the king of the injury he had received, without the previous consent of the sovereign. The king immediately sent the primate orders to absolve the complainant: but received for answer, that it did not belong to him to command him, either to absolve or excommunicate any person. Nor would he submit to obey the royal mandate, till Henry was obliged to have recourse to menaces.

These proceedings were preludes to an open rupture between the king and archbishop, which was daily enlarged from various circumstances. During the late reign a great number of persons, absolutely unqualified for the function, in order to enjoy the protection of the church, had received holy orders, through the indulgence and venality of the bishop; and these, having no benefices, belonged to no diocese, in consequence of which, not being subject to any jurisdiction, they committed the most flagrant enormities with impunity.

This perversion of ecclesiastical power excited the resentment of the whole nation, who had endeavoured, without success, to suppress it. Henry himself had long determined to put an end to these atrocious disorders, by punishing the offenders with the utmost severity; and a circumstance now offered that gave him an opportunity of putting his design into execution.

A clergyman of inferior rank, having debauched the daughter of a gentleman in the county of Worcester, was seized by the enraged father, whom the villain badly murdered. The king insisted on the assassin's being tried in the secular court, but Becket, interposing his prerogative, objected, and committed him to the bishop's prison. The nobility, alarmed at this excess of insolence, told the king, that unless preventive measures were immediately taken, his authority would be totally disannulled, and the clergy usurp absolute despotism throughout the whole kingdom.

The king, therefore, to stem this growing evil, summoned an assembly of the prelates at Westminster, and after enumerating the disorders that daily resulted from the perversion of ecclesiastical power, and the impurity of spiritual causes, insisted, that for the future, one of his judges might assist at the trial of every offender, when they were immediately concerned, and that every member of the church should be degraded from his priesthood, and consigned over to

secular punishment. But the prelate alledged, in opposition to the remonstrances of his sovereign, the immunities of the church, and roundly asserted, at the hearing of the whole convocation, that a clergyman ought not to be put to death for any crime whatever.

Though the assembly endeavoured to set forth the evil consequences that must arise from the admittance of such a doctrine, the archbishop continued to enforce and vindicate it; so that their deliberations proved ineffectual, and they returned to the council without coming to any resolution. The king, exasperated at their obstinacy, demanded, whether they would observe the laws and customs of the crown, to which the archbishop replied, in the name of the rest, that they would obey them in all points, that they did not infringe on the rights of their order.

The king, dissatisfied with this evasive answer, insisted on an absolute compliance with the constitutional laws of the realm, and on the clergy persisting in refusal, he left the assembly incensed, and retired immediately to Woodstock. The bishops, alarmed at the abrupt departure of the king, began to reflect on their present critical situation. They knew the power of the archbishop at the court of Rome, nor were they insensible of the importance of a king, established on the English throne, master of large revenues, and possessed of a powerful armament; they therefore thought it prudent to make their interest as barons, and to pay a proper obedience as prelates.

Various endeavours were used to bend the insolent and haughty prelate; but he withstood them all; till at length, Robert de Melun, his domestic chaplain, and Philip, abbot of Eleemosina, sent over by the pope in quality of a legate a latere, to compromise their differences, prevailed on him to conform to the king's pleasure. He then visited the king at Woodstock, retracted the offensive reservation, and promised on the faith of an honest man, to maintain the strict adherence to the laws and customs of the kingdom.

A. D. 1164. The king, in order to prevent any future infringement on the civil establishment of the realm, assembled a general council of the prelates and nobility at Clarendon, in which the famous constitutions called by that name, were enacted into law, the substance of which are as follow:

That all suits relative to presentations, shall be referred to the decision of the king's court; that crimes committed by clergymen shall be cognizable in the king's court, without infringing on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but a clerk on conviction, forfeit his privilege, and the protection of the church; that no bishop or other clergyman shall quit the realm without obtaining the king's licence, nor procure licence, without previous security, for abstaining from every thing prejudicial to the king and kingdom during his absence; that excommunicated persons shall be exempted from oath, or giving security, remaining in the place of their residence, but at the same time be obliged to comply with the judgments of the church, in order to obtain absolution, no accusation shall be brought against any lay person to the ecclesiastical court without legal and proper evidence in presence of the bishop; and if the person arraigned should be such as nobody would venture to accuse, the sheriff at the instance of the bishop, should oblige twelve reputable men of the neighbourhood to declare upon oath, that they knew of the matter; that no tenant in capite, or royal officer of the king, should be excommunicated, or his land laid under an interdict, without the concurrence of the king, and in the absence of the king, that appeals in ecclesiastical causes should be made from the archbishop to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop, and from the bishop to the king, or determined by his precept, in the case of a vacancy.



bishop, but to proceed no farther without the king's consent: that all suits between laymen and ecclesiastics about tenures, should be tried before the king's justiciary, by the verdict of twelve reputable men, and if the tenure should be found Frank Almoine, the suit should be referred to the ecclesiastical court; but if a lay fee determined in the king's court, unless both parties hold of the same lord, whether spiritual or temporal, in which case the suit should be tried in his court; but the person seized of the tenement in question, should not, on account of such verdict, be disseized till the determination of the suit: that any tenant of the king's demesnes, summoned by the archbishop or bishop, to answer for a misdemeanor, that should fall under their cognizance, might, for contempt of such summons, be interdicted from divine service, but not excommunicated till he should be resigned to that sentence by the king's officer, in default of making proper satisfaction: that all archbishops, prelates and clergymen, where dignities and benefices should depend on the king in capite, should hold their possessions, as baronies, appear before the king, justices and ministers, to answer the duties of their tenure, observe and perform all the royal customs, rights and services, and like other barons sit as judges in the king's court, until sentence should begin to be pronounced for the loss of life or limb, and then they should be at liberty to withdraw: that the king should enter into possession of all vacant fees, abbeys and priories, of royal patronage and foundation, and that in filling up these vacancies, the chapter or convent should be assembled, the election made in the chapel royal with the king's consent, and the person elected should, before his consecration, do homage, and swear fealty to the king, as his liege lord of life, limb, and terrene honor, saving his order: that any nobleman, opposing or rejecting the legal decisions of the ecclesiastical court, should be compelled to submit by the king's authority; and any person refusing to stand to the award of the king's court, should be prosecuted by the ecclesiastical authority, till the king's award should receive satisfaction: that goods and chattels forfeited to the king, should belong to his majesty, whether found within or without the precincts of the church: that the king's court should try all suits for debts due upon oath, solemn promise, or otherwise contracted; and that the sons of copyholders should not be ordained, without the consent of the lord of the manor, in which they were born.

These articles were considered by the assembly as containing the genuine sense of the prelates and nobility of England touching the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the civil power, but when for their greater security the prelates were desired to affix their seals to them Becket refused, and affected remorse for having assented to articles, which, on reflection, he considered as dangerous encroachments on the prerogative of the church.

The pope, in order to prevent an open rupture between the king and the primate, sent over the archbishop of Rouen, with a commission to compromise the difference between them, but the king would hearken to no proposals, unless the pope would consent to confirm by bull, the constitutions of Clarendon, and in order to effect this, he sent over one of his domestic chaplains, to solicit a grant of legation from his holiness in favor of Roger archbishop of York: this the pontiff refused, but complimented the king with the offer of that power, on condition of its not being exercised to the prejudice of the primate.

Henry, however, was not to be caught with this bait, he declined the offer, and at the same time took care to express himself in such terms in relation to Becket, when, yet the pope's ambassador was present

that it was generally apprehended by all Becket's friends, that the king was bent upon his ruin.

The archbishop, alarmed at this, applied to Henry for leave to go on a visit to pope Alexander, whose advice he pretended to want in regard to some church affair, but was refused; whereupon he embarked privately on board a vessel at Romney, in order to make his escape over to France; but being put back by contrary winds, he went to Woodstock, where the king then resided, in hopes of being able to mollify him; but Henry was by this time so thoroughly incensed against him, that he refused him audience, and he was obliged to depart without an interview.

Though Henry was sensible that the late behaviour of Becket had subjected him to the most rigorous punishment that insulted majesty could inflict, yet he chose to proceed against him by the most constitutional measures; he therefore called a new council at Northampton, about the beginning of October 1164, at which no less than four impeachments were preferred against the turbulent and haughty prelate.

The first was for contumacy, in not having appeared at the king's court in person, to answer a writ brought against him, by John, marshal of the exchequer, who had sued the primate in the archiepiscopal court for some lands belonging to the manor of Pagham; and who, thinking the determination illegal, had appealed from thence to the king's court for justice. The archbishop, standing upon his defence, was convicted, and a fine levied on him of 500*l*.

The second article was, his having embezzled 300*l*, he had received of the issues of the honors of Eye and Berkhamstead. In answer to this article he alleged, that he had laid out a greater sum in the repairs of royal castles, and wanted to waive the prosecution, because he was not cited to the council on that account; but the king denying his first allegation, and demanding immediate judgment, he agreed to refund the money.

The third charge brought against him was for 500 marks which he had borrowed from the king. The archbishop pleaded, that he was unprepared to answer upon those charges; but this plea was over-ruled, and Becket obliged to give security for the payment.

The last charge was of much greater importance, and of a more complicated nature than either of the other three. He was required to give an account of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the bishoprics, abbeys, and baronies, which had, during that time, been subjected to his management. This was a charge that affected the whole body of the clergy. The prelates now saw their error; but they had gone too far to retreat. They were, however, greatly alarmed, and seemed well disposed to join their archbishop. The primate answered, that it could not be expected he could come prepared to answer a charge of this complicated nature, as he had received no intimation of it in his summons; but promised to give the king satisfaction, if a proper time was allowed him for that purpose. The king insisted upon security; and Becket desired leave to consult his suffragans in a case of such importance to the church in general, and to himself in particular. This request was granted, and he accordingly retired to his lodgings.

He spent the whole night in close consultation with his suffragans, but had the mortification to find that he could not engage them in the same plan of refractoriness and disobedience with himself; on the contrary, they advised him to submit to the king. Thus disappointed, he had recourse to another artifice; he pretended to be taken violently ill, and when the king sent some of the temporal lords to demand of him peremptorily whether he would abide by the determination of the king's court, he returned for answer,



that if he was better he would attend the king and his court on the morrow.

Accordingly the next day he repaired thither, but with a firm resolution, instead of giving any account of his stewardship, to insist on the privileges of the church; and thinking that some religious solemnity might attract the notice of the people in his favor, he proposed to walk to the court bare-footed, attired in his pontifical robes, and to carry in his hand the cross of Canterbury. His clergy, however, dissuading him from this design, he laid aside his pall and mitre, and wearing his other sacred vestments, with the cope above them, the cross being carried before him, proceeded in that manner, on horseback, to the king's court. When he came into the outer court he alighted, and taking the cross into his own hand, proceeded thus into the king's chamber, where he sat down, holding his cross out before him.

Every person present was struck with astonishment at his insolence and folly; the bishops in particular were ashamed and confounded; they told him, that it looked as if he came prepared to set the whole kingdom in a flame, and to put his sovereign at open defiance: they represented to him the ill consequences of such vain-glorious and insulting conduct, and tried to persuade him to deliver the cross to the bishop of Hereford, who offered to carry it for him; but this was all in vain, for the haughty prelate would not comply. At length the archbishop of York, no longer able to bear with his obstinate insolence, told him, that notwithstanding the cross was in his hand, he would find that the king carried much sharper weapons. Becket replied, it was true, the king's weapons could kill the body, but his destroyed the soul.

This answer, which seemed to threaten the king and the court with excommunication, was carried to Henry, then sitting in an inner chamber, who was so provoked at such a traiterous menace, that he sent for all the nobles and prelates to attend him, and complained loudly of Becket's intolerable insolence in entering his court in such a presumptuous manner. The whole council joined in condemning this instance of his pride; and the prelates gave the king to understand that the archbishop had notified to them his intent of appealing to the pope for protection.

Henry, willing to avoid a rupture with the pontiff, though at the same time desirous of punishing the insolence of the prelate, remonstrated himself with Becket concerning his conduct, and reminded him that he had assented to the articles of Clarendon. Becket replied, that the cause of God and the church had rendered his consent to those articles of no force; and that he put himself under the protection of the Roman pontiff, the supreme head of the church, to whom he appealed against the sentences that either had or might be pronounced against him, and strictly inhibited his suffragans not to join in any enterprise contrary to the immunities of the church.

The barons were so exasperated at this, that they determined to commit him to prison, but Becket refused to hear the sentence pronounced, left the assembly abruptly, and retired with his cross erect before him, to the monastery of St. Andrews.

A few days after Becket sent three bishops to ask a licence and safe conduct for his departure: this however was denied, and the prelate, fearful of being arrested, retired privately in the night, attended only by two servants, and escaped to the continent. He was received by Lewis, king of France, and pope Alexander, who was then at the court of that monarch, with every mark of respect and esteem. By the patronage of the former he lived with the utmost magnificence in the monastery of Pontigny, and the latter prepared to issue bulls to revenge his disgrace.

As soon as Henry was informed of the escape of Becket, he immediately dispatched a very respectable

embassy to the pope, to solicit the deposition of the primate: but the pope was inflexible; he refused the offer, and the ambassadors immediately returned to their master. On their arrival, Henry summoned an assembly of the nobles, where it was determined to sequester all the possessions of the see of Canterbury, together with all the revenues of the churches, chapels, and rents of the clergy, who adhered to Becket; and all the primate's relations and domestics, both clergy and laity, were banished the kingdom.

Henry was now greatly alarmed at the troubles excited in Germany and Italy by the thunder of the Vatican; and therefore passed over to the continent, in order, if possible, by a personal conference with the pope, to prevent an interdict being laid on the kingdom. An interview was accordingly proposed, and it was agreed that Becket should not be present. The archbishop was alarmed at this exclusion; he feared that the pope, on hearing a fair account of the whole proceedings, would withdraw his protection, and abandon him to the vengeance of an enraged monarch. He therefore suggested to his holiness, "that he might be imposed upon by the fluent and plausible speeches of Henry, unless he himself was present to interpret their meaning by what he knew of the inward sentiments of his heart." The weak pontiff listened to this artful suggestion of the prelate; he gave up his own infirmity to depend upon that of Becket, and insisted on the archbishop's being present at the interview. Henry disdained to submit to this proposal, and immediately embarked for England.

As it was now reasonable to suppose that the pope would exert all his power in favor of Becket, Henry took every precaution he could project to render the attempt abortive. He prohibited all his subjects, under severe penalties, from receiving any mandates either from his holiness or the archbishop, and from making any appeals to them. Becket, on the contrary, used all his efforts to oppose the measures of Henry; he thundered out anathemas against his enemies, and at last denounced the sentence of excommunication against all that adhered to the constitution of Clarendon; and absolved every one from the oath which they had taken to observe them.

A. D. 1167. The dispute between Henry and the archbishop still continuing with great rigor, Lewis, king of France, interposed his good offices to bring about an accommodation. Becket declared he was ready to put an end to all disputes; and to submit to the king, saving his honor, the possessions of the church, and the rights of others. At last an interview was agreed on, and Becket met the king, France and England at a village in the neighbourhood of Paris; but the primate was so unreasonable and haughty, that Lewis was persuaded it would be impossible to bring about an agreement. Henry, desirous of a pacification, said to Lewis, "There have been many kings of England, and there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury; let Becket act towards me with the same submission which his greatest of his predecessors have paid to the last of mine, and I shall be satisfied." But Becket refused to acquiesce in so reasonable a proposal. Lewis was, or at least seemed to be, disgusted, and the two kings departed without taking leave of the archbishop; but the correspondence and friendship between the monarch of France and the prelate was soon afterwards renewed.

A. D. 1168. Becket, by various artful stratagems, was now in greater favor than ever with the courts of Rome and France, and excommunications succeeded each other with such amazing rapidity, that the king had hardly a servant about his person who was not under an interdict.

A. D. 1169. The thunder from the coasts of



Engraved for  
Russet's History  
of England



*The Haughty Entrance of*  
Archbishop Becket *into the presence*  
of HENRY II.



tribunal of Rome, shook the fortitude of Henry and his ministers; and several conferences succeeded each other, in order to terminate this unhappy dispute. In a fourth treaty, when all the terms were adjusted, and when the primate expected to be introduced to the king, and to receive the kiss of peace, which was usual for princes to give in those times, and which was considered as a sure pledge of forgiveness, Henry refused him that honor, upon pretence, that during his anger, he had made a rash vow never to give the prelate such a testimony of his friendship. This formality served among such jealous spirits to prevent the conclusion of the treaty; and though the difficulty was attempted to be removed, by a dispensation from the pope, yet Henry could not be prevailed upon to depart from the resolution he had formed.

A. D. 1170. At length, however, all difficulties were removed, and a treaty was signed between the king and the prelate, who was permitted to return to his see on the following conditions. He was not required to give up any of the rights of the church, or resign any of those pretensions which had been the ground of the controversy: all those questions were to be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents should, without making farther submissions, be restored to all their livings, and that even the possessors of such benefices as depended upon the see of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have full liberty to supply the vacancies. In return for these concessions, which intrenched so deeply on the honor and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication denounced against them, and of preventing the interdict, which, if these hard conditions had not been complied with, was ready to be laid upon all his dominions.

The affairs of England rendering it necessary for Henry to return home, he endeavoured to guard against all accidents on the continent during his absence; and for this purpose visited the chief castles in his dominions, obliging all his subjects without exception, who had not yet sworn fealty and allegiance, to make their submissions. This being accomplished, he set sail for England about the beginning of March; but happening to be overtaken in his passage by a violent storm, was in the most imminent danger of his life. He, however, happily escaped, but several of his ships were lost, and between four and five hundred of his retinue perished.

Henry, a few days after his arrival in England, summoned a parliament, or great council of the nation, to meet at Windsor. In this assembly the kingdom was divided into circuits; and certain earls, knights, and clergymen, appointed commissioners, to make a progress through these divisions, in order to take cognizance of all abuses committed by the sheriffs, bailiffs, and other inferior officers. This inquiry produced the most salutary effects; the subject was called of many exactions, various grievances were redressed, and peace established in every part of the kingdom.

Though these acquisitions were of considerable importance, yet Henry had a still greater object in view, and this he thought proper to conceal till the very moment of its execution, lest the turbulent primate should find means to render the whole abortive. He had not forgot the little regard the English had paid to their oaths of eventual fealty in the case of his mother, and was therefore determined not to subject his own children to the same misfortune, by placing the crown on the head of Henry, his eldest son, then in the twentieth year of his age. He accordingly adjourned the national assembly from Windsor to London. No person, not even the young prince

himself, was acquainted with the real intention of Henry. The assembly was, however, remarkably full, in order to receive the report of the commissioners. As soon as the report was read, Henry related to them the resolution he had formed with regard to the coronation of his son, and was pleased to find it received with universal approbation. The only difficulty consisted in finding a prelate who was properly authorized to perform the ceremony. It was generally understood to be a prerogative peculiar to the archbishop of Canterbury; but on this occasion it was performed by Roger, archbishop of York, who had lately been invested with a legatine authority for Scotland; together with a bull, which granted him the eventual privilege of crowning the king of England, an immunity which some of his predecessors had formerly enjoyed. Accordingly that prelate, assisted by the bishops of London and Durham, placed the crown upon the head of young Henry; and immediately after the ceremony, William king of Scotland, his brother David, and all the earls, barons, and frank-tenants of England did him homage.

The younger Henry was of a haughty and imperious disposition, and a stranger to generosity and gratitude. His father, desirous of displaying, before this august assembly, every mark of paternal love and distinction for his favourite son, served the first dish at his table with his own hands, saying, with an endearing smile, "You may now boast, my son, of being as honorably served as any monarch upon earth." But the soul of young Henry was too haughty to make a proper return to this engaging condescension in a parent. He turned to the archbishop of York, and whispered, with a contemptuous sneer, "That he thought it no great degradation for the son of a petty count to serve the heir of a great king." Henry heard not the ungenerous reflection of his son; he was yet a stranger to his ingratitude.

This coronation, however, gave great offence to the king of France, because his daughter Margaret, who had a short time before been married to the young prince, was not crowned with her husband. Henry therefore promised Lewis that the ceremony should be soon repeated, and his daughter receive both the crown and the royal unction, together with her husband.

Becket highly resented the invasion that had been made on his office; but Henry endeavoured to appease him, by assuring him, that besides receiving the acknowledgments of Roger, archbishop of York, and the other prelates, for the seeming affront put upon the see of Canterbury, he should, as a farther satisfaction, recover his rights by officiating in the succeeding coronation. But this submission was far from quieting the violent spirit of Becket. Flated by the victory he had so lately obtained over his sovereign, he applied to the court of Rome for powers sufficient to make all his enemies feel the weight of his vengeance.

Henry was now returned to Normandy, and Becket was preparing for his journey to England, in order to take possession of his diocese, and light up afresh the torch of civil dissension in his country. On his arrival in England, he met the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy, and immediately notified to the archbishop the sentence of suspension, and to the two bishops that of excommunication, which, at his solicitation, the pope had pronounced against them. Reginald de Warren and Gervase de Cornhill, two innocent justices, who were making their circuit in Kent, asked, on hearing of this bold attempt, whether he meant to bring his and sword into the kingdom? but the primate, instead of the reproof, proceeded, in the most ostentatious manner, to take possession of his diocese. In



all the towns through which he passed, he was received with the shouts and acclamations of the people. The clergy and laity of all ranks came out to meet him, and celebrated his triumphant entrance with hymns of joy. Elated with this triumph, he launched the spiritual thunders against Robert de Broc, and Nigel de Sackville, with many of the most considerable prelates and ministers, who had assisted at the coronation of the young prince.

In the meantime, the archbishop of York, and the prelates of London and Salisbury, continued their journey to Normandy, where they threw themselves at Henry's feet, complaining of the violent proceedings of Becket. Henry immediately perceived, that the dangerous contest, between the civil and spiritual powers, must now come to a speedy and decisive issue, and was thence thrown into very violent agitations. The archbishop of York remarked, that while Becket lived, the king could never hope to be in safety, nor his kingdom in peace. Upon this Henry gave a loose to his indignation, and cried out aloud, in all the anguish of affronted majesty, that he was unhappy in having supported a number of ungrateful, indolent cowards, who had not the courage to vindicate his honor from the insults it suffered from one haughty, bigotted priest. Four gentlemen of his household, viz. Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Traci, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, considered these passionate expressions to be at once a hint for Becket's death, and a reproach upon themselves, who had been brought up in the king's service. They immediately communicated their thoughts to each other, bound themselves solemnly by an oath, to perpetrate the primate's destruction, and secretly withdrew from court. But some menacing expressions, which they dropped at their departure, gave a suspicion of their design, and the king immediately dispatched a messenger after them, with express orders not to attempt any thing against the person of the primate. These orders, however, arrived too late to prevent the execution of their fatal purpose: they had all sailed, in different ships, landed soon after in England, and arrived about the same time at Saltwood, near Canterbury. Here they were joined by several of Henry's servants, whom they knew were firmly attached to his interest; and their party strengthened by several persons, whom the primate had excommunicated for the most frivolous offences.

In the mean time, the archbishop conducted himself in a very ostentatious manner, and took every opportunity of increasing his popularity, by magnificent progresses through different parts of the country, where he was very diligent in affecting to appear as a martyr for the church. Young Henry, who thoroughly hated him, immediately, upon hearing he intended to come to his court, sent him an express order to reside at Canterbury; which the prelate, who well knew the disposition of the young prince, and those in the administration, unwillingly obeyed. But to make the best use of his time he did not fail, by repeated sermons, to animate the people against his enemies, and to expose the dangers to which he was daily liable for the cause of the church.

It was but a short time before Becket had occasion for all his patience and fortitude. The four gentlemen who had conspired against him, came with their party to Canterbury. They went to the archbishop's palace, and having got admittance to the apartment where he was, first expostulated with him, and then pleaded the king's commission for what they did. They earnestly requested him to take off the sentence of suspension and excommunication, which he refusing, they attempted to make him prisoner in the king's name: but Becket, who was a man of undaunted resolution and courage, made so forcible a resistance,

that the noblemen, thinking themselves in danger, thought proper to dispatch him.

The circumstances attending Becket's death are variously related by different writers; but those that appear the most to be depended on, are the following, which we have borrowed from the works of a gentleman who took great pains to collect them. "The four knights, says he, after having landed privately at Dover, raised a pretty large company of men, partly of the king's officers, and partly of those whom the archbishop had excommunicated. When they had done this, they made all the haste they could to Canterbury, where being arrived on the 30th of December in the afternoon, they entered the palace, came into the archbishop's chamber, and there lay down without speaking a word; till the archbishop asking them the occasion of their coming, one of them (Fitz-urse by name) told him, That they came from beyond sea, with a message from the king: upon which the archbishop commanded his domestics to withdraw; but when the other said, That he desired all there present should hear, they staid in the room. Then Fitz-urse, in the name of the rest, delivered his message, the substance of which was, That he had as good have taken the crown from the king's master's head, as thus to excommunicate the bishop, and then refuse them absolution. But the archbishop said, He was so far from taking the crown from the king's head, that he wished with all his heart he could put another on (God's honor and his own soul being still safe;) and that, not himself, but the pope, had excommunicated and suspended their bishops, and was not in his power to absolve them. They answered, It was all one as if he had done it, since it was done by his procurement. To which the archbishop replied, That indeed he was much obliged to the pope for thus vindicating the injury done to God as well as to himself: then making a large recital of all the wrongs he had received, he appealed to themselves as witnesses, whether the king had not granted him leave to proceed by ecclesiastical censures against those who had disturbed the peace of the church, nor could he pass it by, without betraying his pastoral charge. At which they all cried out, That they were never witnesses of any such thing; and called to the monks and others there present, to secure him on the king's behalf; and that, if he escaped, he should be required at their hands. So presently going out, the archbishop, following them to the door of the outward room, said, No, I come not hitherto to fly, I yield not your threatenings. To which they replied, These are not bare threats, and so you shall find. Then coming out of the abbey, they brought those of the guard into the court, whom they had before left at the gates while they talked with the archbishop: but during the time that they were gone away, the monks hearing that the knights with their men were returning, would fain have persuaded the archbishop (about near vespers,) to go along with them into the church; but he being unwilling, they were at last forced to haul, rather than lead, him thither, through a private door out of the cloisters, which was broken open for purpose to let him in. He had not been there very long, and was but just got upon the steps of the high altar, when the four knights returned again, being now armed; and finding the doors of the monastery shut, they broke a window, and Roger de Broc getting in, opened the doors to them; and he being then guide, they entered the church by the same way the archbishop had before; yet would not he permit the other door to be fast at all, saying, It was the church, and all men were free to enter into it, God's will be done. As soon as they came in, they cried out, Where is the archbishop? where is the traitor? He came down from the steps of the altar to a pillar not far



off, said, Here am I, no traitor, but a priest. They then laid hands on him, to try if they could pull him out of the church, that (as they afterwards confessed) they might either kill him without, or carry him away prisoner; but when they could not easily get him from the pillar, Reginald Fitz-urfe came up nearer; to whom the archbishop said, I have done thee many favors, and dost thou, who owest me faith and homage, now come to kill me? The former then laying hold of the archbishop's cope, said, Thou shalt go forth, for that now thou shalt die: but he, pulling it out of his hand, answered, I will not go out. Then the other cried, Fly. No, replied he, I will never fly; but I command you, in the name of God, and under an anathema, that you do none of mine any harm. He then thrust that knight from him, calling him Pimp! at which he being much provoked, stepped back, and seeing his companions behind him, he struck at the archbishop with his sword, and wounded him in the crown of the head, where it was shaven; the archbishop, seeing his time was come, cried out, Lord, I commend myself, and the cause of the church of God, to St. Mary, St. Dennis, and all the saints patrons of his church. Then another of the knights wounded him in the same place, to the very brain. The archbishop falling on the pavement, the rest struck him on the head still in the same place; and one of them, Richard Brito, cut off a piece of his skull, where the rest had already began. Then another of their followers, called Hugh the all-clerk (for he was a sub-deacon) not content with what had been done, set his foot upon the bishop's neck, and with his sword's point flung the brains and blood about the pavement, crying out, Let us now be gone, he will rise no more. So that all of them hitting him (which was very strange) in the same place, all his brains fell upon the ground. When they saw he was dead, they went out in great triumph at the same door they came in; and, in the mean time, their accomplices without, breaking open the doors and locks, plundered the apartments of the archbishop, and took away the charters and monuments belonging to the church. As soon as the people heard of it, they all grievously lamented him, and running thither, desired to see his body, dipping their fingers in his blood, and therewith making the sign of the cross on their foreheads. The monks afterwards laid the corpse before the high altar, where it remained all night; but as soon as it was day, hearing that the murderers intended to return and abuse the body, they shut up the church doors, and putting it in a stone coffin, buried it privately in a vault adjoining to the place where he was killed."

Such was the tragical end of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate of the most imperious and inflexible spirit. He fell a victim to his own pride, and obstinacy in a cause which he fancied just, and in which he was guided by the most destructive prejudices. Unable to bear the least contradiction, and fond of directing affairs of every kind, he treated all that opposed him with a violence of behaviour, and a severity of vengeance, which neither suited the character of a christian bishop, or a decent member of society. When he had any point to gain, he advanced without scruple the most infamous falsehoods, and vouched them as truths under the sanction of the most sacred oaths. Such, however, was the blind superstition of those days, that notwithstanding all this, and his having been publicly condemned as a traitor by all the lords spiritual and temporal, yet he was canonized and revered as a martyr, about two years after his death. This was done by order of pope Alexander, who also, by a bull directed to all the clergy and people of England, appointed the 29th of December to be kept annually as a festival in commemoration of Becket's martyrdom.

But to return to our narration. The conspirators

after the fact, reflecting on the nature and consequences of it, retired to the castle of Knareborough in Yorkshire, belonging to Hugh de Moreville, where they continued near a year without conversing with any stranger whatever. At length, tired with their solitude, and in obedience to the king's command, they submitted to the pope's judgment, repaired to Rome, and afterwards made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to expiate their offence.

A. D. 1171. Henry was greatly affected at the death of Becket. He dreaded the consequences of the papal thunder, and knew that his enemies would exert all their influence with the pontiff to launch the flaming bolt of interdict on his dominions. He feared the spiritual much more than the temporal sword. He dispatched a splendid embassy to Rome, to clear him of all suspicion of being concerned in the death of Becket, and to avert the thunders of the vatican. Alexander, at first, refused an audience to Henry's ambassadors; but by the proper distribution of large sums among the members of the sacred college, the intention of Henry was fully answered. The pope, however irritated against Henry, contented himself with issuing general denunciations against the principals and accomplices of Becket's murder. The archbishop of Sens, who had always been an implacable enemy to the English monarch, laid an interdict upon all the French provinces subject to Henry; but the pope prevented the consequences that might have resulted from that sentence. Two cardinals were sent with legatine powers into Normandy, in order to examine into the king's conduct with regard to the murder of Becket, and a conference was opened at Avaranches, where Henry and his eldest son assisted, together with all the clergy of Normandy. After long debates the whole affair was settled, and all differences between Henry and the pope were terminated.

A. D. 1172. Henry, having now no enemy to fear, determined to put in execution a scheme he had some years before projected for obtaining a conquest of Ireland. Adrian IV, who at that time filled the papal chair, desirous of augmenting the power and revenue of the holy see, encouraged Henry to pursue the plan he had formed, and granted him a bull with ample privileges. But the disturbances that happened between Becket and the king had prevented the latter from putting his design into execution.

Before we proceed any further, it will be necessary to give the reader some account of these people, the conquest of whom was attempted upon the slightest foundations, and affected with an ease that borders almost upon romance.

The Irish at this time were so unpolished as to be little better than savages; they were even ignorant of agriculture; no traces of the arts were found among them; they were destitute of laws, of manners, and of learning. The island was divided into a number of small principalities, each governed by its own prince, but all forming a political confederacy, though they exercised perpetual violences against each other. They were incapable of making any defence against regular forces; but it was no easy matter to unite them into one body or nation, and govern them by wholesome laws. Ferocious by nature, and fond of liberty, they opposed every attempt to civilize them, and, like the antient Britons, when attacked by a superior force, fled to their forests, mountains and caverns, for safety.

A circumstance now happened which gave Henry a favorable opportunity of claiming the pretended title he had derived from the bull of Adrian. Dermot, one of the petty kings of Ireland, being driven out of his dominions by a neighbouring chief, whose wife he had carried off, applied to the English monarch for assistance to recover his territories. Henry listened



to the Irish chief, and empowered him to levy troops in England. He also gave a general leave to his subjects to assist the prince in person, but declined to embark himself in the enterprize. The romantic notions of valor that then prevailed, excited the ambition of several of the English barons to assist the Irish prince. Among these, Richard, earl of Striguel, surnamed Strongbow, called by several of our historians Richard earl of Pembroke, was the chief. That nobleman, whose ambition was boundless, enjoyed several large estates in Wales, where his tenants were numerous, and the situation of his territories very convenient for passing over into Ireland. Strongbow undertook to assist the Irish chief, on condition of his giving him his daughter in marriage, and leaving him his dominions. Accordingly these adventurers, at the head of a small body of troops, landed in Ireland, defeated very numerous armies of the wild Irish; and, not content with recovering the territories of Dermot, meditated the reduction of the whole island.

Henry, being informed of the great progress the barons had made, was jealous of their success, and desirous of acquiring the honor of being the conqueror of Ireland, he passed over in person, at the head of a powerful army; but the Irish were already conquered; there remained nothing for him but to receive the submission of a vanquished people. Henry, without the effusion of a single drop of blood, became master of Ireland in less time than would have been necessary to travel over it. Most of the tributary princes attended his court at Dublin, and swore allegiance to the English monarch. The clergy, who had laboured to render their country subject to England ever since Adrian had issued a bull for that purpose, met in a general assembly at Waterford, where they signed their submission, and delivered the instruments to Henry, who transmitted them to Rome; and Alexander, pleased with acquiring so considerable an addition of power and interest to the see of Rome, readily confirmed the title.

Henry now flattered himself with enjoying a series of happiness and tranquillity; but these expectations soon proved deceitful. His children produced a source of the most severe disquietude. Henry, his eldest son, a prince of a very haughty and insolent temper, was weary of bearing the royal title without authority. He had married Margaret, daughter to Lewis king of France; and the ceremony of his coronation had been repeated, in order that his consort might be included in the solemnity. He had also been permitted to pay a visit to his father-in-law, and continued some time at the court of France. Lewis, ever attentive to excite commotions in England, took the opportunity of kindling the flames of domestic discord in the family of Henry, by persuading the prince, that in consequence of the ceremony of the coronation, he was intitled to an immediate possession of a part of the dominions of his father.

Impetuous by nature, and full of this extravagant idea, young Henry returned to England, and demanded from his father, either the kingdom of England, or the duchy of Normandy. Henry was astonished at this unexpected request, and began to fear that his hopes of happiness were built on a chimerical foundation. He endeavoured to convince his son of the extravagance of his demand; and painted in proper colours the folly of a request which could only tend to weaken the power of his family, and, ultimately, his own authority. But his endeavours were in vain: the prince discovered the highest discontent, blended with insolence, at his father's refusal; retired to France, and put himself under the protection of Lewis, whose desire of lessening the power of Henry had given rise to this domestic discord. But the disobedience of his eldest son was

not the only misfortune that disturbed the happiness of Henry. His queen, Eleanor, encouraged Richard and Geoffrey to follow the example of their brother, fly to the court of France, and insist upon being put into actual possession of the territories assigned them by their father.

Some historians impute this undutiful conduct of the queen to her jealousy of the king's amour with the fair Rosamond, daughter of lord Clifford. But whatever might be her motive, it is certain that she persuaded her sons Richard and Geoffrey to escape into France, and attempted to follow them disguised in man's apparel: before, however, she could accomplish her design, she was taken in that disguise, and committed to close custody, when she was confined many years as the principal cause of the whole conspiracy.

A. D. 1173. The French king was not the only monarch that conspired against Henry. William, king of Scotland, followed young Henry to France, under pretence of renewing the league that had long continued between the Scottish and French nation, but in reality to concert proper measures for distressing the king of England. Several of the most powerful barons also, both in England and Normandy, joined in the unnatural alliance for supporting the unreasonable claim of an undutiful son, on the dominions of an indulgent parent.

Henry, alarmed at the departure of his son, demanded him from the court of France, but received a very insolent answer. He now found himself surrounded with innumerable difficulties, from which nothing but the most prudent and at the same time resolute policy could possibly extricate him. The desertion of many of his powerful barons gave him reason to fear, that his own subjects would desert him in the day of battle; and he was therefore determined to have recourse to foreign mercenaries for assistance. He accordingly took twenty thousand Brabanders, all of them veteran troops, into his pay, and by his liberality attached them firmly to his person and fortunes. These Brabanders, sometimes called Routiers, and Colleraux, were a kind of banditti, or freebooters, who lived upon plunder; they infested, at that time, all the states of Europe, defied the censures of the church, and engaged in the service of any prince who could pay them punctually. But though they were mercenaries by profession, yet, when well paid, no troops could behave with greater fidelity, and though accustomed to plunder, yet, in time of action, they were rigid observers of military discipline.

Reduced to this dangerous and disagreeable situation, Henry had recourse to the court of Rome, and though sensible of the danger attending the imposition of ecclesiastical authority in temporal disputes, applied to the pope, as his superior lord, to excommunicate his enemies, and by these censures, to induce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found such a reluctance to punish by the sword of the civil magistrate. Well pleased to exert his power in so plausible a cause, Alexander issued the bulls required of him: but it was soon found, that these spiritual weapons had not equal force, as when employed in a spiritual controversy; and that the clergy were very negligent in supporting a sentence, which had not the least tendency to promote the immediate interest of their order.

But Henry was far from placing his whole dependence on the spiritual arm of the Roman pontiff; his own abilities, and the powerful assistance of his foreign forces, rendered him superior to all his enemies. His virtues never shone with so much lustre as in this alarming crisis. The sight of impending danger animated him with fresh courage. Bled with the astonishing presence of mind, and wholly a stranger to fear, he viewed, with the most intrepid coolness, the many dangers with which he was surrounded.



planned the most prudent measures to render them all abortive.

The operations of the confederate princes were begun by Richard, who repaired into Guienne, and excited the greater part of the inhabitants to take up arms against his father. Geoffrey stirred up a rebellion in Britany, and put himself at the head of the insurgents. Normandy was invaded by the king of France, assisted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois. The Scottish monarch led an army into the northern parts of England. And the earl of Leicester, landed in Essex at the head of a large body of Flemish troops, to excite an insurrection among the English.

The soul of Henry now towered above misfortunes. He saw his dangers; but was not intimidated. He had taken such precautions in providing for the defence of the frontiers, that the French monarch, after losing the greater part of his army, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Ten thousand Brabanders, sent by Henry into Britany, defeated the rebels, and obliged them to return to their duty. The army of Leicester was routed at St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, and above 10,000 Flemings slain on the spot. Henry advanced at the head of his army against the insurgents in Guienne, retook the places they had seized, and obliged them to lay down their arms, and submit to his authority.

A. D. 1174. The Scottish army having threatened desolation to England, Henry hastened over to defeat their intentions. He landed at Southampton, and in order to gain the affections of his people, submitted to an act of humiliation, which all the power of the church could not impose upon him. He knew the powerful effect of superstition over the minds of the vulgar; he knew that many ridiculous stories which had been propagated of Becket's miracles were firmly believed by a weak and bigotted people; and that he himself lay under very severe suspicions of being accessory to his death: he therefore determined to remove every shadow of complaint, by joining in the reigning devotions of the times. He set out immediately for Canterbury, and as soon as he perceived the cathedral, though three miles distant, he alighted from his horse, and walked barefoot to the tomb of the saint; prostrated himself before the shrine of Becket, continued the whole day in prayer, and watched all night the holy relicks. When the morning appeared he assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put scourges into their hands, and presented his bare shoulders to the discipline and lashes of these ecclesiastics. He afterwards made a solemn procession to all the altars in the cathedral; and, retiring to the shrine of the canonized prelate, made an offering of forty pounds per annum to support a number of lamps kept continually burning before his tomb. Henry was desirous of acquiring the affections of a superstitious people, and he was sensible that a secret penance, however severe, would not have produced those salutary effects that were naturally to be expected from one of so public a nature.

Henry had left the cathedral but a short time before he received advice that a decisive victory had been obtained over the Scottish army, and their king taken prisoner. Such remarkable success was immediately attributed to the protection of the saint; and this opinion spreading through the whole kingdom, tended greatly to soften and repress the spirit of rebellion. Many of his restless barons were, however, still in arms, and Henry marched immediately to chastise them, and restore that peace to his kingdom which their unnatural rebellion had destroyed. He first invested the castle of Framlingham, belonging to Hugh Bigod, one of the most powerful of the English malecontents. Bigod was too well acquainted with the disposition of Henry to attempt defending his fortress

to extremities; he opened a negotiation, and obtained his pardon on condition of delivering up his castles of Framlingham and Bungay. The bishop of Durham, who had effected an entire independence, delivered up the castles of Norham and Alverton. The officers of the earl of Leicester followed the bishop's example; they gave up the castles of Montforrel, Groby and Leicester. Mowbray delivered up the castle of Thirsk, and the earl of Ferrers those of Stotville and Dufelde.

While Henry was thus successful in suppressing the rebellion in England, the French king had laid siege to Rouen, and was now joined by the earl of Flanders. This reinforcement enabled the French monarch to push the siege with great vigor; and he flattered himself with being able to make himself master of the place before the arrival of Henry. He was, however, deceived. The garrison made a noble defence, and Henry landed before Lewis could subdue even the outworks. The presence of the English monarch struck the enemy with terror; the siege was immediately raised; and the combined forces fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving all their baggage and stores in the possession of the English monarch.

Both sides were now sufficiently tired of the war, and a conference was proposed by Lewis for bringing about a general peace. This proposition was readily approved of by Henry's first and third son, as also by the English monarch himself; but the impetuous Richard, second son to Henry, was still in arms in Poictou, committing acts of hostility on all the inhabitants who favored the interest of his father, and refused to come to any accommodation but upon his own terms. Exasperated at his obstinacy, the younger Henry, with the king of France, gave him up to the resentment of his father, to whom they swore, not to give any disturbance, while he reduced this stubborn youth to reason. Richard, depending upon the support of the French king and his brother, was amazed, when he found himself deserted by both. Reduced to this dangerous situation, he delivered up all the castles he had taken, and fell immediately at his father's feet. He had no reason to repent of the step he had taken: his father received him with the same parental affection as if he had never offended.

A conference was now agreed to be held between Tours and Amboise, where all the three sons made ample submissions to their father, who pardoned them, together with all their adherents.

William, king of Scotland, was the greatest sufferer of all the parties that espoused the cause of the young princes. Henry the elder delivered him from confinement, without exacting any ransom, above nine hundred knights, whom he had taken prisoners; but it cost William the entire independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He stipulated to do homage to Henry, as his liege lord, for Scotland, and all his other dominions: he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom should also do homage; that the bishops should swear fealty; that both should swear to adhere to the king of England against their native prince, if the latter should break his engagements, and that the fortresses of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxborough and Jedborough, should be delivered into Henry's hands as securities.

This severe and humiliating treaty was executed in its full rigor. The Scotch king, released from his confinement, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they all did homage to Henry in the cathedral church of York, and acknowledged him and his successors for their superior lord. Nor did the English monarch rest satisfied even with this. He engaged the king and the states of Scotland to make a perpetual cession of the fortresses of Berwick and Roxborough, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh itself to remain for a limited time in his hands. This



was the first great ascendant which England obtained over Scotland, and indeed the first important event, which had passed between these kingdoms.

A. D. 1176. Henry now applied himself to cultivate the arts of peace, and gain the affection of his English subjects. He summoned a general council of the barons and prelates at Northampton, at which the laws of Edward the Confessor were revived, to the universal satisfaction of the people: and in order to carry those laws into execution, he caused the kingdom to be divided into six parts, and assigned to each three itinerant justices. Henry also restored the barons, who had joined his rebellious sons, to their estates. But as he had learned from experience the danger of suffering so many castles to subsist in the very heart of his kingdom, he seized many of them into his own hands, and demolished others.

A. D. 1177. Henry, by these and many other wise regulations, became the favorite of his people. All Europe, from hating and dreading, now began to admire and revere him. His abilities were superior to envy; his power was guarded beyond insult; and his clemency now made more conquests in peace, than his arms had ever done in war. His people were protected, contented and happy.

A. D. 1179. Lewis, the French king, now worn out with years, was desirous of resigning his crown to Philip his son; but that young prince falling ill, on the day appointed for his coronation, his father, contrary to the advice of his council, undertook a pilgrimage for his recovery to the shrine of Thomas-a-Becket. He was very closely watched, during his stay in England, by Henry the elder, who, out of seeming respect, scarcely left his person; and Lewis, after staying four days at Canterbury, and paying most religiously his devotions to saint Thomas, returned to his own country.

While Lewis was settling his succession, Henry the elder was regulating his government. He had for some time made it a rule, to be directed by the advice of his parliament, and felt the good effects of this conduct in the prosperous condition, both of his own revenue, and the circumstances of his people. For England was, at this time, in perfect tranquillity; the people were well affected to the government, because the government was directed by law. Henry saw, that the troubles of his predecessors had been occasioned by a contrary conduct; and was soon sensible, that a king of England, directed by his people, can ask nothing for the advancement of his glory and power, which will not be granted. Richard de Lacy had been long his first minister; not distinguished by his power but his authority; not by the affections of his master, but by the veneration of the people; not by pre-eminence in dignity, but by painfulness in office. He had always the courage to remonstrate severely, when the king aimed at any arbitrary act of government; and Henry had ever the virtue to continue the minister, however his pride or passion might have been disgusted with the man. He found the effects of his salutary counsels, and that the easiest and surest method to preserve his own power, was to secure the people's rights. But Lacy was now stooping under the weight of years and fatigue, and therefore chose to retire, as a canon regular, into an abbey at Lewes, of his own founding. Henry, upon the resignation of this able minister, held a great council of his states at Windsor, where he made a new partition of the judges circuits all over England, dividing the whole into four parts, and assigned proper judges to each.

Lewis, the French king, a short time after his return home, was seized with an apoplectic disorder, of which he died in a few days, and left his crown to his son Philip, a young but ambitious and politic prince, who soon shewed his intentions of taking every op-

portunity that offered whereby he could lessen the power of the English monarch.

A. D. 1180. Henry still applied himself to the administration of justice in England. He appointed Ralph de Glenville, who had been a very useful assistant to Ricard de Lacy, both in war and peace, to be justiciary of all England. This celebrated lawyer adhered strictly to the laws of Edward the Confessor, as they were collected in the reign of William the first. To this great man, is likewise attributed a treatise upon the laws and customs of England, so celebrated among our lawyers. But however that be, it must be owned, that the English government never made so noble a figure as it did now; the courts of justice began to proceed by forms favorable to the subject, without being inconvenient for the government, and too strong to be broken through, even by the hand of power itself. The public money, which had been remarkably adulterated, was now recoined; and the laws strictly put in execution against all falsifiers, or debasers of the current species, which was put under the inspection of Philip Amayri, a native of Tours.

A. D. 1182. Henry was destined to experience all the calamities that can arise from undutiful children. Young Henry (who was at this time with his queen at the court of France) renewed his pretensions, again unsheathed the sword of rebellion against his father, and was protected by Philip in his unnatural design.

The disobedient intentions of this young prince, were, however, soon frustrated; for while he was preparing to commence hostilities, he was seized with a violent fever at Martel, a castle in the neighbourhood of Limogn. Finding himself past all hopes of recovery, he dispatched a messenger to his father, intreating the favor of a visit, that he might die with the satisfaction of having procured the forgiveness of a parent he had so grossly offended. Henry, however, fearful of trusting himself in the power of those about the person of his son, refused to visit him; but sent one of his prelates, together with a ring, as tokens of his blessing and pardon. The bishop found him treading on the brink of eternity; and received his dying request, that his father would forgive his undutiful behaviour; that he would pay his knights and attendants their salaries; and pardon the barons of Guienne, whom he had excited to rebellion. The bishop promised to relate his requests to his father. He faithfully performed his promise; but before an answer could be returned, the prince paid the debt of nature, on the 11th of June, in the 28th year of his age.

A. D. 1185. In the beginning of this year Henricus, patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in England, attended by the grand masters of the knights temple and hospitaliers, as an embassy from Baldwin king of Jerusalem, to solicit the assistance of Henry against the infidels in the Holy Land. The patriarch presented the English monarch with the keys of the holy sepulchre, in token of their desire of placing the crown of the holy city on his head. Henry, however, refused the offer, but promised to give the Christians all the assistance that laid in his power.

It was now supposed that the two sons of Henry (Richard and Geoffrey) had entirely laid aside all rebellious intentions against their father. The English monarch, however, found himself mistaken; for, in the year 1187, Richard, disgusted at a design formed by his father of settling Guienne upon John, his youngest brother, departed the kingdom, and prepared to seize by force those dominions which he thought belonged solely to himself. His brother Geoffrey demanded of his father that Aquitaine should be annexed to his duchy of Brittany. This demand was absolutely refused by Henry, on which Geoffrey repaired immediately to the court of France to solicit assistance against his father: but before Philip had given an



answer to his request, Geoffrey was killed in a tournament at Paris.

By the death of this prince, Henry was delivered from the enterprizes of the most vicious of his sons. Geoffrey was a prince in whom pride, dissimulation, and perfidy were equally united. No principle of honor could bind, no precept of religion could restrain that headstrong prince. He was acquainted with every vice, and for that reason was generally distinguished by the appellation of "The child of perdition."

A short time after Geoffrey's death, Henry received advice, that the city of Jerusalem was taken by the valiant and politic Saladin, sultan of Egypt; and that Guy de Lusignan, the last prince that swayed the sceptre of that kingdom, was in the hands of the infidels. This melancholy intelligence rekindled at once the ardour and enthusiasm of the warriors of Europe. Philip and Henry, for a time, suspended their quarrels, and vied with each other in their readiness to succour Palestine. They both took the cross; and both ordered, that such of their subjects as did not chuse to engage in the crusade, should pay the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects to defray the expence of the armament. This impost was called "Saladin's tax." The clergy were the chief people that objected to this tax, and insisted that they ought to be excepted, notwithstanding they were the principal instigators of these religious enterprizes. A. D. 1188. The king of France, by his conduct, soon evinced how much more desirous he was of enlarging his own dominions than of recovering Palestine: he took advantage of a quarrel that happened between Richard, and Raymond count of Toulouse; he led his army into Berry, burnt Mount Richard, and took several towns in Auvergne. Henry upbraid him with this flagrant breach of faith. He had not only sworn to suspend all hostilities till the crusade was over, but also to undertake the protection of Henry's foreign dominions.

Henry, enraged at the proceedings of the French king, went immediately into Normandy, and put himself at the head of a powerful army. His son Richard, who had taken some umbrage at Philip, joined him; and the great success they met with soon obliged Philip to treat a conference, which was accordingly held, and terminated by a reconciliation between the contending monarchs.

A. D. 1189. Peace was no sooner restored between Philip and Henry, than the former secretly and treacherously brought over young Richard to his party, and he once more unsheathed the sword against his father. Henry's military genius was now checked under that of Philip and Richard; for these two princes soon made themselves masters of many of the most important places belonging to Henry, who hastily left England in order to stop their further depredations.

The two kings now became greater enemies than ever. Philip, elated with the success he had met with, advanced into Maine, and made a fort at it he intended to proceed in his route to Tours, but turning short, he attacked the city of Mans, which was already taken by Henry, who on this occasion found to his cost all his success with his army, for though the city was well provided for defence, he declined standing a siege, and ordered Simon de Tour to let him to retire. But the flames soon caught the city and reduced it to ashes. While every thing was, as it was incident, thrown into confusion, Philip defeated a party posted by Henry to guard the bridge on which he was, and forced his way with the fugitives, into the city itself. The heightened the panic which had been raised Henry's army, and before they had time to recover themselves, were charged with great fury by the French. Henry himself fled with the utmost precipitation, attended by a few hundred horse,

leaving his infantry to be cut to pieces by the enemy. Some battalions of Welsh, who generously made a stand, suffered most upon this occasion. Henry himself narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the French; but being better mounted than his pursuers, he passed a ford through which they did not venture to follow him, and reached, with a few followers, the castle of Chinon. As the principal design of the French was to seize the royal person, they had neglected to follow those who had fell off from Henry's retinue during the pursuit. These therefore rallying themselves, entered the castle of Mans, which still held out. In the mean time Henry fortified himself in the castle of Chinon, where he had considerable treasure.

The two princes, Philip and Richard, returned to Mans, and soon made themselves masters of the castle, as they had before of the city; and the other castle of Maine likewise fell in a short time into their hands. They next marched into Tourain, and by the help of a great drought, which had rendered the river Loire very low, they took the city of Tours. This was followed by the reduction of all that country; so that Philip and Richard were now masters of all Tourain and Maine; while Henry, after fortifying Chinon, retired to Saumur. It is probable that even his person might have fallen into their hands, had not the neutral princes, who were feudatories to the crown of France, thought it high time to interpose. Accordingly the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims, applied to Henry, and after making him sensible of the desperate situation of his affairs, prevailed on him to consent to an accommodation. The place appointed for holding the conference lay between Tours and Angiers. Several pretensions and claims were here to be settled. Henry had undertaken the crusade. The disappointment of his fulfilling this engagement had irritated the court of Rome to a high degree, and was, perhaps, one of the principal sources of his calamity. But he was now too old, and too dispirited, to undertake the expedition in person. As the performance of this was held sacred by Philip and Richard, both of them young men, and very desirous of acquiring military glory, it was therefore resolved, that Richard should perform in person the vows of his father. The other articles of the treaty were all of them left to the arbitration of the king of France, who seems to have acted with great moderation. It was agreed that Richard should receive the oath of homage and fealty of all his subjects, both in England and his foreign dominions; that Henry should pay twenty thousand marks to the king of France, as a compensation for the charges of the war; that his own barons should engage to make him observe that treaty by force, and in case of his violating it, should promise to join Philip and Richard against him; and that all his vassals, who had entered into a confederacy with Richard, should receive an indemnity for their offence.

When Henry, reflected on the disadvantageous and humiliating treaty he had signed, his mortification was so sharp that he could hardly bear it. But how much more was his unhappiness increased, when, on demanding a list of those barons, to whom he was to grant a pardon for their connexions with Richard, he found at the head of them the name of his son John, who had always been his favorite, whose interest he had ever anxiously at heart, and who had even, on account of his ascendancy over him, excited the jealousy of Richard.

The wretched Henry, already overloaded with cares and sorrows, finding this last disappointment of his dome the most cruel, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day in which he received his miserable being, and lashed on his ungrateful and unkind children, a nation, which



he could never be prevailed upon to retract. The more his heart was disposed to friendship and affection, the more he resented the barbarous return which his sons had successively made to his paternal care; and this finishing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his spirits, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he soon after expired, at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, after reigning thirty-four years, seven months, and four days.

No sooner had the breath left the royal body, than Henry's corpse was treated in the like indecent manner with that of his great grandfather, the conqueror of England, and even with still more aggravating circumstances; for his servants, after rifling his wardrobe and treasures, stripped the royal corpse naked, in which indecent manner it continued, till one of the pages, less brutal than the rest, threw over it a short mantle. In this condition, it was visited by his *natural* son Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutiful towards him, and who attended the corpse to the nunnery of Fontevault, where it lay in state in the abbey-church. The next day Richard, who came to visit the dead body of his father, and who, notwithstanding his criminal conduct, was not altogether destitute of generosity, was struck with horror and remorse at the sight; and, as the assistants observed, that, at that very instant, blood gushed out of the mouth and nostrils of the corpse, he exclaimed, according to a vulgar superstition, that he was his father's murderer; and expressed, though too late, a deep sense of that undutiful behaviour, which had so greatly contributed to the death of an indulgent parent.

Such was the end of Henry II. one of the most illustrious princes of his time, both for greatness of genius and extent of dominions. He was of a middle stature, strong, and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable and pleasing; his elocution easy, persuasive, and always at command. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; he was provident without timidity; severe in executing justice without rigor; and temperate without austerity. He preserved an almost uninterrupted state of health, and, at the same time, kept himself from corpulency, to which he was somewhat inclined, by an abstemious diet, and frequent exercise, particularly hunting. When the affairs of his kingdom permitted him to enjoy leisure, he had always recourse to books, or the conversation of learned and ingenious men. His palace was a kind of academy, and his table a school, where the most obscure points of government and learning were debated. Nor was his reading of that wordy and useless kind, which forms the pedant; to letters he joined erudition, to erudition knowledge. His affections, as well as his enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men, never destroyed the natural sensibility of his temper, which disposed him to friendship and society. He was wise in council, moderate in prosperity, and firm in adversity. Not satisfied with forming good and wholesome laws, he took care to see them executed with the greatest punctuality:

for this purpose he made frequent progresses through all the different parts of his dominions, inspecting the behaviour of his officers and magistrates, and severely punishing those, who were either negligent or unjust in the performance of their duty. In a word, he was the king, the priest, and the father of his people.

Henry had five legitimate sons by his queen Eleanor, namely,

William, his eldest son, who died an infant in the second year of his father's reign.

Henry, his second son, who when a child was married to Margaret, daughter of the king of France. He died a short time before his father.

Richard, born at Oxford in 1157, and succeeded his father on the throne.

Geoffrey, who was born the year following, and was, in right of Constance his wife, earl of Britain and Richmond; by whom he had a daughter Ela, and a posthumous son called Arthur.

John, (surnamed Lackland, on account of the little provision made for him during his father's life) who mounted the throne on the death of his brother Richard.

King Henry had likewise three daughters, viz.

Maud, or Matilda, the eldest, born in the year 1156, who was married to Henry duke of Saxony in 1167; but she died soon after her father.

Eleanor, born in 1162, and married to Alphonse king of Castile, in 1176.

Joan, or Joanna, born in 1165, and married to William surnamed the Good, king of Sicily, in the year 1177.

Henry, besides his lawful issue, had two natural sons by his mistress Fair Rosamond, viz.

William Longue Espee, to whom Richard I. gave the earldom of Salisbury, with Ela, daughter and heiress of William d'Evreux. And

Geoffrey, who was first bishop-elect of Lincoln in 1174, and continued so till 1181; and in the reign of his brother Richard, he was elected archbishop of York.

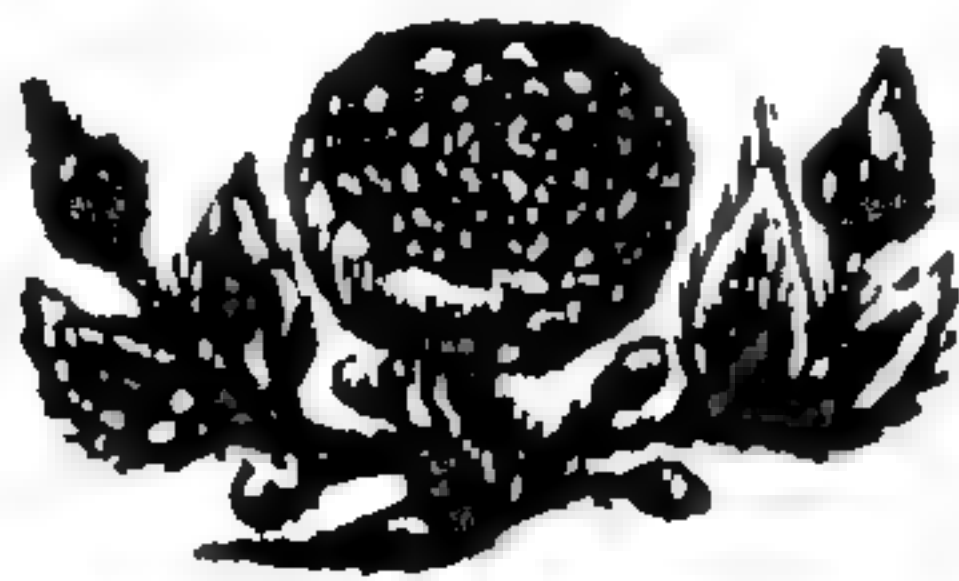
The most remarkable occurrences that happened in the reign of Henry II. were as follow:

In 1176, London-bridge was begun to be built by stone by Peter Coleman, a priest. The king contributed to the advancement of so good a work; and the archbishop of Canterbury gave 1000 marks towards it. The course of the river Thames was, at the time, turned another way by a trench dug for that purpose, beginning at Battersea and ending above Rotherhithe. The bridge was about thirty-three years in building.

In the twenty-third year of his reign he laid the foundation of Warwick-castle.

In the following year the Jews obtained permission to have a burial-ground near every town where they dwelt. Before, they had but one in England, which was at London.

In 1185 there happened a violent earthquake, which threw down many churches in various parts of England; and at the same time there was almost a total eclipse of the sun.









## S E C T I O N II.

## RICHARD I. SURNAMED COEUR DE LION.

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the little affection Richard had shewn for his father during his life, yet he was no sooner informed of his death, than he testified a deep contrition for his past conduct. At the first sight of the dead body of the king he felt the whole force of the stings of a guilty conscience, and exclaimed, that he had been the means of hastening his father's death. He now saw in a very different point of light the services of his pretended friends, who had instigated him to draw the sword of rebellion, and lift his hand against the life of an indulgent parent. These he discharged from his services, and instead of rewarding, as they expected, loaded them with reproaches. He looked with contempt on the courtiers who had basely deserted the interest of their master, and gave his confidence to those who had served his father with zeal and fidelity. Happy would it have been for himself, and happy for his people, had these prudent measures flowed entirely from wisdom and virtue: but it soon appeared, that Richard was governed only by the sallies of passion; his conduct was founded on no settled principles; he formed no regular plan for the government of his people.

Richard, at the time of his father's death, was on the continent, where he stayed near six weeks to settle his affairs in that quarter; which plainly evinced that he was not under any of those apprehensions about the succession in England, which he had, during his father's life-time, so often used as a pretext for his refractoriness and rebellion.

Richard's first act of regal power while on the continent was, the releasing of his mother from her confinement, and bestowing on her the administration of affairs in England during his absence. He remembered not the unnatural part she had acted in arming children against their father, and sacrificing the lives of thousands at the altar of jealousy.

As popularity was of the utmost consequence to Richard's views, Eleanor had orders to begin her administration with an act of general indemnity. The prisons now gave up their captives, and the laws their forfeits.

The nature of this indemnity leads us to the knowledge of many particular acts of oppression, into which Henry's government had degenerated during the latter part of his reign. For Richard's orders were, That all trespassers upon forest laws should be set at liberty; and that all who were outlawed for misdemeanors in forests, should be freed from their forfeits, and have liberty to return home. But what is still more remarkable, it appears that Henry and his ministers had, contrary to law, or the constitution of England, committed a great many to prison, where they either lay without any trial, or, if tried, were likely to be condemned on false evidence. All these had their liberty, and none were confined but those who had been the vile instruments of their persecution.

This step had the desired effect on the people; and Eleanor exerted herself to warmly in favor of Richard, that she secured for him the oaths of allegiance from all orders of the state; so that nothing was wanting but his presence to have them properly administered.

Richard having settled his affairs on the continent, embarked at Barfleur, and soon after landed in Eng-

land, where he was received by the people with great demonstrations of joy. On his arrival he proceeded to Winchester, where he continued to reside till the 2d of September, when he repaired to London, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster the following day.

The ceremony was performed by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and celebrated with great magnificence; but it gave rise to a scene of the most horrid barbarity. The expeditions to the Holy Land, and the cruelties inflicted on the christians by the infidels, had filled the minds of the people with a kind of enthusiastic madness. Whatever had even the most remote connection with this spiritual warfare, was sufficient to set the whole nation in a flame. The Jews had long been a despised people, and the sufferings of the Christians at Jerusalem now raised the hatred of the people against them to the highest pitch. Richard knew this, and prudently issued a proclamation, forbidding any of them to appear at Westminster during the ceremony of the coronation. That despised people had long endeavoured, by their assiduous application to traffick, to compensate for the infamy with which they were treated. But their riches, instead of procuring them favor, excited the avarice, as much as their religion did the fury of the people. Desirous of obtaining the protection of the new monarch, the Hebrews collected among themselves a very considerable sum of money, which they were desirous of presenting to Richard on the day of his coronation. Several of the most eminent among them were accordingly selected; and, thinking their business a sufficient exemption from the general prohibition, waited at the gates of Westminster-hall to tender him their present, and their compliments of congratulation. The sight of these Jews, and their disregard of the royal mandate, awakened in the people all the fury of resentment. A tumult was immediately excited, and the poor defenceless Hebrews torn in pieces by the populace. But this sacrifice was far from satisfying the fury of the multitude; they entered the city, and massacred all the Jews that fell into their hands, plundered their houses, and laid them in ashes. The conflagration and carnage continued the whole night, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the chief justiciary to appease the tumult. Several thousands of these unfortunate people fell a sacrifice to the enthusiastic fury of a deluded multitude.

The king was so incensed against the authors of this inhuman tragedy, that he caused several of the principal leaders of the tumult to be put to death, as a warning and terror to others. He also published an edict, strictly forbidding any insult to be offered to the Jews, whom he declared to be equally under his immediate protection with the rest of his subjects.

During the life of the late king, Richard had expressed the utmost jealousy of his brother John, whom he considered as a very dangerous rival. But either this passion was now totally annihilated, or absorbed in political consideration; for immediately after his coronation, he lavished his favors on a brother who deserved not his confidence. He granted him the estate of William Peppercot, the castle of Marlborough, Tuggerthall, Le Pec, Balfover, Lancaster, Nottingham, Etkill, and Wallingford, with all



all the honors and forests annexed to them. Nor were such thought sufficient by the imprudent Richard, he gave him also the earldoms of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, Lancaster, and Gloucester.

This generosity in Richard was at once profuse and dangerous; but his zeal against the infidels opened another, and more fruitful source of misfortunes. He had, a short time before his accession, taken the cross from the hands of the archbishop of Tours, and was now determined to make an expedition to the Holy Land in person. He was, indeed, more a soldier than a devotee; and, to gratify his passion for military glory, and gather laurels in the fields of Palestine, he scrupled not to sacrifice at once the interest of his crown, and the welfare of his people.

His whole attention was now engrossed with forming schemes for raising money to defray the necessary expences of the expedition. He had already seized upon his father's treasures; and the bishop of Ely happening to die without a will, Richard confiscated his estate, which was very considerable. He laid the most rigorous imposts on the people; he exposed the crown lands to sale; and even disposed of the great seal of England to William Longchamp, his first minister. Ralph de Glencville, chief justiciary, expostulated with Richard on these proceedings, at once so derogatory to his own dignity, and oppressive to the subject. The king replied, "That he would sell the city of London itself, if he could find a purchaser." This answer shocked the upright justiciary; he was alarmed for his country, and remonstrated freely with the king on the consequences that must attend such precipitate measures. But Richard would not submit to admonition; he so highly resented the liberty taken by the justiciary, that he deprived him of his post, and committed him to prison; nor would he suffer him to be released, till he purchased his freedom at the price of fifteen thousand pounds. At the same time, he sold the post of justiciary to the bishop of Durham for a thousand marks. He obtained a bull from pope Clement, empowering him to discharge from the crusade all who were unable to undertake the expedition; and excuse others who were unwilling to undergo the fatigues, on paying a proportional sum of money. The king of Scotland purchased, for ten thousand marks, his right of superiority over that kingdom, together with the important fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick; acquisitions of the greatest consequence ever made by his father.

In short, Richard hesitated at nothing, however infamous, whereby he might raise money to answer his intended purposes. Besides the means already used, he instituted offices of inquisition into the enquiry of magistrates; not for reformation, but oppression. The innocent and the guilty suffered in common; and nothing but paying large sums into the king's treasury, secured safety to the one, or indemnity to the other. Such were the arts by which this brave, but ill-fated, and worse judging prince, reduced the patrimony of the crown, exhausted the substance of his people, and prostituted the pulpit of his country, merely to procure a temporary supply for venting his religious rage, and satisfying his unbounded vanity.

While Richard was accumulating treasures to defray the expences of the expedition, the clergy were zealously labouring, to procure him soldiers. The pulpits resounded with the great merit of setting in the holy war. The confessor imposed no penance, but what tended to promote the grand design of recovering Palestine out of the hands of the infidel, and freeing the Christians in that country from the dreadful burden laid upon them by the declared enemies of the gospel. The people were fired with enthusiasm; the army soon became numerous; nor was there an

officer or soldier but what furnished himself with munitionaries, either from his own stock, or assistance of those who were equally zealous as himself.

The same caprice and unaccountable spirit of partiality that had directed Richard in animating the crusade, directed him also in the choice of persons to manage the administration of affairs during his absence. He consulted not his council, nor listened to the voice of the people. Longchamp, bishop of Ely, and the bishop of Durham, were constituted regents of the kingdom. The former was a Norman of most intemperate and a dangerous character; and being invested with a legatine commission, he seemed to be invested with authority for the destruction of England.

A. D. 1190. Richard having thus provided for the safety of his kingdom, passed to the continent, and met Philip of France at de St. Remi. Here the two monarchs settled their joint proceedings in the intended expedition. They appointed the first place of their rendezvous to be in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy. And it was also determined, in order to prevent the calamities which had hitherto attended the crusades, to conduct their armies to Palestine by sea, to carry provisions with them, and by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own states, and with all the western parts of Europe.

Every thing being settled in this conference, Richard, after receiving his pilgrim's staff at Tours, paired to Vezelay, where he met the king of France, and where they reviewed their armies, amounting to an hundred thousand men; a formidable force, animated by two warlike monarchs, provided with everything which their several dominions could afford, not to be overcome but by their own misconduct, or the unsurmountable obstacles of nature.

Here the two monarchs reiterated their protest of mutual friendship, pledged their faith, not to invade each others dominions, during the crusade, changed the oaths of all their barons, and put, to the same effect, and subjected themselves, in the most solemn manner, to the penalty of interdict and communications, if they ever violated that sacred and religious engagement. It was so agreed between them, that in case either of them died during the crusade, the other was to succeed to the command of his army, and become master of his treasure, to carry on the war with success against the infidels.

While these things were transacting on the continent, Longchamp was employed at home, to supply his master with money, who had but a short time passed the kingdom, before the Jews were put to death with a general massacre. Mad with enthusiasm, and exasperated at the cruelty exercised on the Jews in Palestine, the people were persuaded it was their intention, at to extirpate every person who refused to believe the doctrines of the gospel. Reason and humanity pleaded in vain; the unfortunate Jews were destined to destruction. The massacre was at Lynn, where three distressed people were decapitated, and their houses burnt to the ground. A later fate attended those who resided at York, Norwich, St. Edmundsbury, and Lincoln. But most bloody persecution raged at York, where hundreds of men, besides women and children, fell a sacrifice to the barbarous fury of religious calumny. The distressed Hebrews, deploring the fate of their brethren, prevailed upon the governor to admit them into the castle, hoping, by that means, to stop the storm of popular fury, which threatened their destruction. They were fatally deceived; the barbarians surrounded the castle, and a cruel work was done with the utmost violence. The Jews were put to death, and the city of York, at the close of the



their riches; but they pleaded in vain! the ear of bigotry was deaf to the voice of compassion. Driven to despair, and finding it impossible to defend the place against such multitudes of enemies, they murdered their wives and children; and after throwing the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, they set fire to the houses, and perished in the flames. Longchamp made a strict but fruitless inquiry after the authors of this horrid tumult. The laws wanted power to curb the licentiousness of a superstitious people.

The two princes on the continent now divided their armies, and each proceeded with all expedition to the Holy Land. Philip took the road to Genoa, and Richard that to Marseilles, their respective fleets having received instructions to rendezvous at these ports. Richard waited eight days at Marseilles, when his fleet not arriving, he hired twenty galleys, and ten large vessels, on board which he embarked for Messina in Sicily, leaving orders for the whole fleet to follow him with all expedition. This order was punctually obeyed, the fleet soon reached Messina, where they found the king of France with his whole navy, ready to join them. But contrary winds and other accidents occasioned so long a delay, that they were obliged to winter at Messina. This delay proved fatal to the enterprize, by laying the foundation of animosities, which could not afterwards be removed.

It was not, indeed, reasonable to expect that two kings, in the flower of youth, haughty and violent, ambitious, valiant, competitors in power, and rivals in honor, would long continue to act in concert, and sacrifice their own passions to the interest of the crusade. Could this, indeed, have been effected, the intention had been answered, and the Holy Land entirely recovered from the infidels. But it soon appeared that a mutual harmony was not to be expected; the torch of discord was lighted up by the hand of jealousy, and threatened both armies with destruction. The power of Richard filled the breast of Philip with malignity, who could not behold, without envy, the forces of his vassal so much superior to his own.

Tancred, the king, or rather tyrant, of Sicily, trembled for his dominions. He knew that his despotic administration had excited the hatred of his people, and dreaded the consequences of their putting themselves under the protection of either of these powerful princes. He therefore determined to sow the seeds of animosity between them; and prevent, by their discords, any application being made by the Sicilians. Richard had long been affianced to Alice, the sister of Philip; and the princes had been sent, when very young, to the court of England. The consummation of this marriage, which had been delayed on various pretences, had furnished Philip with reasons for quarrelling with Henry II. but the matter at this time seemed to be forgotten. Tancred revived the contention, by insinuating to Philip, that his honor was concerned in the marriage of his sister, and that there was room sufficient to suspect the sincerity of Richard. Philip, alarmed at the suggestions of Tancred, immediately demanded that Richard should consummate the nuptials; but the English monarch furnished proofs that Alice had been with child by Henry. Philip was amazed; but thought it more prudent to bury in silence the dishonour of his family, than insist any farther on the performance of his rival's engagement.

Both princes now made preparations for the continuation of their voyages, but queen Eleanor arriving with the prince's Berangera, daughter to Sanche, king of Navarre, to whom Richard was afterwards married, he determined on this account to make a longer stay in Sicily, upon which Philip, being incessantly importuned by the Christians of Pa-

lestine to come to their assistance, took leave of Richard, who attended him to the sea-side, and the two monarchs expressed the greatest terms of friendship on their parting.

Queen Eleanor gave her son a faithful account of the state of affairs in England. Longchamp, disdaining to have a colleague of equal authority, had thrown the bishop of Durham into prison, and governed the nation by his sole authority, with all the state and tyranny of a despotic monarch.

The king was now convinced of his error, in appointing a person of such mean extraction to direct the affairs of government. He signed a charter, appointing a council, without whose concurrence Longchamp was not to act. This charter Richard sent to England by the archbishop of Rouen and the earl of Stiguel. But Longchamp was so confirmed in his power, that it was thought proper to conceal it from him for some time, and the only person informed of the commission, was the king's brother.

A circumstance, however, soon happened, which universally exasperated the nobility, clergy, and people against this imperious minister. Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, had, some time before Richard's departure for the Holy Land, been elected into the see of York; but some disputes arising between them, Geoffrey had promised his brother not to reside in England during his absence in Palestine. Queen Eleanor, however, having procured a dispensation of his promise, Geoffrey passed over into England to take possession of his see. Longchamp ordered him to be arrested; but the archbishop having received intelligence of his design, fled to the monastery of St. Martin, and took sanctuary in the church. The regent's officers paid no regard to the sanctity of the place; they dragged him from the altar in his sacerdotal robes, and committed him to Dover castle.

All ranks of people looked on these proceedings in the most detestable light. The clergy were particularly alarmed. The bishop of Lincoln excommunicated all concerned in this sacrilegious violence, and the sentence was confirmed in a general convocation held at Reading. The bishops even threatened the kingdom with an interdict, if Geoffrey was not immediately released. The regent was now sufficiently alarmed, and Geoffrey was set at liberty. But this did not satisfy the people: it was determined to put a final period to the despotic administration of Longchamp. A general assembly of the nobles and prelates was assembled at Reading, where the king's charter was read, and the legate summoned to attend. He promised to assist at the conference; but conscious that his actions would not bear inspection, he fled to London, and shut himself up in the Tower. He soon found that it would be impossible to defend the fortrels any length of time, and therefore submitted to appear before the great council of the nation, where he was deprived of his posts; and finding himself deserted by those who had basked in the sunshine of his greatness, he passed over to the continent, in order to apply to the pope for redress. The great seal of England was given to Walter, archbishop of Rouen, a person of great prudence, modesty and integrity. He always consulted his colleagues in the affairs of government; and, by his prudent management, restored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom.

Every thing being now ready for Richard's departure, he left Messina on the 10th of April, his fleet consisting of 150 sail of large ships, and 53 well armed galleys. Queen Eleanor returned to England, but Berangera, and his sister the queen dowager of Sicily, attended him on the expedition.

Before Richard could reach the coast of Syria, a



dreadful storm arose, which separated his fleet, and stranded three of his largest ships on the island of Cyprus. Isaac, the emperor or tyrant of that island, though a professor of the christian religion, was so far from assisting these distressed soldiers, who were passing into Asia to defend the persecuted followers of their common master, that he used them in a very cruel manner, and committed them to prison.

Exasperated at this ungenerous treatment, Richard, who had taken shelter in the harbours of Candia, sent a messenger to the tyrant, demanding that his subjects should be set at liberty, and their effects restored. Isaac, however, instead of complying with so reasonable a demand, returned an insolent answer. On this, Richard immediately sailed to Cyprus, landed his forces, and totally routed the tyrant's army. Isaac, whom a single stroke of adversity humbled in the dust, laid his crown at the feet of Richard, who sent him, in silver chains, to Tripoli; and Richard, by the general consent of the people, was placed on the throne of Cyprus.

While Richard was at Cyprus, he was married to Berangera, and they were both crowned at Limisso, the capital of the island. Soon after the ceremony was performed, Richard embarked for Palestine, carrying with him the daughter of the Cyprian prince. In his passage he took a very large ship belonging to Saladine, having on board provisions and military stores for the garrison of Acre, together with a reinforcement of 1500 men.

The English army landed time enough to share in the glory of taking Acre. Since the arrival of Philip the siege had been carried on with great vigor; and the appearance of Richard inspired the assailants with fresh courage.

Richard was welcomed to the christian camp by Philip in person; and it was determined to press the siege of Acre with the utmost vigor. They also agreed that when the French monarch attacked the town, the English should guard the trenches; and when the English prince conducted the assault, the French should provide for the safety of the assailants.

By this conjunctive determination, the most amazing acts of valor were every day performed, and the besieged soon reduced to the utmost extremity. Saladine, finding it impossible to succour the city, gave the garrison leave to surrender. The articles of capitulation were accordingly signed, and the city delivered up to the crusaders, together with 500 christian prisoners.

Richard and Philip, elated with this success, formed the design of marching directly to Jerusalem, in order to wrest that city out of the hands of the Infidels. Every thing was ready for the march of the army, and the hopes of the crusaders were raised to the highest pitch, when a dissention arose between the two chiefs, and frustrated all those pleasing expectations. The prodigious valor of Richard during the siege of Acre, his liberality to the soldiers, and the magnificence he displayed on every occasion, procured him the hearts of the crusaders, and filled the breast of Philip with malignant jealousy. He, however, concealed his passion till a dispute, which now happened between Guy of Lusignan, and Comrade, marquis of Montfermat, relative to the crown of Jerusalem, gave him an opportunity of expressing his resentment. Richard espoused the pretensions of the former, and Philip those of the latter. During this contest, which in reality had nothing more than an empty title for its object (that city not being yet in the hands of the crusaders) several sharp messages passed between them; and Richard complained that Philip obstructed the progress of the confederate army; adding, that he was ready to sacrifice every personal consideration to the interest of the cause they had undertaken.

It soon appeared, however, that Philip was now determined to abandon the enterprize; but, ashamed to avow his real motives, he had recourse to artifice and deception. He pretended, that the climate of Palestine did not agree with his constitution, and therefore desired Richard would permit him to return. The most solemn promise having been made between them not to abandon the expedition without their joint consent; Richard, after exacting from him the most dreadful oath, that he would not attempt any thing against his dominions, but, on the contrary, protect and defend them to the utmost of his power, consented to his departure, and even furnished him with two of his best ships for carrying him and his retinue to Europe.

Philip left the command of his army to the duke of Burgundy; and after giving him public orders to pay the same obedience to the king of England as himself, he sailed for his own dominions, to which he certainly ought not to have returned without bringing with him new acquisitions of glory. Nor was Philip the only person who deserted the enterprize; multitudes followed his example; so that the numerous army of the Christians was very greatly reduced.

The aspiring Richard, after being thus deserted by Philip, determined to attempt some enterprize worthy the name of the leader of the Christian armies. He accordingly made a general attack upon Saladine's camp; but met with so noble a resistance, that he was obliged to retreat with considerable loss. This check, however, made no change in Richard's resolution, that martial spirit, which formed his ruling passion supported him under every misfortune. He determined to march from Acre to Joppa, and fortify all the places that fell into his hands. Saladine posted himself in the road, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand men, to oppose his passage. The martial soul of Richard glowed at this opportunity, signaling his courage. He was also persuaded, that by defeating the army of Saladine, he should open himself a free passage to Jerusalem, and, perhaps, make himself master of that famous city in a short interval of time.

Both armies prepared for a general engagement, which was to decide the fate of thousands, and possibly, of Palestine itself. The right wing of the Christian army was commanded by James d'Avelar, the left by the duke of Burgundy; while Richard person led the center, or main body. Saladine concealed part of his troops on the right behind the hills, which covered them from the sight of the Christians. On this body of reserve he placed his great hopes of victory; and therefore, without altering position, waited the attack of the enemy, who began the action with their right wing. The Saracens supported the shock with great resolution; and, by the superiority of their numbers, put that body into disorder. Their leader James d'Avelar, was then in endeavouring to rally his broken troops, and led them once more against the infidels. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of the left wing, made a bold attack upon the right of the enemy. The Saracens for some time, supported themselves with great resolution; but on receiving orders from Saladine to retreat as they fought, the duke was deceived, and followed them a considerable way beyond the body of the army. Saladine perceiving that his left wing stood firm, and that the duke of Burgundy was separated from the rest of the army, ordered the body that lay concealed behind the hills to move forward. These troops descending the eminences in prodigious numbers, surrounded the duke's forces, and made a dreadful slaughter.

The fate of the Christian army now depended on the valor and conduct of Richard. He had been very successful when he had made his attack.



though he met with a stout resistance, had compelled the troops that opposed him to retreat in disorder. He was still pursuing the broken forces, when he was informed of the disorder of his right wing, and the danger of his left. He immediately gave over the pursuit; and marching to the duke of Burgundy's assistance, fell upon the victorious troops of Saladin with such impetuosity, that he soon wrested from them the palm of victory, which they thought they had obtained. Richard, on this occasion, performed the most astonishing acts of valor; and those who before were filled with envy, were now struck with admiration. He is said to have met the famous Saladin, and to have dismounted that celebrated leader, who must have fallen into the hands of the English monarch, had not the Saracens used more than common efforts to rescue him from his dangerous situation. But however that be, the valor of Richard entirely changed the fortune of the day, and Saladin was obliged to reinforce his right wing with part of his victorious troops on the left. This motion, which caused some disorder in that part of the Saracen army gave the right wing of the Christians time to recover themselves; and finding the opposition they had before met with to grow weaker and weaker, they quickly rallied; and falling with the utmost fury on the Saracen troops that opposed them, forced them to seek their safety in a precipitate flight.

Notwithstanding the enemy, who was very superior in number, now directed their whole force against the English monarch, yet Richard still maintained the battle with the most distinguished intrepidity. He would, however, in all probability, have been overpowered, had not his right wing advanced to his assistance. The Saracens, finding themselves attacked in flank by a fresh body of forces, began to give way; nor was it in the power of Saladin, though he exerted his utmost endeavours, to rally them. The Christians took advantage of the disorder, and pressed the Saracens with so much vigor, that they betook themselves to flight, and above 50,000 of the infidels were left dead on the field of battle.

This defeat threw the Saracens into the utmost consternation: they abandoned the maritime cities of Ascalon, Caesarea, and Joppa, after demolishing the fortifications. Richard marched directly to Joppa, where he staid some time to repair the fortifications; that if he should be obliged to retreat, he might have a secure port to embark his forces for Europe.

While Richard continued at Joppa, he frequently amused himself with hunting in the neighbourhood, attended only by a few of his intimate friends. As he was one day returning from the chase, with only six persons in his train, he alighted from his horse, laid himself down under a tree, and fell asleep. He was, however, soon roused by the approach of a small party of Saracen horse, passing by the place. Richard immediately mounted his horse; and as the Saracens were few in number, pursued them to some distance. The enemy pretended to fly before him, but artfully drew him into an ambuscade, where he was suddenly surrounded by a squadron of horse. He defended himself for a considerable time with great bravery, without the least thought of retreating, notwithstanding the prodigious disparity of numbers. But even the valor of Richard would have been exerted in vain, had not one of his attendants, by a remarkable presence of mind, saved him from the impending danger. Four of his attendants were already slain, when William Despreaux, the only surviving friend of Richard, cried out in the Saracen language, "Hold! I am the king of England!" Every eye was now directed to Despreaux, and those who were engaged with Richard immediately left him, that they might

have a share in seizing the person they imagined to be the English monarch. This stratagem gave Richard an opportunity of escaping from the enemy. Despreaux did not discover himself till he came before Saladin; when falling at his feet, he ingenuously confessed the deception he had made use of to save his master. Saladin commended his fidelity, and treated him with the utmost respect; but sensible that Richard would never suffer a person who had so signally assisted him to remain in confinement, demanded ten Saracen emirs, or princes, in exchange for so faithful a servant.

When Richard had finished repairing the fortifications at Joppa, he began his march towards Jerusalem, fully determined to wrest that famous city out of the hands of the Infidels. Saladin drew up his army on the plains of Rama, to oppose his passage. A second battle ensued, and Saladin was a second time defeated. Nothing now opposed his march to Jerusalem; but the Knights Templars, who were in the interest of Philip of France, and therefore envious of the glory which Richard must obtain by the conquest of the Holy City, persuaded the English monarch to lay aside his design till the ensuing spring, and take up his winter quarters at Ascalon. Richard, who suspected not the real motive of the knights, followed their advice, marched directly to Ascalon, and repaired the fortifications which Saladin's forces had demolished.

During these transactions in Palestine, Philip of France made use of every insidious art to blacken the character of Richard, and, if possible, make himself master of his dominions on the continent. He first attempted to carry an open war into Normandy; but the French nobility refused to follow him in the invasion of a state they had sworn to protect. The pope also, who was the general guardian of all princes that had taken the cross, threatened him with ecclesiastical censures. He was therefore obliged to desist from his enterprize, and have recourse to secret policy and intrigue.

While he was thus employed in secretly undermining the fortunes of Richard, the news of that prince's victories filled every corner of Europe; and when compared to Philip's own behaviour, in deserting the popular cause he had undertaken, shone with double lustre. His envy, therefore, prompted him to tarnish that fame which he could not equal; and he accordingly embraced every pretence of throwing the most violent and most improbable calumnies on the king of England.

A. D. 1192. The contention which had some time before commenced between Guy de Lusignan and Conrad, relative to the crown of Jerusalem, was now revived; and the duke of Burgundy refused to act any longer in conjunction with the English. The French troops retired into places of safety, and passed their time in luxury and indolence. Still desirous of making himself master of Jerusalem, the great object for which the crusade had been undertaken, Richard put an end to the dispute, by declaring Conrad king of Jerusalem. But at the same time, he indemnified Guy for the loss of a nominal, by presenting him with a real crown. He bestowed upon him the kingdom of Cyprus. Pleased with obtaining the honor he had so long desired, Conrad, who was now at Tyre with his fleets, made preparations for joining the Christian army at Ascalon. But before he could embark, he was stabbed in the streets of that city by two assassins sent for that purpose by a Saracen prince generally styled The Old Man of the Mountain. The subjects of that chief esteemed assassination meritorious, when sanctioned by his mandate: they counted death, were it even in the extremities of Europe, in the execution of his orders. The prince justified this cruel proceeding,



ceeding, in a letter he wrote to the duke of Austria, some time after ; and declared, that the marquis fell by the poniards of his soldiers, in revenge for his having put to death one of his merchants, whose ship was forced into Tyre by a storm.

The progress of the Christian army was for some time obstructed by the death of the marquis ; but his widow being soon after married to Henry, count of Champagne, that nobleman was, in her right, declared king of Jerusalem ; and, at his instances, the French consented to join the army of Richard, who immediately marched towards the capital of Palestine, which he was determined to besiege. But just as he reached the neighbourhood of that city, he fortunately met the caravan passing from Babylon to Jerusalem. The whole consisted of three thousand camels, and four thousand mules, loaded with the rich merchandize of the East, and escorted by ten thousand horse. The Saracens no sooner perceived the Christian army than they began to retreat ; but Richard, at the head of five thousand cavalry, attacked them with such fury, that they were put to flight, and the whole caravan fell into the hands of the Christians. Richard, who was equally generous and brave, distributed the whole booty, which was very considerable, among the soldiers.

Richard, immediately after this successful incident, marched his army to the neighbouring eminences, from the summits of which they had a fair prospect of the celebrated city of Jerusalem, and the reduction of which was the great object of all their labour and toil. But when Richard thought himself sure of conquest, and of putting a glorious period to the expedition, his hopes were rendered abortive by divisions among the leaders of the confederate army. It was urged, in a council of war, that the scarcity which then reigned in the neighbouring countries, would render it difficult, if not impossible, to procure provisions necessary for their subsistence. These reasons were far from convincing Richard ; he was determined to besiege the city, which was now almost destitute of troops, the greater part of the garrison having been drawn out to reinforce the army of Saladin. The duke of Burgundy perceiving it would be impossible to divert Richard from his purpose, and envious of the glory which the English monarch would acquire by the reduction of Jerusalem, separated his forces from the allied army, and marched directly to Tyre. The duke of Austria followed the example of the French general, and abandoned Richard at a time when fortune offered them the palm of victory.

The desire of reducing Jerusalem was still the darling passion of Richard's soul. He even submitted to solicit the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, and the king of Jerusalem himself undertook the office of ambassador. But every attempt was made in vain. Steady to his purpose of depriving Richard of the glory of taking the capital of Palestine, the duke refused to join the Christian army, under pretence of his having no authority to expose the troops of his master in such desperate service. The English monarch was therefore obliged to abandon the enterprize, and accordingly marched his army to Acre. But he had hardly reached the neighbourhood of that city, before advice arrived that Saladin had taken Joppa, and was pressing the siege of the castle with so much fury, that the garrison must surrender, unless speedily relieved.

Richard, who never abandoned his soldiers in distress, ordered his army to march to the relief of Joppa ; while he himself, at the head of a small body of chosen troops, embarked at Acre, and reached Joppa some time before his army. The name of Richard was terrible to the Infidels : he fell immediately on the besiegers with such irresistible fury, that

the Saracens, who were very slightly armed for defence, abandoned the enterprize, and retreated with the utmost precipitation.

Notwithstanding this success, yet it was impossible for Richard, assisted only by a handful of followers, to defeat the numerous armies of Saladin, and carry his victories to the gates of Jerusalem. At the same time, the enthusiasm of the crusaders began to wane, to time and fatigue : they were now more desirous of visiting their own country than the capital of Palestine. Richard was no stranger to their wishes, and therefore determined to seize this favorable opportunity of coming to an accommodation with Saladin. Accordingly, a truce was concluded between them, in which it was stipulated, that Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of either religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours ; a magical number, which probably been devised by the Europeans, and was suggested by a superstition well suited to the subject of the war.

Saladin did not long enjoy his mighty empire : he died at Damascus soon after the conclusion of the truce with the princes of the crusade ; and it is well remembering, that before he expired, he ordered a winding sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city ; while a crier went before, and proclaimed with a loud voice, " This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the east." By his last will, he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Christian or Mahometan.

The truce being thus signed, no business of sufficient importance remained to detain Richard any longer in Palestine : he therefore determined to hasten with all expedition to England, where his presence was absolutely necessary, to regulate the affairs of government. Knowing that it would be impossible to go through France, he embarked on board a large vessel bound for the isle of Corfu. He sailed from there in order to land on the coast of Italy ; but was unfortunately shipwrecked near Ragusa in the gulph of Venice. He knew the danger of crossing so large an extent of territory with his attendants, and therefore disguised himself in the habit of a pilgrim, intending to travel through Germany, as the safest way to his own dominions. He was unable, however, to conceal himself from the piercing eye of canon inquiry. Some German officers, who had served during the duke of Austria at the siege of Acre, knew the royal pilgrim, and gave their master the plate of information. Leopold, rejoiced at having it in his power to retaliate the affronts he had received from Richard in the Holy Land, caused him to be seized the night, at a village near Vienna, and sent him in chains to the emperor Henry VI. with whom, for the present, we shall leave this great but captive monarch.

We have already observed, that Longchamp was obliged to quit England for his mal-administration. Practised in the paths of vice, and a stranger to every sentiment of justice, he exerted all his art to excite the resentment of the Roman pontiff against the English. He represented them as a rebellious generation, ready to trample upon the apostolical authority of St. Peter's successors ; and that though proceeding against him were nothing more than a prelude of attempts of a much higher nature, the destruction of the pontifical dignity. Calixtus III. who now filled the papal chair, was alarmed for his power. Without making any inquiry into the truth of Longchamp's report, he furnished the prelate with letters to the English bishops, commanding them to



communicate prince John, and all who were concerned in the deprivation of the late chancellor. But the people of England no longer trembled at the royal thunder; they had learned to distinguish between fanaticism and a reasonable submission to the orders of the church: they firmly defended the constitution of their country, and looked with contempt on the flaming bolt of spiritual tyranny.

This opposition, however, though virtuous in its nature, was exerted in defence of a person who needed not the care of the English. John never stopped to trample upon the laws of equity and religion, when impelled by his own interest. Ambitious of power, and careless of the means by which he attained it, he exerted all his abilities to pave his way to the crown, should any accident happen to his brother during his absence. He was, indeed, sensible that he had no claim either to the sceptre of England, or the foreign dominions of Richard, while Arthur, Duke of Britany, son to his elder brother Geoffrey, lived; and therefore had recourse to every artifice for depriving the legal heir of his just rights, and usurping a throne to which he had no pretensions. He invited Longchamp, whom he had formerly banished from the kingdom, to return, hoping, that by joining their interest, they should be able to distrefs an administration that had so nobly defended the liberties of England.

Pleased with the acquisition of so powerful a protector, the bishop landed in England, and dispatched a messenger with the news of his arrival. But the ministry were not to be intimidated; they informed the prelate, that unless he immediately left the kingdom, they would seize his person as a traitor. Longchamp, whom vice had rendered timorous, waited not the consequences; he embarked directly, and returned to the continent.

Soon after his departure, the news of Richard's imprisonment reached England, and caused a general consternation. John considered it as a very fortunate event, and determined to improve it to his own advantage. He passed over into France, and threw himself into the arms of Philip, the sworn enemy of his brother. Queen Eleanor, on the other hand, exerted herself in the cause of Richard; and conjured the council to take every precaution to prevent the fatal consequences that might attend this alarming accident.

A. D. 1193. In consequence of the alliance formed between John and Philip, the latter invaded Normandy: and by the treachery of John's emissaries made himself master, without opposition, of several fortresses, Neuf chatel, Neufle, Gisors, Pacey, and Ivree: he subdued the counties of Eu and Aumale; and advancing to the siege of Rouen, he threatened to put all the inhabitants to the sword, if they dared to make the least resistance. Fortunately, Robert Earl of Leicester appeared in this critical moment; a gallant nobleman, who had acquired great honor during the crusade, and who, being more successful than his master in finding his passage homewards, took on him the command of Rouen, and by his presence and example, infused fresh courage into the dismayed Normans. Philip was repulsed in every attack; the time of his vassal's service expired; and he contented to a truce with the English regency, on condition of his being paid twenty thousand marks, for the security of which four castles were put into his hands.

During these transactions, the unfortunate Richard was suffering in a German prison every kind of insult and indignity. A warrior, who, at the head of his army, made even the mighty Saladin tremble, was now treated with contempt by a petty prince of the empire. He was brought before the diet, and accused of several crimes, which had no existence but

in the malignant minds of his enemies. He justified himself with an eloquence that confounded his persecutors, and covered them with confusion. He remonstrated against the ungenerous treatment he had met with from those whom he had rescued from the power of the Infidels before Acre; and complained, that after demonstrating his zeal in the cause of Christianity, he had been confined in a prison, and experienced a treatment hardly proper for slaves, in a country that had expressed the utmost ardour for the crusade.

Pope Celestine III. now interposed in favor of Richard, threatening to lay the whole empire under an interdict, if Richard was not released. The princes of the diet were ashamed of the emperor's conduct, and loudly declared, that they could not suffer the Germanic body to be stained with the imputation of violating the laws of nature and nations, by detaining in prison, without any just cause, the person of a great king, who had so nobly ventured his life in the cause of Christianity. The emperor was alarmed, and offered to set Richard at liberty; but demanded one hundred and fifty thousand marks, about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money, for his ransom; of which one hundred thousand were to be paid before he was released from prison, and hostages delivered for the payment of the remainder.

No sooner was this demand known in England, than every method was put in practice for raising the enormous sum. Twenty shillings were levied on every knight's fee, and the money already paid into the treasury applied to purchase the liberty of a prince, who had so nobly resisted the power of the Infidels. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate; the nobles, bishops, and abbots, paid a fourth part of their annual revenues, and the parochial clergy a tenth of their tythes. William, king of Scotland, contributed two thousand marks towards the king's ransom. The necessary sum being thus raised, queen Eleanor, and Walter, archbishop of Reims, passed over to the continent, paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Austria; and Richard was set at liberty, in presence of the archbishop of Mentz and Cologne, and most of the German nobility.

Richard very fortunately escaped the peridy of the emperor. Ambassadors from Philip of France arrived soon after his deliverance, offering prodigious advantages, if the emperor would confine the English monarch one year longer. The base soul of Henry embraced the offer, and dispatched messengers to arrest Richard, and bring him back to the Imperial court. But his treacherous designs were rendered abortive by the agility of Richard, who embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and lost sight of the German shore before the emperor's messengers arrived at Antwerp. Philip was astonished when he heard that Richard was set at liberty; and wrote a letter to John in the following terms: "Take care of yourself, the devil is broke loose."

A. D. 1194. On Richard's arrival in England, he was received by his subjects with the utmost demonstrations of joy and affection. They beheld with rapture a prince, who had suffered such a dreadful captivity, after so nobly defended the Christians, and causing the name of an Englishman to be revered in nations before unacquainted with the appellation. This endearing behaviour of the people banished from the mind of Richard the idea of all the indignities he had experienced during his imprisonment; all his alarms, his fatigues, and his sufferings, were buried in oblivion. He seemed even desirous of wiping off the ignominy of his captivity, by ordering the ceremony of his coronation to be repeated. He soon after declared his intention of making a reclamation of all the crown revenues, and annulling all the contracts he had



made before his departure for the Holy Land. He alledged, that the purchasers had already indemnified themselves by the profits of the estates; that necessity had compelled him to make these grants; that the money had been spent in an expedition favored both by the clergy and laity; and that therefore it was unjust the crown should bear the whole burden.

These reasons were unnecessary; none disputed the justice of this resumption. All the purchasers gave up the possessions they had obtained from the king, and seemed to vie with each other who should be the first to make the required surrender.

Richard now called a parliament at Northampton, at which he demanded justice against his brother John, and his principal abettor, Hugh, bishop of Coventry. They were both cited to appear within forty days, and answer the charge exhibited against them. They refused, however, to obey the summons; on which John was attainted of high treason, and the prelate was ordered to be tried by the bishops in the king's court.

A. D. 1195. Richard, since his arrival in England, had formed the resolution of seeking ample vengeance on the perfidious Philip, king of France. A monarch less passionate and haughty than Richard, could not have been easily prevailed upon to pardon the detestable conduct of that prince. Richard raised a powerful army and passed over into Normandy, determining to execute the most dreadful revenge against the faithless Philip, who, contrary to the most solemn oaths, and in defiance of all laws, both human and divine, had invaded his territories, and endeavoured to prolong the time of his captivity. But the hostilities between two such powerful monarchs, thoroughly exasperated against each other, produced no memorable events. A few castles taken, a few straggling parties surprised, and a rencounter of horse, form the principal actions of this campaign. The only action of any consequence happened at Fretieval, between the French and English cavalry, when the former were totally routed; and Philip lost his chartulary, or register of charters, which he always carried with him, containing the several particulars of the revenues of the prince, a list of his vassals, and the state of the slaves and freemen. This misfortune obliged Philip to make a new register, in which his prerogatives were rather increased than diminished.

During this war, prince John, who was destitute both of honor and integrity, deserted the king of France, as he had formerly done his brother. Having invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison of Evreux, where he commanded, he caused them to be massacred, put the whole garrison to the sword, and delivered up the place to the king of England, of whom he craved pardon for his offences. Queen Eleanor interceded, and the king received him into favor. "I forgive him," said Richard, "and hope to forget his injuries as easily as he will my clemency."—This pardon, however, extended only to his life; it being some time after before he was restored to his estates.

A. D. 1196. Richard now formed an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Tholouse, Boulogne, Champagne, and other considerable vassals of the crown of France, imagining that by these means he should have an opportunity of striking a severe blow on his rival. But he soon experienced the insincerity of these princes, and was unable to make any impression on that kingdom, while governed by a prince of so much vigor and activity as Philip.

About this time the duke of Austria, having crushed his leg by a fall from his horse at a tournament, was seized with a fever, and finding his end approaching, was struck with remorse for his cruel behaviour to Richard. An entire restitution was not in his power, but he ordered, by his will, that all the English hostages should be set at liberty, and the king's ransom re-

mitted. The duke's son refused to obey his father's orders, but by the interposition of the clergy he was obliged to submit, and they were fully discharged.

Richard, to support his military expeditions against Philip, was obliged to load the English with taxes, which excited a universal complaint among the people; and the great talents of Hubert, the chief justiciary, were hardly sufficient to prevent the general discontent from becoming of the most serious consequence.

Every day produced some fresh disturbance, which were greatly facilitated by the harangues of one William Fitz-Osbert, a person of mean birth, and still meaner appearance. He was a lawyer by profession, but pretended to be the advocate of the poor, and in order to render himself still more remarkable he suffered his beard to grow to an enormous length, from which circumstance he acquired the appellation of Longbeard. He was continually exciting the passions of resentment in the poor against the rich, by the most inflammatory speeches; pretending there was a conspiracy among the great to ease themselves of the load of public taxes, and throw the whole weight on the shoulders of the labouring people, who were considered in no better light than that of beasts of burden. These insinuations produced the desired effect; the fury of the people was raised to a height bordering upon madness; and a tumult ensued in St. Paul's church, where several persons lost their lives, and many others were dangerously wounded.

Hubert, the justiciary, was so alarmed at this dangerous insurrection, that he ordered Longbeard to appear before him; but he was so far from obeying the summons, that he killed the officer who delivered the citation. The more rational part of his followers were struck with horror at this inhuman action: they abandoned the pretended advocate from rights of the people, and a few of the lowest of the rabble only now followed Longbeard. He saw the desertion of the greater part of his advocates, but continued, for some days, to rob and murder the low citizens with great barbarity. It was now time for the government to interpose, in order to prevent an open rebellion. A strong party of soldiers were accordingly sent into the city, with strict orders to apprehend the incendiary, dead or alive. The people were struck with terror, and retired, with Longbeard at their head, to the church of St. Mary-le-bow, where they shut themselves up, hoping that a general insurrection would be excited in their favor. They were deceived; the citizens saw their error, abandoned the wretch, who had deceived them, to punishment. Longbeard, however, refused to surrender; and being driven from the body of the church, he retired at the head of his followers, into the steeple, from whence they discharged a shower of stones, darts, and other missiles, on the heads of his assailants. Unwilling to expose the lives of his soldiers to the attack of a company of desperadoes, the officer ordered a large quantity of wet straw to be carried into the body of the church, and set on fire. The smoke effected put an end to all opposition, and the insurgents, to avoid suffocation, surrendered at discretion. Longbeard was sentenced to be drawn at a cart through the principal streets of the city, and afterwards to be hung in chains: but this sentence was altered, and he, with nine of his principal accomplices, were hanged at Tyburn.—Such was the superstitious veneration the people had for this man, and so great were they to his memory, that they stole the soil, considering the wood as a sacred relic, and even pretended that many miracles were performed by it.

A. D. 1197. These commotions, together with the king's absence, and his engagements in foreign wars, encouraged the Welsh to invade the Eng-



Engraved  
for *Rapin's History*  
of *England*



RICHARD I.

*Heavily wounded by an Arrow  
from a French bow*



dominions. Rees, prince of south Wales, collecting a considerable number of forces, laid siege to the town and castle of Caermarthen, which he took, and laid in ashes. Roger Mortimer and Hugh Say, two noblemen of the greatest interest in these parts, attempted to check his progress, but were themselves, routed with great loss. The castles of Culn, Radnor and Payn then fell into the hands of Rees; but the last was delivered to its owner, William de Brouse, on certain conditions. The progress of the Welsh drew the regent himself into the field, at the head of a powerful army. But the Welsh were wise enough not to hazard a battle, so that all Hubert could do was to take a few of their castles, which, as soon as the season obliged Hubert to retire, fell again into the hands of the Welsh.

While these things were transacting in England, Richard marched his army into Auvergne and Berry, where he possessed himself of several places, which were soon after retaken by Philip. But John, who had for some time been harassing the people of Beauvois, being now reinforced by a considerable body of Brabanders, advanced to the very gates of the city. Peter de Dreux, bishop of Beauvois, was a prince of the blood royal of France; he had spent more time in the field than in the college, and disdaining to be insulted at the gates of his own capital, sallied out, at the head of a chosen number of forces, in order to drive the enemy from their posts. In this attempt, however, he failed, for his army was totally defeated, and himself taken prisoner.

John knew that Richard mortally hated the bishop, and therefore sent him to his brother, to be disposed of as he should think proper. Richard immediately gave orders that he should be conveyed to a dark dungeon in Rouen, and loaded with irons. Soon after several of the bishop's friends interceded with Richard for a mitigation of the prelate's sentence. "You yourselves," said the king, "shall be judges of my reasons for this severity. When I was taken prisoner in Germany, the emperor treated me, at first, with good manners and civility; but within a few days arrived the bishop of Beauvois. Next morning he had his audience of the emperor, and a few hours after, I was chained like a slave, and more irons heaped upon my limbs, than a horse could have carried. Can you therefore condemn me for treating the bishop in the same manner?" This silenced all the prelate's advocates; but the pope soon after, demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his son. The king sent his holiness the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all besmeared with blood; replying to the pontiff, in the terms employed by Jacob's sons to their father, "This have we found: know whether it be thy son's coat or not." This laconic answer put a stop to the intercession of his holiness, who replied, "that the coat sent by the king did not belong to a son of the church, but to a son of the camp; therefore Richard was at liberty to treat the prisoner as he thought proper." The prelate, thus abandoned, was obliged to purchase his liberty at the price of 10,000 marks.

Philip, finding no advantage could be gained over the English monarch by arms, and being weary of a war which exhausted his country, applied to pope Innocent III. who then filled the papal chair, to employ his good offices in bringing about a peace with Richard. The pope readily complied with his request; and sent cardinal Peter into France, to act as mediator between the contending parties. A negotiation was accordingly begun, and a considerable progress made in a treaty for a durable peace; when the death of Richard put a final period to the labours of the pontiff.

A. D. 1199, Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, became possessed of a very considerable treasure, which was found by a peasant plowing a field in his lordship. Vidomar sent a part of this treasure to Richard, who, not being satisfied, demanded the whole, as superior lord of the soil. The viscount not readily complying with his demand, Richard, at the head of his Brabanders, invested the castle of Chaluz near Limoges, where the nobleman resided. The garrison, terrified at the presence of Richard, offered to surrender, upon assurance that their lives and persons should be safe. But Richard refused to grant them any capitulation, declaring his intention was to take the place by storm, and hang up the whole garrison. This declaration rendered the besieged desperate, and they resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. Soon after Richard, accompanied by Marcadée, the leader of the Brabanders, approached the castle in order to reconnoitre its situation and avenues, when one Bertram de Gourdon, armed with a cross bow, took aim at the king, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. Richard instantly mounted his horse, and returning to his quarters, gave orders that Marcadée at the head of his Brabanders should begin the assault, and after taking the place, hang up all the garrison, except the person who had given him the wound. These orders, however barbarous, were punctually executed; and Bertram reserved as a farther victim to Richard's resentment.

The wound which Richard received was not of itself dangerous; but the surgeon by his preposterous treatment, rendered it mortal. Richard, sensible that his life was drawing towards a period, sent for Gourdon, and, on his approach, said, "Wretch, what injury did I ever do to you, that you should endeavour to deprive me of my life?" "What have you done to me," replied the prisoner coolly: "you killed, with your own hands, my father and my two brothers; and myself you intended to have hanged. I am now in your power; you may satisfy your revenge: I shall suffer all the tortures you can inflict with pleasure, provided I can enjoy the satisfaction of knowing I have given a mortal wound to a tyrant, who has been so long a nuisance to the world."

Richard, struck with remorse at the boldness and justice of this reply, ordered the prisoner to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him; but Gourdon falling soon after into the hands of Marcadée, he ordered him to be hanged alive, and afterwards hanged.

Richard did not long survive the death of Gourdon; for the mortification increased so fast, that he paid the debt of nature on the 6th of April, in the 10th year of his reign, and the 42d of his age. He died without issue.

A few hours before he resigned his breath, he made his will, in which he devised his kingdom, with all his other dominions, to his brother John, to whom he had been for some time perfectly reconciled; reserving the rest for alms for the poor, and legacies among his domestics. It is said that the archbishop of Rouen, presuming upon the privilege which a death bed gives to clerical intrusion and insolence, advised Richard, with whom he had several sharp disputes, to put away his three daughters. "Daughters!" replied the king, "why you know I have none." "Yes," said the prelate, "you have three, Pride, Covetousness, and Luxury." Then, said Richard, "that I may dispose of them where I know they will be cherished, I leave my pride to the Knights Templars, my Covetousness to the Cistercians, and my luxury to the Prelates."

Such was the death of Richard I. who, in personal bravery and prowess, excelled all the princes of that age, from whence he obtained the surname of *Cœur de*



de Lion, or Lion's-heart. War was to him a pastime, and danger a spur to fresh achievements. In his person he was strong and well proportioned; his arms were long; his eyes blue and full of vivacity; his hair was of a yellowish colour, his countenance fair and comely, and his mien grand, noble and truly majestic. Few persons were possessed of a greater share of understanding, a more solid judgment, or more persuasive eloquence: he had a ready wit, and was master of a delicate keen vein of satire, the latter of which qualification was evinced in the famous repartee he made to the archbishop of Rouen, when on his death-bed.

The private character of this monarch has been so variously portrayed by different writers, that it is very difficult to say any thing on that head with tolerable consistency. He seems, like most other great men, to have had a mixture of shining qualities and destructive vices. His ingratitude and want of filial affection are unpardonable. He was proud, haughty, ambitious, choleric, cruel and vindictive: he was at once meanly avaricious and idly profuse. During his reign the people were burthened with several very heavy taxes; but then it cannot be said that he hoarded up his money like a covetous miser, for he employed the chief of it in defraying the expences of a war, which, however ridiculous it may appear in modern times, was certainly held laudable in that period.

Upon the whole, Richard's inveterate enemies must confess, that had he lived longer, the natural rivals of this country, the French, would never have been able to extend their territories as they afterwards did;

nor would England have been reduced to the miserable state in which she appeared under the reign of his successor.

Richard in the shield of his coat of arms, bore three lions passant guardant; which bearing has been ever since continued by the English monarchs.

In his reign coats of arms came also to be hereditary in families. These owe their origin to the badges which knights and other military persons, painted, for distinction's sake, on their shields or banners, in these expeditions into the east, called the crusades.

The other remarkable occurrences in this reign were as follow: In the first year of king Richard, A. D. 1189, the citizens of London obtained the liberty of being governed by two bailiffs, or sheriffs; and also to have a mayor for their principal governor. The two first sheriffs, or bailiffs, were Henry Cornhill and Richard Ryner; and the first mayor, Henry Fitz-Alwin, who continued in that office upwards of twenty-five years.—See *Harrison's History and Survey of London*, p. 26 and 698.

On Midsummer-eve, in the second year of this king's reign, the sun was eclipsed for three hours, and the stars were seen in the heavens at ten o'clock in the forenoon.

In the 5th, 6th and 7th years of his reign, there were such great dearths in England and France, that a quarter of wheat was sold for almost twenty shillings, a sum equal to six pounds of the present money.

It was during this reign that the citizens of London first divided themselves into corporations, or, as they are now called, companies.

## S E C T I O N III.

### JOHN, SURNAMED LACKLAND.

ACCORDING to the will of the late king, the crown of England fell to his brother John; but his right to it was not by that means rendered indisputable. Two important questions occurred relative to the point of succession, both of which could not be easily solved; because, from the time of the Conqueror to the present period, there had not been any law enacted, by which the right of succession could be ascertained. The first of these questions was, whether, according to law, Arthur duke of Bretagne, as representing his father, Geoffrey, elder brother to John, had not a prior right to his uncle, being one degree nearer? The second was, whether, in case the law favored the nephew, Richard had a power to dispose of his dominions at pleasure?—It is evident from these circumstances, that had this matter been submitted to a judicial decision, it would have been attended with great and almost insuperable difficulties.

John, however, regardless of any objection that might arise with respect to his title, determined to maintain it; and being then on the continent, he dispatched Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury to England, to concert measures with queen Eleanor and Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, chief justiciary, in order to support his interest.

While John was employed on the continent in taking possession of Richard's treasures, reducing the town of Le Mans, which had espoused Arthur's claim, and obtaining the ducal coronet of Normandy, his

friends exerted themselves for his interest in England, where they exacted the oath of fealty in his name from the citizens, burghers, corporations, and military tenants of the crown; but the prelates and nobles, tenacious of their liberties, retired to their castles, which they fortified and supplied with a sufficient stock of provision.

The archbishop of Canterbury and his colleague were so zealous in the cause of John, that they summoned the nobility and prelates to an assembly at Northampton, when they painted the generosity and munificence of the prince in such colours, that at length prevailed on them to follow the example of the rest of the nation, which they accordingly did, by taking the oath of fealty to his person and government.

John, being informed of these proceedings, and having settled his affairs on the continent, embarked for England, and landed at Shoreham on the 2d of May 1199, from whence he immediately proceeded to London. He was received with universal joy by the people, and two days after his arrival was crowned at Westminster by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of a numerous assembly of the principal nobility and clergy.

On the day of his coronation he invested Walter Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, and William de Ferrers with the dignities of earls, the first of Derby, the second of Essex, and the third of Dorset. Hubert archbishop of Canterbury was at the time







time made chancellor; Roger de Lacy had the castle of Pontefract; and other barons were favored with the like marks of honor and emoluments.

John, having settled his affairs in England, resolved to pass over to Normandy, where his presence was now become necessary, in order to oppose the projects of Philip. He had no sooner arrived on the continent than Philip proposed a truce, which John, notwithstanding the depredations made by Philip, readily assented to; and a conference was appointed to be held between the two kings for concluding a definitive treaty.

In the interim an event happened that gave a terrible blow to the prospects with which the king of England had flattered himself. The earl of Flanders, John's most useful ally, having gotten intelligence of the negotiation entered into by that prince with the French court, thought he could no longer, with safety to himself, depend upon an ally of so fickle a disposition: he plainly foresaw that he should be abandoned, by the proposed treaty of peace, to the resentment of his incensed sovereign the king of France, whose vassal he was for the greatest part of his dominions; he therefore sent his countess to Paris with full powers to negotiate a peace with Philip, and she succeeded so well, that a perfect reconciliation was completed; the consequence of which was, that the rest of the confederacy, despairing of success after the defection of so principal a member, made their submission likewise.

This change of circumstances, and the fear he had of Arthur, whose right to the crown gave him continual uneasiness, made John resolve to agree to a peace with the king of France, however dishonorable the terms. Accordingly a conference was held, between Andely and Gaillon, in the month of January 1200; at which the following preliminaries were agreed on as the basis of a definitive treaty. That Lewis, son to Philip, should marry Blanch, daughter to Alphonso, king of Castile, and niece to John. That the latter should with her give up the earldom and city of Exreux, together with his claim to all the places possessed by Philip in Normandy at the time of Richard's death, and thirty thousand marks of silver. John also engaged not to interfere in the affairs of Germany, nor to give any manner of assistance to his nephew Odo, either in men or money.

The definitive treaty was soon after concluded; and nine barons of the king of France, and the same number of the king of England, were appointed guarantors: these swore on each side, that if their sovereign violated any article of the treaty, they would declare themselves against him, and embrace the cause of the injured monarch.

While the above treaty was in hand John became a captive to the charms of Isabella, daughter and heir of Aymar, count of Angoulême, one of the most celebrated beauties of the age. His queen, the French, of the Gloucester family, was still alive, and Isabella was betrothed to Hugh earl of Marche. The nuptials, indeed, on account of her tender age, had never been consummated; but she had some time been delivered into the hands of that nobleman. So many difficulties seemed to form an unsurmountable barrier to John's destructive passion, but he declined to submit to the laws of his country, though founded on the solid basis of virtue. Under pretence of consanguinity, he, by some means or other, procured a divorce, and persuaded Aymar to carry off his daughter, whom he soon after married. The pope was highly exasperated at these irregular proceedings, but John regarded neither the thunder of heaven, nor the resentment of the earl whom he had so materially injured.

John now returned with his new consort to England, when they were both solemnly crowned at Wells.

minister by the archbishop of Canterbury; soon after which the king set out on a progress, with his young queen, to the borders of Scotland.

A. D. 1201. The proud and impolitic John was not possessed of the art of conciliation. He took no care to soften the resentment of the earl of Marche; but on the contrary considered even the most distant advances towards submission as a disgrace to royalty.

During his journey to Scotland he held many courts, at which great numbers, who had trespassed against the forest laws, were summoned, and rigorously fined. This occasioned great discontent among the people, who by the charter of Henry II. thought themselves exempted from those arbitrary forest laws that had been introduced by the Norman line, and restored to their privilege of hunting.

The earl of Marche was no stranger to the misunderstanding that now subsisted between John and his English subjects; and thinking this a seasonable opportunity, he, with his brother the count d'Eu, excited commotions in Poitou and Normandy.

When John was informed of these proceedings, he summoned his barons to assist him in quelling the insurgents; but they refused to attend him into Normandy, unless he would confirm their privileges. The association, however, was not yet sufficiently established for them to support their noble resolution. The threatenings and power of royalty engaged the greater part of them to submit, and John passed over into Normandy at the head of an army more than sufficient to reduce the insurgents; but he pursued no prudent methods: he advanced claims that gave universal discontent, and added daily to the public grievances. The barons complained to the king of France, as superior lord; and that prince insisted upon John's doing them justice. The latter promised to redress all the grievances that were founded on justice; but he kept not his word even in the most trifling particular. His vassals, despised, offended, and reduced to despair, once more applied to Philip; he received their appeal, and began to exert his authority, in order to prevent their oppression. John again promised to do them justice, and again broke his engagements; so that his conduct rendered him at once both odious and contemptible.

Prince Arthur, alarmed at the consequences that were likely to arise from the conduct of his uncle, determined to seek security in an union with Philip and the discontented barons; and accordingly joined the French army, which had already begun hostilities. Philip received him with great affection, gave him his daughter in marriage, and promised to support him against the king of England.

A. D. 1203. The progress of the French forces had been so remarkably rapid, that John was now desirous of putting a period to the military operations; but Philip was so exasperated, that he openly declared he would not sheath the sword of war, unless John would submit to resign all his transmarine dominions to his nephew prince Arthur.

John, however, was far from submitting to such humiliating conditions; he determined to defend his territories to the last extremity; but still pressed Philip for an accommodation upon more reasonable terms.

Young Arthur gave several instances of his courage and intrepidity; but he wanted prudence to conduct military expeditions with success. He knew that queen Eleanor was a sworn enemy to his interest, and was therefore desirous of securing her person. She resided in the castle of Mabile, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition, and the garrison too few to make any long resistance. Arthur determined to embrace the first opportunity of attacking the castle, and being placed by Philip at the head of two hundred knights, he precipitately led his



small body of forces against Mirabel. The castle was taken at the first assault, but the queen, with the greater part of the garrison, retired into the tower, and made a gallant defence.

The danger of his mother roused John from the couch of indolence; he marched at the head of an army of English and Brabanders, attacked the camp of Arthur, put his army to flight, and took the young prince, together with the earl of Marche, and most of the revolted barons, prisoners. The greater part of the captives were sent over to England, but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise, and afterwards removed to the citadel of Rouen.

After this victory John retired in triumph into Normandy, and Philip abandoned the siege of Arques on his approach. Success is often the destruction of the timorous and bloody tyrant; it rendered John the execration of mankind. He was a stranger to the gentle feelings of compassion, and possessed not the virtue of magnanimity. He considered young Arthur as an eternal bar to his ambition; and imagined that he could never be truly happy till he commenced assassin.

A short time after this, accounts were received that the young prince was no more, and no one doubted his having fallen by the treacherous mode of assassination. The crime was certain, but the manner of its being executed was doubtful. The most authentic account we have of the murder of this prince, is the following, as given by D'Argentrie, in his *Hist. de Bretagne*: "John, says that historian, leading his nephew after him like a lamb to the slaughter, brought him from Rouen to Cherbourg, that the infernal deed might be executed with more privacy. There, late in the evening, followed only by a few friends, he mounted his horse, and leaving his attendants, ordered the prince to ride on before him. In this manner they passed along the sea-side, till a place was discovered fit for the bloody purpose: it was a high cliff hanging over the sea. John immediately spurred his horse close to the side of that of Arthur, and laying hold of one of the reins of the bridle, stabbed the young prince several times through the body, while the terrified victim cried in vain for mercy. Having finished the infernal deed, he threw the body over the precipice into the sea."

Other writers say that John assassinated the young prince in the prison at Rouen, and threw his body into the Seine. But in whatever manner the horrid action was performed, all Europe justly accused John of the murder; and from that moment the despised king retained a very precarious authority over both the people and the barons of his dominions. The Britons, enraged at this detestable transaction, which had put a final period to all their pleasing hopes, waged implacable war against him, and put themselves in a proper posture to revenge the murder of their prince.

The wretched Constantia, mother to Arthur, presented to the court of peers in France a petition signed by all the barons in Britany, requesting that some punishment might be inflicted on the inhuman tyrant for the murder of her son. Philip ordered John to be summoned before his court; but when the day of hearing came he appeared only by his deputies, the bishop of Fly and Hubert de Burg. Their business was to demand from Philip a safe conduct for their master to the French court. "He may come in peace," said Philip, with a stern and severe countenance. "But may he return in peace," replied the bishop of Fly. "Ye," answered Philip, "if the sentence of his peers will give him leave." The ambassadors sufficiently perceived the insidious tendency of this expression, and insisted upon a clearer explanation, and on the king's granting the safe conduct required. Great difficul-

ties, and, at last, an absolute denial ensued; and Philip swore, by all the saints of France, "That he should return no otherwise than according to the sentence of the court." The bishop then told Philip, "That John was to be considered as king of England, as well as duke of Normandy; and the barons of England would not permit their king to risque his life, or, at least, his liberty, at the French court, even though he should agree to it himself." Philip's answer to this was both ready and just. "If, my lord," said he, "the duke of Normandy's ambition led him to acquire a higher title, ought I, who am his lord, to lose his allegiance as my vassal? What is it to me, that he has acquired the crown of England?" The ambassadors did not attempt to answer Philip; indeed his remarks were unanswerable upon the principles of the feudal law. The court therefore proceeded to pass sentence, which was as follows: "That John, duke of Normandy, not regarding the oath he had taken to Philip his lord, and being a homager of the crown of France, had, within the signification of that crown, murdered his elder brother's son, who was also a homager of the same; therefore the said John is declared a traitor; and, as against my to the crown of France, he is adjudged to forfeit all his signiories which he held by homage, and re-entry into the same is ordered to be made by force."

Philip took the necessary measures to put the sentence in execution: a more favourable event could not have happened for annexing to the crown of France so many considerable fiefs, which, during several centuries, had been dismembered from it. The vassals were in no condition to oppose his intentions: the inhuman action of John silenced all opposition, and carried his victorious arms into Normandy. Nor was the hatred which the inhabitants of that duchy bore to the French of any great consequence: formed but a feeble obstacle to the rapidity of Philip's conquests.

The count of Alençon, who had been one of John's most strenuous advocates, deserted him, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French monarch, who now separated his army. Disperated at the defection of so powerful a vassal, John determined to take Alençon, and immediately invested the place. Philip saw himself exposed to the disgrace of suffering the capital of his new acquisition to be wrested from him. Fortunately a tournament was now held at Gatinois, and the fertile genius of Philip furnished him with an expedient for obtaining a powerful assistance. He repaired to the tournament, and pointed out the plains of Alençon as a proper field for displaying their military talents, inflicting on a baleful parade the punishment due to his crimes. The knights vowed to execute the first and marched immediately to the relief of the besieged. John fled at their approach, and made no more attempt to defend his dominions, but even affected to be unconcerned at the success of Philip. "Let him go on," said the pious monarch, "I shall retake in one day what he has lost him years to acquire."

Though John thus relinquished the temporal, he was delirious of employing the spiritual power in this quarrel. Pope Innocent III. who, from his solicitude, was pleased with any opportunity of asserting the authority he had assumed over the papacy of Europe. He wrote to Philip, commanding him to put a final period to the war, and conclude a treaty with the King of England. But Philip, without paying obedience to the pontiff, disclaimed the papal authority he challenged over him, and, with the greatest vigour, pursued his conquests.





Engraved for Rufus's  
History of England

Wale delin

KING JOHN murdering his  
Nephew PRINCE ARTHUR

Wale sculp



A. D. 1204. The most able as well as truly general John had in his service was Richard de Lacy, constable of Chester, who defended Chateau Galliard for a whole year with the greatest firmness and intrepidity. The fortress was remarkable for its strength, and Philip was obliged to subdue it by famine. The intrepid governor, after having repelled every attempt, and supported with remarkable patience all the miseries of famine, was at last subdued by a sudden attack in the night, and taken prisoner with his whole garrison. Philip, who knew how to respect valor even in an enemy, treated him with the utmost civility; and allowed him the whole city of Paris for the place of his confinement.

Philip found but little difficulty in possessing himself of the other towns and fortresses in Normandy. The inhabitants of Rouen, indeed, at first determined to defend the capital; but finding all resistance would be in vain, they gave it up, and the French monarch took possession of the city. The other towns followed the example of the capital, and Philip enjoyed the honor of re-annexing to the crown of France one of the finest provinces in the kingdom, which had been dismembered from it near three centuries.

A. D. 1205. John, finding it needless to make any farther efforts in opposing Philip, embarked for England; where he had no sooner arrived, than, in order to cover the disgrace of his conduct, he exclaimed loudly against his barons, who, he pretended had deserted his standard in Normandy; and extorted from them, in a very arbitrary manner, a seventh part of all their moveables, as a punishment for their offences. Not long after, he forced them to grant him a scutage of two marks and a half on each knight's fee, in order to enable him to make an expedition into Normandy; but he did not attempt to execute the service.

A. D. 1206. The governor of Britany being at this time jealous of the rapid progress made by his ally the French king, promised to join the English monarch with all his forces. John embraced the offer, returned abroad with a considerable army, and landed at Rochelle; from whence he marched to Angiers, which he took and reduced to ashes. But the approach of Philip, at the head of his army, disconcerted all his schemes: he immediately made proposals of peace, and fixed the place of interview with the enemy; but instead of keeping his engagement, he privately withdrew with his army, embarked at Rochelle, and returned to England with disgrace. Philip was surprized, on coming to the place of conference, to find that John had embarked for England some days before. However, by the mediation of the pope, a truce for two years was concluded between the two monarchs.

A. D. 1207. An event now happened in England that engaged the attention of the whole nation, and shook the very pillars of the state. Pope Innocent III. had carried the papal usurpations much higher than any of his predecessors. Not contented with endeavouring to extend the authority of the Roman pontiff over all the potentates of Europe, he was ambitious of reducing the ecclesiastics themselves to the same degree of servitude. He pretended, that the disposal of all benefices justly belonged to the successor of St. Peter, and that they had a right to employ all the revenues of the church whenever the interest of the papal see demanded assistance.

The imprudence of the monks of Canterbury soon furnished him with an opportunity of carrying these pretensions into execution. These monks enjoyed the privilege, on the death of a primate, to name a successor; but it was usual, before they filled an office of such importance, to obtain the king's consent; and it was also generally allowed, that the suf-

fragan bishops had voices in the election. There are, however, times, when the most sacred rights are usurped by unthinking men, who, in order to promote their own interest, make no difficulty of having recourse to the most extraordinary methods.

On the death of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, which happened about the close of the preceding year, the junior monks met clandestinely on the very night of his decease, and chose Reginald their subprior, for his successor; installed him in the archiepiscopal throne before midnight, and having enjoined him in the strictest secrecy, sent him immediately to Rome, to solicit the confirmation of his election. But the vain priest no sooner landed in Flanders, than he discovered the whole secret, which coming to the ears of the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, and the elder monks of Christ-church, who had all voices in this election, they were highly exasperated; the king, whose prerogative was also concerned, concurred with the ecclesiastics, and desired them to proceed immediately to a new election, recommending, at the same time, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, as a very proper person for that important office. The monks of Christ-church met accordingly, without consulting the suffragan bishops, and the election of that prelate was accordingly made, without a single contradictory vote; for the junior monks, ashamed of their conduct, and disgusted with the levity of Reginald, who had broke his engagement, were desirous of setting aside his election, and accordingly concurred in raising the bishop of Norwich to the archiepiscopal throne. In the mean time Reginald reached Rome, but found the pope determined not to confirm his election, till he had received more satisfactory intelligence. While the matter thus continued in suspense, the suffragans of the diocese of Canterbury sent a strong remonstrance to the court of Rome, complaining of the invalidity of both elections, as they were both carried on without their privacy or consent. Glad of an opportunity of humbling at once the king and bishops of England, the pope had recourse to very trifling excuses, without giving any direct answer to the monks, who had been sent to Rome, by the king and bishop of Norwich. At last, he declared both elections void; but added, that the convent of Christ-church had undoubtedly the power of electing an archbishop, solely in themselves, though they had been irregular in raising Reginald to the archiepiscopal throne. He therefore desired, that they would immediately proceed to a new election; and, as there were then at Rome, a sufficient number to elect an archbishop, he desired they would not lose a moment's time, and let their choice fall upon cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman, and a divine of great eminence. The monks were flattered at this new and insolent doctrine. They represented, that it had been ever understood, that the king had a right of being consulted on the choice of an archbishop; but their remonstrance was in vain: Innocent continued firm to his purpose, and they were all of them, excepting Elias de Pampel, who nobly resisted the insolent demand, obliged to submit to the pope's order, and chuse the person nominated by his holiness.

However bigotted the pope might be to the Roman see, yet he was not insensible that the present usurpation must of course create the resentment of the English court. He therefore wrote a very mollifying letter to John, but sent a present of four golden rings, set with precious stones, the value of which he endeavoured to enhance, by explaining the many mysteries they implied. He desired him to observe, with the most serious attention, the form, the matter and the colour of the rings. "The form," said the pope, "is round, representing eternity," which



“ which has neither beginning nor end ; and hence  
 “ you ought to learn your duty of aspiring from  
 “ earthly to heavenly objects, from things temporal  
 “ to things eternal. The number Four being a  
 “ square, denotes steadiness of mind, which neither  
 “ prosperity nor adversity can subvert, fixed for ever  
 “ on the solid basis of the four cardinal virtues. The  
 “ matter, which is gold, the most precious of metals,  
 “ shadows out wisdom, the most precious of all ac-  
 “ complishments, and justly preferred by Solomon  
 “ to riches, power, and all exterior attainments.  
 “ The verdure of the emerald represents Faith ; the  
 “ blue colour of the sapphire, Hope ; the redness of  
 “ the ruby, Charity ; the splendor of the topaz,  
 “ Good Works.”

This explanation, which, in that age, was greatly admired, though it appears extremely ridiculous in our's, produced not the desired effect. John was enflamed with the utmost rage, and threatened the most exemplary vengeance against all that had been concerned in the late collusive election. But when he heard that the monks of Canterbury, dreading the vengeance of the court of Rome, were inclined to support the choice, his passion knew no bounds. He immediately dispatched two resolute knights, whose violent tempers were equal to the ferocity of their manners, to expel the monks from their convent. They performed their orders with the greatest punctuality ; and the fathers were obliged to seek their safety in a precipitate flight, leaving the knights in full possession of every thing belonging to them.

These violences gave the most secret satisfaction to the pope, who was convinced that should they be pursued John must infallibly sink in the contest. The pope followed not John's example ; he had recourse to the softer arts of persuasion, till he found the thunder of the vatican produce the desired effect. He wrote a very conciliating letter to John, beseeching him not to oppose the determination of his spiritual father, who was continually labouring for his eternal happiness. He desired him to reflect on the consequences that attended a similar opposition in his father Henry ; and begged him not to resist the church of God, nor persecute any longer, that cause for which the holy martyr St. Thomas sacrificed his life, and who was now so justly venerated by the people.

John, however, was firm to his purpose ; and had his principles of resistance been founded on the solid basis of virtue, his behaviour would have merited the highest applause. But the vices of John had rendered him contemptible ; he could not hope to be supported by his subjects. The pope knew this, and determined to persevere. He commanded the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to expostulate with him, and if he persevered in his disobedience, to threaten the kingdom with an interdict.

This insolent behaviour of the pontiff exasperated John almost to madness. He swore that if the pope presumed to pronounce the sentence, he would put out the eyes, and cut off the noses of all the Roman clergy he could find in his dominions. In vain were all the persuasions of the bishops to mitigate his fury ; he wrote a letter to the pope, telling his holiness, that he looked upon his proceedings as an insult upon royalty ; that his own kingdom furnished a sufficient number of clergymen, eminent at once for their learning and piety, without suffering those of a foreign seminary to be intruded upon him ; that he was determined to maintain the election of the bishop of Norwich to the utmost extremity ; and concluded with telling the pontiff, that if he refused to do him justice in this particular, he would prohibit all commerce between his subjects and the Roman see.

These threats had but little effect on the pope : he knew the animosity that subsisted between John and

his people, and therefore, without any hesitation, thundered out the dreadful sentence of interdict, against the kingdom.

This censure had all the requisites for exciting a popular commotion. The ruin of the people was involved in the punishment of the king. The external parts of religion immediately ceased : the altars were stripped of their ornaments ; the images, the crosses, the statues of saints, and all the holy relics were hurled upon the ground. The churches were shut against the laity, and divine service was suppressed. Even the sacraments were no longer administered but to dying persons ; nor were the dead suffered to be buried in consecrated ground. The severest penances were commanded, and every kind of entertaining strictly prohibited.

It is little to be wondered at, that the whole nation should be alarmed at these severe injunctions ; and that every person in the kingdom should exert all his power to avert such dreadful calamities. But John was not to be moved with tears and supplications, he opposed, with the most obstinate inflexibility, every attempt to remove the scourge, and restore tranquility to his dominions. He punished, with the utmost rigor, all who submitted to the orders of the pope, whether bishops, monks or secular clergy. Some of the ecclesiastics, indeed, disregarded the censure of the Roman pontiff. The Cistercian order continued to perform divine service publicly ; the bishops of Winchester and Norwich followed their example, and several of the most eminent divines openly preached against those proceedings, which they called unjust and unwarrantable. An exertion of prudent vigour therefore might have dissipated the tempest ; but John listened not to the voice of reason ; he followed the dictates of his headstrong passions, which led him to the brink of a precipice that threatened his destruction.

A. D. 1210. Though England had now laboured a considerable time under the severe censure of the pope, yet John was so far from taking any measures which might either remove that, or in any way redress the happiness of his people, that he became more tyrannical than ever : his cruelties increased in the same proportion with the danger of his government. The clergy were the particular objects of his fury. He seized upon their temporalities, drove them from their monasteries, and inflicted on them every kind of indignity ; he endeavoured to retaliate on their sufferings of himself and his people. But his despotism was not confined to the clergy, the laity also felt the weight of his oppression. He not only enforced the forest laws, which had always excited troubles and distress, but likewise ordered all the mounds of the forest to be levelled, that his deer might range at large, to the inexpressible distress of the husbandmen.

In short, so inconsistent were the measures of the insatuated prince, that even while he had recourse to these violent oppressions, he felt the crown totter on his head, and had recourse to the most extraordinary stretch of power to enforce the obedience of his subjects. He compelled them to give him hostages for their good behaviour and fidelity. The greater number complied with his demand ; but when the king's messengers came to the castle of William de Barou, a nobleman of great power in the Marches of Wales, his lady replied, “ That she would never trust her son to the care of a prince, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own nephew.” Barou, who knew the cruel temper of John, and that the sacrifice of his wife would never be pardoned, fled, with his family, into Ireland. But the place of their retreat was soon known, and John gave a loose to his cruelty. He shut up the lady and her son in prison, where they



were starved to death; the nobleman himself was obliged to have recourse to flight, leaving all his estates and property to the mercy of his inhuman and tyrannic sovereign.

A. D. 1211. John had long expected that the pope would issue against him the dreadful sentence of excommunication, which he now sincerely wished to avert. He therefore dispatched the abbot of Beaucieu on an embassy to Rome, to effect, if possible, a reconciliation with the pontiff. In consequence of this cardinal Langton was immediately ordered to repair to England; but John's proposals not being equal to what the pope demanded, the Cardinal broke off the conference abruptly and returned to the continent.

The haughty pontiff, transported with rage at the ill success his legate had met with, excommunicated John, and absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. This ecclesiastical thunderbolt was really terrible, because the pope gave the kingdom of England to Philip of France, a prince who wanted neither power nor inclination to assert his claim. The pontiff did more, he promised him the remission of all his sins, if he succeeded in the reduction of England. He even granted the same indulgences on account of this expedition, as had been given to those who went into Asia to recover the Holy Land from the infidels. The fascinating lustre of the English diadem wholly changed the opinion of Philip. He did not now tell his holiness, that the pope had no right to give away crowns. His own kingdom had been interdicted some years before, and he himself excommunicated by this very pope, for attempting to marry another wife. He then asserted the independence of his crown, and declared these papal censures insolent and abusive. He seized the temporalities of every ecclesiastic in France who had proved himself so bad a subject as to obey the pope: but he thought quite differently, when he saw himself commissioned with the execution of a bull, which was to put England into his possession. He took again to his bed that very prince, whose divorce had been the cause of so many excommunications, and devoted himself intirely to execute the sentence of Rome. He employed a whole year in building one hundred and seventy ships, and in raising and disciplining the finest army ever seen in France.

Notwithstanding John's subjects had reason to look on him with detestation, yet from the natural enmity the English bore the French; from the honor the people had conceived against the pope's arbitrary proceedings, and from the assistance of the extensive prerogatives of the crown, John was enabled to raise and keep together, during several weeks, an army of sixty thousand men, at the head of which he advanced towards Dover, to meet the prince who had tried and condemned him in France, and was now coming to dethrone him in England.

Had these troops been united in affection to their prince, and animated with a becoming zeal for the defence of their country, John would have had nothing to fear. He might have bid defiance to the thunder of the vatican, assisted by the whole power of the French monarch. But the case was very different: the people were guided by superstition, and regarded their king with horror, as a person anathematized by the supreme head of the church. At the same time, the barons, besides lying under the same prejudices, had been long disgusted with his tyranny, and many of them were suspected of holding a treacherable correspondence with the enemy. These circumstances considered, the most fatal consequences were naturally to be expected from the French invasion.

A. D. 1213. The artful pontiff was, however, too well acquainted with the temper and spirit of

John, not to foresee, that the court of Rome would reap much greater advantages by trying lenitives once more, than pushing him into absolute despair. For this purpose he gave, in open consistory, a commission to Pandolf, and the exiled bishops to repair to England, and there to fulminate in person his spiritual censures. He also gave him private instructions how to behave, in case John should repent, and desire to make ample satisfaction.

Thus armed with the power of making a dangerous war, or a still more dangerous peace, the legate took leave of the court of Rome, and repaired with the exiled English bishops to Paris. They found Philip very busy in making preparations for his expedition into England, and immediately sent over two knights templars to desire an interview with John at Dover, which was readily granted.

The legate having informed Philip, that it was necessary for him to publish the pope's sentence in John's dominions, repaired to England, where he laid before him every motive that had any tendency to soothe, or terrify him into compliance. He represented to him the numerous army collected by Philip for invading England: he observed, that, besides the troops he had already procured, supplies were expected from every prince in Christendom, who considered him as an avowed excommunicated rebel, and his crown as forfeited, by the pope's sentence. He added, that it was publicly known in France, that Philip had received an invitation from the principal nobility of England, who had promised to join him upon his landing.

The pusillanimous John, terrified at the alarming intelligence of the rebellious disposition of his nobility, and dreading the power of the French monarch, yielded at discretion, and subscribed to all the conditions which Pandolf was pleased to impose upon him. He promised, among other articles, that he would submit himself entirely to the judgment of the pope; that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would restore all the exiled clergy and laity, who had been banished on account of the contest; that he would make them full restitution for their goods, and compensation for all damages, and instantly consign eight thousand pounds in part of payment; and that every one outlawed or imprisoned, on account of their adherence to the pope, should immediately be received into grace and favour. Four barons joined with the king, in swearing to this ignominious treaty.

But this ignominy, however great, was far from being equal to what John had yet to suffer; he was to drain the cup of subjection to the lees. The artful Pandolf refused to open at once the scroll of abjection, lest it should drive him to despair, and by that means disappoint the ambitious views of the Roman pontiff. But having now procured a treaty, by which the king had submitted to the most shameful terms, Pandolf thought he might venture to go one step farther. Accordingly, he proposed that John should resign his kingdom to the church. He persuaded the king, that there was no other way, by which he could so effectually disappoint the French invasion, as by putting himself under the immediate protection of the holy see. John, lying under the agony of present terror, made no scruple of submitting to the proposal of Pandolf. He passed a charter, by which he said, that, not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, for the redemption of his own sins, and those of his family, he resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair. He agreed to hold these dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thousand marks; seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. At the



same time he stipulated, that if he, or his successors, should ever presume to infringe or revoke this charter, they should instantly, except upon admonition, forfeit all right to their dominions.

This agreement being signed, and the fifteenth of May appointed for this humiliating ceremony, John did homage to Pandolf as the pope's legate, with all the mortifying rites which the feudal law required of the vassals before their liege lord and superior. He came disarmed into the presence of the legate, who was seated on a throne; he flung himself on his knees before him; he lifted up his hands, and put them within those of Pandolf; he swore fealty to the pope, paid part of the tribute, which he owed for his kingdom, as the patrimony of St. Peter, and presented Pandolf with his crown and sceptre.

The proud legate, elevated by this supreme triumph of sacerdotal power, could not forbear discovering extravagant symptoms of joy and exultation; he trampled on the money, which was laid at his feet, as an earnest of the subjection of the kingdom: an insolence which, however offensive to all the English, no person, except the archbishop of Dublin, ventured to take notice of. But though Pandolf had brought the king to submit to these base conditions, he still refused to take off the excommunication and interdict, till an estimation should be taken of the losses suffered by the ecclesiastics, and full compensation and restitution should be made them.

These humiliating circumstances, however great they were, could not alter John's disposition to tyranny. One Peter Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold, that the king should, this year, lose his crown; and for that rash prophecy, he had been, for some time, confined in Corfe-castle. The day fixed being now passed, the prophet was dragged out of prison, and hanged as an impostor at Winchester: though the hermit pleaded, that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had lost the royal and independent crown, which he formerly wore.

As soon as Pandolf had executed his secret commission in England, he passed over to the continent, where Philip was waiting for him, every thing being ready for the armament to put to sea. The legate immediately repaired to the prince's court, and informed him that he was no longer permitted to make a descent upon England, now become a fief to the Roman church; and that John was under the protection of the holy see.

Philip, at once surprised and incensed at this declaration, treated the legate as an impostor. He told him, that he had made these preparations at an immense expence, at the pressing instances of the pope; and therefore, that no contrary orders, nor even all the threats of the Vatican, should now deter him from prosecuting his design. He immediately summoned a general council, wherein he painted the pope's insidious proceedings in the most glaring colours, and desired their advice with regard to prosecuting the design against England. They all expressed their abhorrence of the pope's duplicity, and the greater part declared for making the intended descent.

The earl of Flanders not only dissented from the general opinion, but declared strongly against it. He boldly told Philip, that his expedition against England was inconsistent with justice, and the law of nations, as none of his ancestors ever pretended any claim to that kingdom. Exasperated at this remonstrance, Philip ordered the earl to quit his dominions, and immediately turned the armament he had raised for an expedition into England, against Flanders. But William, earl of Salisbury, at the head of an English fleet fitted out to guard the channel, fell with such fury on the French transports, that one hundred of them were sunk, and three hundred taken. Philip perceiving that

the total destruction of his ships was inevitable, set fire to the rest, as the only method to prevent their falling into the hands of the English.

At the same time that this fatal stroke blasted all Philip's grand projects, it did not a little animate the spirits of John. As he was assured of the pope's assistance he was resolved to pursue the advantage he had obtained over Philip, and endeavour to recover his lost dominions. With this view he summoned all his barons, knights and vassals to attend him at Portsmouth; but the barons sent him word they could not comply with his summons so long as he continued under a state of excommunication.

To remove this obstacle, John wrote a very pressing letter to Langton, beseeching him to come with an expedition, and give him absolution; assuring him that he would, to the utmost of his power, love, defend and maintain the church and clergy against all their adversaries; that he would re-establish the wholesome laws of his predecessors, particularly those of King Edward; and that he would annul all oppressive edicts, and judge every man according to justice and equity.

The prelate listened to John's request, and, on the above conditions, gave him absolution in the cathedral church of Winchester, in the presence of the principal nobility and clergy of the kingdom.

A. D. 1214. John having thus removed the grand object that impeded the execution of his intentions, determined now to carry on the war against Philip with the most unremitting vigor; but when he came to the test, it was evident he wanted both courage and prudence to lead an army against so powerful an enemy. He, however, besieged a castle near Angiers; but the approach of an army, under the command of prince Lewis, excited all his natural timidity. He raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him all his tents, machines, and baggage. A few days after, advice arrived, that Philip had defeated, at Bovines, the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand Germans. This victory established for ever the reputation of Philip, and put a final period to all John's hopes of a conquest: he therefore relinquished every farther attempt, and returned home with disgrace.

Peace, however, was far from being established in England. Though the feudal government, since the Norman conquest, had set bounds to the sovereign authority, the prerogatives of the crown had been greatly extended. The English nobility were now determined to assume the same privileges which those of similar rank enjoyed in the other kingdoms of Europe. The charter passed by Henry I. renewed by Stephen, and confirmed by Henry II. had flattered the people with liberty, without communicating to them any real advantages; the form appeared lovely, but it was destitute of substance. The articles had never been executed on the part of the crown, and the whole was now nearly forgotten. The barons were roused from the couch of indolence by the debauchery, the meanness, the violence, and the tyranny of John. Both clergy and laity joined in opposing the tyrant of their country. Archbishop Langton became the head of a faction. The promise the king had made at the time he received absolution, furnished the primate with pretences for a revolt. He assembled the barons; he produced a charter of Henry I. which he had fortunately found in the library of a monastery, and exhorted them to join firmly in insisting on a renewal and solemn confirmation of that contract of privileges.

Pleased with the opportunity of setting bounds to the royal authority, and of procuring a positive declaration of the rights of Englishmen, the barons took an oath to adhere firmly to each other; planning



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KING JOHN  
Signing Magna Carta



measures for forcing the king to grant their request, should he be disposed to refuse it; and agreed to meet at London soon after Christmas, to put their designs into execution.

A. D. 1215. The barons performed their promise, and at the time appointed repaired to London, where they demanded of the king a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confessor.

The king, alarmed at their number, zeal, and unanimity, promised to give them a positive answer at Easter. In the mean time he laboured, with the utmost assiduity, to gain the clergy over to his interest, by making them the most lavish concessions. He gave them a charter, by which he granted to them the election to all benefices; reserving only the right of a *conge d'elire*, and to subjoin a confirmation of the election, but declaring, that if either of these were delayed, the choice should nevertheless be deemed valid. At the same time, he implored the assistance of the pope, and vowed to lead an army into Palestine, not doubting but he should receive from the church that protection which she had granted to every prince engaged in those pious expeditions. It was the interest of Innocent to protect his vassal, in order to secure his submission. But the English clergy, weary with the despotism of the Roman court, and who regretted the loss of those privileges which the pontiff treated with contempt, openly professed their zeal for the liberty of the people. This encouraged the barons to proceed with alacrity; and though they expected to have the pope, as well as the king, to contend with, they did not despair of success; they determined to procure a charter of liberties, or perish in the glorious attempt.

The time being now nearly arrived, when John was to give a positive answer to the demand of the barons, he sent to them and desired to have a schedule of the different articles of their pretensions. The barons immediately prepared the writing requested; and advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the court then resided, and sent the schedule by the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke. The king read the demands of the barons, and burst into the most furious passion, asking, "Why they did not also demand his crown?" Swearing, that he would never grant them liberties which must reduce the king to the station of a slave.

This answer was immediately communicated by the primate to the discontented barons, who, without hesitation, elected Robert Fitz-Walter their general, under the title of "The Marshal of the army of God, and of the Holy Church." They staid not for any farther answer from John, but immediately began hostilities. They published a proclamation, inviting the rest of the nobility to join them in this national cause. They advanced towards London, and entered the capital without opposition. Almost all the nobility now joined the standard of the barons; and John was left at Odiham, in Surry, with the poor retinue of only seven knights. He made several attempts to elude the blow. He offered to refer the whole dispute to the pope, and sign any charter that his holiness should approve. This was refused. He then proposed to empower eight barons to settle the contest, four of them to be chosen by himself, and four by the insurgents. But this offer was also rejected. John now perceived that all opposition would be in vain: he saw himself abandoned by his subjects, and was obliged to consent to the demands of the barons.

A conference was now appointed to be held between the king and his barons at Runnymede, be-

tween Windsor and Staines, a place which has, ever since, been extremely celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped separately, like open enemies; and, after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility which was somewhat suspicious, signed and sealed the charter required of him.

This famous deed, commonly called Magna Charta, or the Great Charter, granted and secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom, to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people.

This important writing being justly considered as the foundation of English liberty, we shall here preserve a faithful translation of it.

MAGNA CHARTA; or, The Charter of Liberties, granted by King John to his Subjects, in the Year 1215.

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou; to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries of the forests, sheriffs, governors, officers, and to all bailiffs, and other his faithful subjects, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the presence of God, and for the health of our soul, and the souls of all our ancestors and heirs, and to the honor of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Church, and amendment of our kingdom, by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church; Henry, archbishop of Dublin; William, bishop of London; Peter of Winchester; Jocelin of Bath and Glastonbury; Hugh of Lincoln; Walter of Worcester; William of Coventry; Benedict of Rochester, bishops; and master of Pandolf, the pope's sub-deacon and ancient servant; brother Aymeric, master of the temple in England; and the noble persons William Marshal, earl of Pembroke; William earl of Salisbury; William earl of Warren; William earl of Arundel; Alan de Galloway, constable of Scotland; Warin Fitz-gerald, Peter Fitz-herbert; and Hubert de Burgh, seneschal of Poitou; Hugo de Neville; Matthew Fitz-herbert; Thomas Ballet; Alan Ballet; Philip de Albiney; Robert de Ropere; John Marshal; John Fitz-Hugh; and others our liege-men, have, in the first place, granted to God, and by this our present charter, confirmed for us and our heirs for ever.

I. "That the church of England shall be free, and enjoy her rights intire, and her liberties inviolable. And we will have them so to be observed, that it may appear from hence, that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned chief and indispensable to the English church, and which we granted and confirmed by our charter, and obtained the confirmation of from pope Innocent III. before the discord between us and our barons, was granted of mere free will; which charter we shall observe, and do will it to be faithfully observed by our heirs for ever.

II. "We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to have and hold them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

III. "If any of our earls, or barons, or others, who hold of us in chief by military service, shall die, and at the time of his death, his heir shall be of full age, and owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by an hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by an hundred shillings at most; and



and whoever oweth less, shall give less, according to the antient custom of fees."

IV. "But if the heir of any such shall be under age, and shall be in ward," (his lord shall not have the wardship of him, nor his land, before he hath received his homage; and after such heir shall be in ward, and attain to the age of one and twenty years) "when he comes of age, he shall have his inheritance without relief, or without fine." (Yet so that if he be made a knight while he is under age, nevertheless the lands shall remain in custody of the lord, until the aforesaid time.)

V. "The warden of the land of such heir, who shall be under age, shall not take of the land of such heir, other than reasonable issues, reasonable customs, and reasonable services; and that without destruction and waste of the tenants or effects" (upon the estate.) "And if we shall commit the guardianship of those lands to the sheriff, or any other who is answerable to us for the issues of the land; and if he shall make destruction and waste upon the wood-lands, we will compel him to give satisfaction, and the land shall be committed to lawful and discreet tenants of that fee, who shall be answerable for the issues to us, or to him to whom we shall assign them. And if we shall give or sell to any one the wardship of any such lands, and if he makes destruction or waste upon them, he shall lose the wardship itself, which shall be committed to two lawful and discreet tenants of that fee, who shall in like manner be answerable to us as aforesaid."

VI. "But the warden, so long as he shall have the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and shall restore to the heir, when he becomes of age, his whole land, stocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear." (And all these things shall be observed in the custodies of vacant archbishopricks, bishoprics, abbeys, priories, churches, and dignities which appertain to us; except that these wardships are not to be sold.)

VII. "Heirs shall be married without disparagement, so as that before matrimony shall be contracted those who are nearest in blood to the heir shall be acquainted with it."

VIII. "A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith, and without difficulty have her marriage and inheritance; nor shall she give any thing for her dower, or her marriage, or her inheritance, which her husband and she held at the time of his death; and she may remain in the mansion house of her husband forty days after his death; within which time her dower shall be assigned." (If it was not assigned before, or unless the house shall be a castle; and if she departs from the castle, there shall forthwith be provided for her a complete house, in which she may decently dwell, till her dower be to her assigned, as hath been said, and she shall, in the mean time have her reasonable clover, that is, competent maintenance, out of the common revenue. And there shall be assigned to her for her dower, the third part of all her husband's lands which were in his lifetime, except she were endowed with less at the church door.)

IX. "No widow shall be distrained to marry herself, so long as she has a mind to live without a husband. But yet she shall give security that she will not marry without our assent, if she holds of us; or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another."

X. "Neither we, nor our bailiffs, shall seize any land or rent for any debt, so long as there shall be chattels of the debtor's upon the premises, sufficient to pay the debt," (and the debtor be ready to satisfy

it.) "Nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained, so long as the principal debtor is sufficient for the payment of the debt."

XI. "And if the principal debtor shall fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to pay it," (or will not discharge when he is able,) "then the sureties shall answer the debt, and, if they will, they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor until they shall be satisfied for the debt which was paid for him; unless the principal debtor can shew himself acquitted thereof, against the said sureties."

XII. "If any one have borrowed any thing of Jews, more or less, and dies before the debt be satisfied, there shall be no interest paid for that debt, so long as the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if the debt falls into our hands, we will take only the chattels mentioned in the charter or instrument."

XIII. "And if any one shall die indebted to Jews, his wife shall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and if the deceased left children under age, they shall have necessities provided for them, according to the tenement, or real estate of the deceased, and out of the residue the debt shall be paid; saving, however, the service of the lord. In like manner let it be with the debts due to other persons than Jews."

XIV. "No scutage, or aid, shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the common council of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, and marrying our eldest son a knight, and once for marrying our eldest daughter; and for these there shall be paid only a reasonable aid."

XV. "In like manner it shall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and the city of London shall have all its antient liberties, and free customs, as well by land as by water."

XVI. "Furthermore, we will and grant, that all other cities, and boroughs, and towns," (and burghs of cinque ports) "and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs; and for holding the common council of the kingdom concerning the aids, except in the three cases aforesaid."

XVII. "And for the assessing of scutages, we shall cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and great barons of the realm, freely by our letters."

XVIII. "And furthermore, we shall cause to be summoned in general, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief, at a certain day, and is to say, forty days before their meeting at least, to a certain place; and in all letters of such summons, we will declare the cause of the summons."

XIX. "And summons being thus made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of such as shall be present, although that were summoned come not."

XX. "We will not, for the future, grant to any one that he may take aid of his own free tenants, to ransom his body, and to make his eldest son a knight, and once to marry his eldest daughter; and for these there shall only be paid a reasonable aid."

XXI. "No man shall be distrained to perform more service for a knight's fee, or other free tenement, than is due from thence."

XXII. "Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be holden in some certain place; trials upon the writs of novel disseisin, and of mort d'ancestor, and of darreine presentment, shall not be taken but in their proper counties, and in that manner. We, or, if we shall be out of the realm, our chief justiciary shall send two justiciaries into every county four times a year, who, with four knights, chosen out of every shire by the people, shall



hold the said assizes in the county, on the day, and at the place appointed."

XXIII. " And if any matters cannot be determined on the day appointed for holding the assizes in each county, so many of the knights and freeholders as have been at the assizes aforesaid, shall be appointed to decide them, as is necessary, according as there is more or less business. (Assizes of darreigne presentment to churches shall be always taken before the justices of the bench.)

XXIV. " A freeman shall not be amerced for a small fault, but according to the degree of the fault; and for a great crime, in proportion to the heinousness of it, saving to him his contentment; and after the same manner a merchant, saving to him his merchandise.

XXV. " And a villain (of any other than our own) shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his wainage, if he falls under our amercement; and none of the aforesaid amercements shall be assayed but by the oath of honest men of the neighbourhood. (Of the country.)

XXVI. " Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers, and according to the degree of the offence.

XXVII. " No ecclesiastical person shall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the proportion of the others aforesaid, and not according to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice.

XXVIII. " Neither a town, nor any tenement, shall be distrained to make bridges over rivers, unless that anciently and of right they are bound to do it. (No river, for the future, shall be embanked, but what was embanked in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.)

XXIX. " No sheriff, castellan, coroner or other our bailiffs, shall hold pleas of the crown.

XXX. " All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and tithings, shall stand at the old ferm, without any increase, except in our demesne manors.

XXXI. " If any one holding of us a lay-fee, dies, and the sheriff, or our bailiff, shew our letters-patent of summons concerning the debt due to us from the deceased, it shall be lawful for the sheriff, or our bailiff, to attach and register the chattels of the deceased found upon his lay fee, to the value of the debt by the view of lawful men, so as nothing be removed until the whole debt be paid; and the rest shall be left to the executors, who are to fulfil the will of the deceased. And if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels shall remain to the deceased, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.

XXXII. " If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest relations and friends, by view of the church, saving to every one his debts, which the deceased owed to him.

XXXIII. " No constable or bailiff of our's shall take corn, or other chattels, of any man, (who is not of the town where the castle is) unless he presently gives him money for it, or hath respect of payment by the good will of the seller. (But if he be of the same town, he shall pay him within forty days.)

XXXIV. " No constable shall distrain any knight or give money for cattle guard, if he himself will do with his own person, or by another able man, in case he cannot do it through any reasonable cause.

XXXV. " And if we lead him, or send him into the army, he shall be free from such guard, for the time he shall be in the army, by our command, (for he is for which he did service in the army.)

XXXVI. " No sheriff or bailiff of our's, or any other, shall take horses or carts of any for carriage

but by the good-will of the said freeman. (Without paying according to the rate anciently appointed; that is to say, for a cart and two horses, ten-pence a day; and for a cart with three horses, fourteen-pence a day.)

XXXVII. " Neither shall we, or our bailiffs, take any man's timber for our castles, or other uses, unless by the consent of the owner of the timber. (No demesne cart of any ecclesiastical person, or knight, or any lady, shall be taken by our officers.)

XXXVIII. " We will retain the lands of those that are convicted of felony only one year and a day, and then they shall be delivered to the lord of the fee.

XXXIX. " All wares, for the time to come, shall be put down in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the sea-coast.

XL. " The writ, which is called *Præcipe*, for the future, shall not be made out to any one of any tenement, whereby a freeman may lose his court.

XLI. " There shall be one measure of wine, and one of ale, throughout our whole realm, and one measure of corn; that is to say, the London quarter; and one breadth of dyed cloth, and ruffets, and habergeons; that is to say, two ells with the list. As to weights, they shall be as the measures.

XLII. " From henceforward, nothing shall be given or taken for a writ of inquisition of life or limbs; but it shall be granted gratis, and not denied.

XLIII. " If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or socage, or burgage, and holds lands of another by military service, we will not have the wardship of the heir, or land, which is of another man's fee, by reason of what he holds of us by fee-farm, socage, or burgage; nor will we have the wardship of the fee-farm, socage, or burgage, unless the fee-farm is bound to perform military service.

XLIV. " We will not have the wardship of an heir, nor of any land which he holds of another by military service, by reason of any petit-serjeanty he holds of us, as by the service of giving us knives, arrows, or the like.

XLV. " No bailiff, for the future, shall put any man to his law, (nor to an oath) upon his single word, without credible witnesses produced to prove it.

XLVI. " No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, (of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs) or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed; nor will we pass sentence upon him, or commit him to prison, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

XLVII. " We will sell to no man, we will deny no man, nor delay justice.

XLVIII. " All merchants (unless they be publicly prohibited) shall have safe and secure conduct to go out of, and to come into England, and to stay there, and to pass as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and allowed customs, without any evil tolls, except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us.

XLIX. " And if there be found any such in our land in the beginning of the war, they shall be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it may be known unto us, or our chief justiciary, how our merchants are treated in the nation at war with us; and, if our's be safe there, the others shall be safe in our dominions.

L. " It shall be lawful, for the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom, and return safely and securely by land or by water, saving his allegiance to us, unless in time of war, by some short space, for the benefit of the realm, except prisoners and outlaws according to the law of the land, and people in war with us, and merchants who shall be in such condition as is above mentioned.



LI. "If any man holds of any escheat, or of the honor of Wallingford, Nottingham, Bulloign, Lancaster, or of other escheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir shall give no other relief, and perform no other service to us, than he would to the baron, if the barony were in possession of the baron; we will hold it after the same manner the baron held it. (Nor will we, by reason of such barony or escheat, have any escheat or wardship of any of our men, unless he that held the barony or escheat held of us in chief elsewhere.)

LII. "Those men who dwelt without the forest, from henceforth shall not come before our justiciaries of the forest upon common summons, but such as are impleaded, or are pledges for any that were attached for something concerning the forest. (No country-court, for the future, shall be holden but from month to month; and where there used to be a greater interval, let it be so continued. Neither any sheriff, nor his bailiff, shall keep his turn in the hundred oftener than twice in a year, and only in the accustomed place, that is once after Easter, and once after Michaelmas; and the view of frankpledge shall be held after Michaelmas, without occasion, and so that every one shall have his liberties, which he had, and was wont to have, in the time of king Henry, our grandfather, or such as he obtained afterwards. But the view of frankpledge shall be so made, that our peace may be kept, and that the tything be full as it was wont to be. And the sheriffs shall not seek occasions, but shall be content with what the sheriff was wont to have for making his view in the time of king Henry our grandfather. For the time to come it shall not be lawful for any man to give his land to a religious house, so as to take it again, and hold it of that house. Nor shall it be lawful for any religious house to receive land, so as to grant it him again of whom they received it, to hold of him. If any man for the future shall so give his land to a religious house, and be convicted thereof, his gift shall be void, and the land shall be forfeited to the lord of the fee. Scutage, for the future, shall not be taken as it was used to be taken in the time of king Henry our grandfather; and that the sheriff shall oppress no man, but be content with what he was wont to have. Saving to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, templars, hospitallers, earls, barons, knights, and all others, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, the liberties and free customs which they had before: these being witnesses, &c.)

LIII. "We will not make any justiciaries, constables, sheriffs or bailiffs, but such as are knowing in the law of the realm, and are disposed duly to observe it."

LIV. "All barons, who are founders of abbies, and have charters of the kings of England for the advowson, or are entitled to it by ancient tenure, may have the custody of them, when vacant, as they ought to have."

LV. "All woods that have been taken into the forest" (by king Richard our brother) "in our time shall forthwith be laid out again," (unless they were our demesne woods,) "and the same shall be done with the rivers that have been taken or fenced in by us, during our reign."

LVI. "All evil customs concerning forests, warrens, and foresters, warreners, their lands and their officers, rivers and their keepers, shall forthwith be enquired into in each county, by twelve knights sworn of the same shire, chosen by credible persons in the same county, and upon oath, and within forty days after the said inquest, be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored." (No freeman, for the future, shall give or sell any more of his land, but so that, out of the residue, the service due to the lord of the fee may be sufficiently performed.)

LVII. "We will immediately give up all hostages and writings delivered unto us by our English subjects, as security for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful service."

LVIII. "We will entirely remove from our bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Athyes, so as that, for the future, they shall have no bailiwick in England. We will also remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon, from the chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin, and his two brothers, Philip Mark and his two brothers, and his nephew Geoffrey, and their whole following."

LIX. "And as soon as peace is restored, we will send out of the kingdom all foreign soldiers, cross-bow men, and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms, to the prejudice of our people."

LX. "If any one has been dispossessed or deprived by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, of his lands, castles, liberties, or rights, we will forthwith restore them to him; and if any dispute arises upon his head, let the matter be determined by the five and twenty barons, hereafter spoken of for the preservation of the peace."

LXI. "As for all those things, of which any person has, without the legal judgment of his peers, been dispossessed or deprived, either by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we have in our hands, or are possessed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we shall have a respite, till the term usually allowed the cruises; excepting those things about which there is a plea depending, or whereof an inquest hath been made by our order, before we undertook the crusade. But when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we do not perform it, we will immediately cause full justice to be administered therein."

LXII. "The same respite we shall have for disafforesting the forests, which Henry our father, or our brother Richard hath afforested; and for the wardship of the lands which are in another's fee, in the same manner as we have hitherto enjoyed those wardships, by reason of a fee held of us in knight's service; and for the abbies founded in any other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee says he has a right; and when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we should not perform it, we will immediately do full justice to all the complainants in their behalf."

LXIII. "No man shall be taken, or imprisoned, upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other person than her husband."

LXIV. "All unjust and illegal fines made with us, and all amerciaments imposed unjustly, and contrary to the law of the land, shall be entirely forgiven, or else left to the decision of the five and twenty barons hereafter mentioned, for the preservation of the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the aforesaid Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and others whom he shall think fit to use along with him; and, if he cannot be present, for business, notwithstanding, shall go on without him. But so, that if one or more of the foresaid five and twenty barons be plaintiffs in the same cause, they shall be set aside, as to what concerns this particular case, and others chosen in their room, out of the said five and twenty, and sworn by the rest to decide the matter."

LXV. "If we have disseised or dispossessed any of the Welsh of any lands, liberties, or other things without the legal judgment of their peers, they shall be immediately restored to them. And if any dispute arises upon this head, the matter shall be determined in the Marche, by the judgment of their peers, for the tenements in England, according to the law of England; for tenements in Wales, according to the law of Wales; for tenements of the Marche, according to the law of the Marche."



the law of the Marche; the same shall the Welsh do to us and our subjects."

LXVI. "As for all those things, of which any Welshman hath, without the legal judgment of his peers, been disseised or deprived, by Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we either have in our hands, or others are possessed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, we shall have respite till the time generally allowed the cruises; excepting things about which suit is depending, or whereof an inquest has been made by our order, before we undertook the crusade. But when we return, or if we stay at home without performing our pilgrimage, we will immediately do them full justice, according to the laws of the Welsh, and of the parts before-mentioned."

LXVII. "We will, without delay, dismiss the son of Llewelin, and all the Welsh hostages, and release them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preservation of the peace."

LXVIII. "We shall treat with Alexander, king of Scots, concerning the restoring his sister and hostages, and his right and liberties, in the same form and manner as we shall do to the rest of our barons of England; unless by the charters which we have from his father, William, late king of Scots, it ought to be otherwise; and this shall be left to the determination of his peers in our court."

LXIX. "All the aforesaid customs and liberties which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as it belongs to us towards our people of our kingdom, as well clergy as laity, we shall observe, as far as they are concerned, towards their dependents."

LXX. "And whereas, for the honor of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the discord that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all the things aforesaid; willing to render them firm and lasting, we do give and grant our subjects the under-written security; namely, that the barons may chuse five and twenty barons of the kingdom, whom they think convenient, who shall take care, with all their might, to hold and observe, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted them, and, by this our present charter, confirmed. So as that, if we, our justiciary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, shall in any circumstance fail in the performance of them towards any person, or shall break through any of these articles of peace and security, and the offence is notified to four barons, chosen out of the five and twenty fore-mentioned, the said barons shall repair to us, or our justiciary, if we are out of the realm, and laying open the grievance, shall petition to have it redressed without delay; and, if it is not redressed by us, or, if we should chance to be out of the realm, if it is not redressed by our justiciary, within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been notified to us, or to our justiciary, if we should be out of the realm, the four barons aforesaid shall lay the cause before the rest of the five and twenty barons; and the said five and twenty barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, shall distrain and distress us all the ways possible, namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance is redressed according to their pleasure, both, namely, our own person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when it is redressed, they shall obey us as before."

LXXI. "And any person whomsoever in the kingdom, may swear that he will obey the orders of the five and twenty barons aforesaid, in the execution of the premises, and that he will distress us jointly with them, to the utmost of his power; and we give public and free liberty to any one that shall please to

swear to them, and never shall hinder any person from taking the same oath."

LXXII. "As for all those of our subjects, who will not, of their own accord, swear to join the five and twenty barons, in distraining and distressing us, we will issue our order to make them take the same oath, as is aforesaid."

LXXIII. "And if any one of the five and twenty barons dies, or goes out of the kingdom, or is hindered any other way, from carrying the things aforesaid into execution, the rest of the said five and twenty barons may chuse another in his room, at their own discretion, who shall be sworn in like manner as the rest."

LXXIV. "In all things that are committed to the execution of these five and twenty barons, if, when they are all assembled together, they should happen to disagree about any matter, or some of them, when summoned, will not, or cannot come, whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined, by the major part of those who are present, shall be reputed as firm and valid, as if all the five and twenty had given their consent; and the fore-said five and twenty shall swear, that all the premises they shall faithfully observe, and cause with all their power to be observed."

LXXV. "And we will not, by ourselves, or by any other, procure any thing, whereby any of these concessions and liberties be revoked and lessened; and if any such thing be obtained, let it be null and void; neither shall we ever make use of it, either by ourselves, or any other."

LXXVI. "And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, that hath arisen between us and our subjects, of the clergy and laity, from the first breaking out of the dissension between us, we do fully remit, and forgive. Moreover, all trespasses occasioned by the said dissension, from Easter, in the sixteenth year of our reign, till the restoration of peace and tranquillity, we hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and laity, and, as far as in us lies, do fully forgive."

LXXVII. "We have moreover granted them our letters patent testimonial of Stephen, lord archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, lord archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops aforesaid, as also of master Pandolf, for the security and concessions aforesaid."

LXXVIII. "Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that the church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom have and hold all the fore-said liberties, right and concessions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is aforesaid."

LXXIX. "It is also sworn as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all the things aforesaid shall faithfully and sincerely be observed."

"Given under our hand, in the presence of the witnesses above named, and many others in the meadow called Runnemede, between Windesore and Stanes, the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign."

The above translation of this remarkable charter is taken from an original manuscript now in the British Museum. But the passages inclosed between parentheses are taken from the copy given by Matthew Paris.

This charter is more noble and extensive than any other instrument of its kind in the world. It decides all disputes, removes all doubts, with regard to the compact between the king and his people; for here that contract is not understood only, but expressed; not loosely implied, but positively stipulated: it was obtained



obtained not by representation, but by the collected body of the English nation.

Complaints had been for a long time made against the forest laws; and the English barons were determined not to omit so favourable an opportunity of removing, for the future, the causes which gave rise to an infinite number of vexatious suits. Accordingly they insisted upon the king's signing another charter, by which the rights of the people would be ascertained. This he also complied with, and as it is a matter of very considerable importance, we shall likewise give an accurate translation of it, which we have borrowed from an original manuscript in the British Museum.

The CHARTER of FORESTS, granted by king John to his subjects in the year 1215.

"J O H N, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. Know ye that, for the honor of God, and the health of our soul and the souls of all our ancestors and successors, and for the exaltation of holy church, and for the amendment of our kingdom, we have of our free and good will, given and granted, for us and our heirs, these liberties hereafter specified, to be had and observed in our kingdom of England for ever.

I. "Imprimis, all the forests made by our grandfather, king Henry, shall be viewed by honest and lawful men; and if he turned any other woods into forests, to the damage of him whose wood it was, it shall forthwith be laid out again and disforested. And if he turned his own proper wood into forest, they shall remain so, saving the common of pasture and other things in the said forest, to such as were formerly wont to have it.

II. "Is the LII. and LV. of the Great Charter put into one chapter.

III. "The archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants who have woods in forests, shall have their woods as they had them at the time of the first coronation of our grandfather king Henry, so they shall be discharged for ever of all purprestures, wastes, and assarts made in those woods, after that time to the beginning of the second year of the coronation; and those who, for the time to come, shall make waste, purpresture, or assarts in those woods without our licence, shall answer for them.

IV. "Our inspectors, or viewers, shall go through the forest, to make inspection, as was wont to be at the time of the first coronation of our said grandfather, king Henry, and not otherwise.

V. "The inquisition or view, for lawing of dogs which are kept within the forest, for the future, shall be when the view is made, that is, every three years, and then shall be done by the view and testimony of lawful men, and not otherwise. And he whose dog at such time shall be found unlawed, shall be fined three shillings, and for the future no bail shall be taken for lawing. But such lawing shall be according to the common assize, namely, the three claws of the dog's fore-foot shall be cut off, or the ball of the foot taken out. And from henceforward dogs shall not be lawed, unless in such places where they were wont to be lawed in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.

VI. "No forester, or bedal, for the future, shall make any ale thots, or collect any sheaves of corn, or hay, or any kind of grain, or lambs, or pigs, nor shall make any gathering whatsoever, but by the view and oath of twelve inspectors, and when they make their view, so many foresters shall be appointed to keep the forests as they shall reasonably think sufficient.

VII. "No swainmote for the time to come, shall be holden in our English shires more than thrice a year,

that is to say, in the beginning of the fifteen days before Michaelmas, when the agisters come to assize the demesne woods; and about the feast of St. Martin, when our agisters are to receive their pannage; and in these two swainmotes the foresters, verdurers, and agisters, shall meet, and no other by compulsion or distress: and the third swainmote shall be holden at the beginning of the fifteen days before the feast of St. John Baptist, concerning the fawning of our dogs, and at this swainmote shall meet the foresters and verdurers, and no other by compulsion.

VIII. "And furthermore, every forty days, throughout the year, the verdurers and foresters shall meet to view the attachments of the forests as well of vert as of venison, by presentment of the foresters themselves; and they who committed the offences shall be forced to appear before them: but the aforesaid swainmotes shall be holden but in such counties as they are wont to be holden.

IX. "Every freeman shall agist his wood in the forest at his pleasure, and shall receive his pannage.

X. "We grant also, that every freeman may drive his hogs through our demesne woods, freely and without impediment, and may agist them in his own woods, or elsewhere, as he will: and if the hogs of any freeman shall remain one night in our forests, he shall not be troubled so as to lose any thing for it.

XI. "No man, for the time to come, shall lose life or limb for taking our venison; but if any one be seized and convicted of taking venison, he shall be grievously fined if he hath wherewithal to pay; and if he hath not, he shall lie in our prison a year and a day; and if after that time, he can find sureties, he shall be released; if not, he shall abjure our realm of England.

XII. "It shall be lawful for every archbishop, bishop, earl, or baron, coming to us by our command, and passing through our forest, to take one or two deer, by view of the forester, if present; if not, he shall cause a horn to be sounded, lest he shall seem to do this privately: also, in their return, it shall be lawful for them to do the same thing.

XIII. "Every freeman, for the future, may erect a mill in his own wood, or upon his own land which he hath in the forest; or make a warren, or a pond, a marle-pit or ditch, or turn it into arable, without covert in the arable land, so as it be not to the detriment of any neighbour.

XIV. "Every freeman may have in his woods ayries of hawks, sparrows, falcons, eagles, and herons, and they shall have likewise the honey which shall be found in their woods.

XV. "No forester, for the future, who is not a forester in fee, paying rent for his office, shall take chemmage, that is to say, for a cart two pence during half a year, and for the other half year by pence; and for a horse that carries burdens, for a year a half penny, and for the other half year half penny; and then only of those who carry buyers out of their barwick, to buy and sell timber, bark, or charcoal, to carry it to the places where they will, and for the time to come there shall be no chemmage taken for any other cart or carriage, horse, unless in those places where it was wont and ought to be taken. But those who carry wood, bark, or coal, upon their backs or fell, though they get their livelihood by it, shall in the future pay no chemmage for passage through the woods of other men: no chemmage shall be due to our foresters, but only in our own woods.

XVI. "All persons outlawed for felony committed in our forests, from the time of king Henry our grandfather, until our first coronation, may have their outlawries without impediment, but they shall find pledges, that for the future, they will not offend to us in our forest.



XVII. "No castellan or other person shall hold pleas of the forest, whether concerning vert or venison; but every forester in fee shall attach pleas of the forest, as well concerning vert as venison, and shall present the pleas, or offences, to the vendurers of the several counties; and when they shall be enrolled and sealed under the seals of the vendurers, they shall be presented to the chief forester, when he shall come into those parts to hold pleas of the forest, and shall be determined before him.

XVIII. "And all the customs and liberties aforesaid, which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as belongs to us towards all our vassals of our kingdom, as well laics as clerks, shall observe as much as belongs to them towards their vassals."

Such were the two famous charters signed by king John at Runnemeade. The barons, however, knew that it was not enough to procure these charters; they were well acquainted with the proud, vindictive, and inconstant disposition of John, from whence they wisely judged that he would embrace the first opportunity of renouncing these articles of compulsion, if not farther restricted to the observance of them: they therefore insisted on his consenting that twenty-five of their own number should be chosen to see the charter duly observed. These were to be distinguished by the appellation of Conservators of the Liberties of the People; and four of them were empowered to demand reparation within forty days from him or his justiciary, in case of the infringement of any article or articles: and if such reparation should be neglected, or not made, then this committee of four were to give notice of the same to the rest, who, with the community of the nation, might seize his castles, lands and possessions, until satisfaction should be obtained.

John made not the least opposition to these ignominious proceedings. He submitted with great seeming tranquillity to the most humiliating indignity; and even sent writs to his sheriffs, ordering them to oblige every person to swear obedience to the conservators, on pain of having all their estates seized, and all their chattels sold within a fortnight after refusal.

Notwithstanding, however, all this seeming desire of acting in conformity to the articles of the great charter, John never intended to observe that treaty any longer than the necessity of the times obliged him. He only bowed beneath the storm that roared around him; and as soon as the threatening blast was over, determined to resume the power he had lost. He was principally encouraged in this design by the foreign mercenaries he kept about his person. They insinuated, that it was shameful for a king to make any concessions to his subjects, and that no compact, extorted by the force of rebellion, could be binding. These insinuations coincided exactly with the king's opinion, and determined him to make one attempt to shake off the yoke of compulsion, so galling to his mind. He became sullen and melancholy, separated himself from the company of his counsellors, and at last retired privately by night, attended only by seven of his friends, into the Isle of Wight, where he meditated the most fatal vengeance against his enemies. He secretly sent abroad his emissaries to hasten the embolism, and increase the number of his foreign mercenaries; and to invite the rapacious Brabanders into service, by the prospect of sharing the spoils of the land, and reaping the fortunes of so many discontented barons, who had incurred the guilt of rebellion by rising in arms against him. At the same time, he dispatched a messenger to Rome, in order to lay before the pope, the great charter, which he had been compelled to sign, and to complain before that tribunal of the violence used by his barons.

Innocent III. considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incensed to the last degree at the behaviour of the barons, and swore by St. Peter, that the injury they had done their king should not go unpunished. He accordingly issued a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apostolic authority, he annulled the whole charter, as unjust in itself, as obtained by compulsion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the holy see. He prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it: he even prohibited the king himself from paying any regard to it: he absolved him and his subjects from all oaths, which they had been constrained to take for that purpose; and he denounced a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable and iniquitous pretensions.

But the thunder of the Vatican, in temporal affairs, had now lost great part of its force; and the pope had the mortification to see even Langton, whom he himself had placed on the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, refuse to promulgate his censures. Exasperated to the highest degree at this opposition in a prelate he expected would have exerted his utmost power to promote the interest of the holy see, the pope suspended Langton from the exercise of his functions. But this act of papal vengeance did not produce the desired effect; the clergy, with the primate at their head, as well as the nobility and people, discovered a noble ardour to preserve that liberty and independence they had with so much difficulty obtained.

John's emissaries on the continent had been very successful, and had engaged a powerful army, principally composed of soldiers of fortune, in the service of their master. They were all veteran troops, and ready to venture their lives in any cause to gain an independent fortune; besides which they were farther animated by John's having promised them the estates of his turbulent barons.

As soon as John received advice of the embarkation of these forces, he ventured to throw off the mask: he recalled all the liberties he had granted to his subjects; declared the great charter null and void, and the barons, who had extorted that instrument from him, rebels and traitors. His foreign forces landed at Dover; and John, putting himself at their head, seemed determined to satiate his cruelty. He marched to Northampton, reducing the whole country through which he passed to a smoking desert. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, and parks of the barons. Every thing was levelled in the dust; and cruelties, such as would shock even savages themselves, were practised on the innocent inhabitants.

Most of the northern barons, unable to resist the power of the mercenaries, and having little reason to expect mercy should they fall into the hands of the king, fled before him with their wives and families, and solicited the protection of Alexander, king of Scotland.

John followed them into that kingdom, and in his way burnt several towns, particularly Haddington and Dunbar: but receiving advice that Alexander had raised a numerous army, and was advancing to give him battle, he thought proper to retreat, well knowing that a defeat must prove fatal. He had made himself master of most of the castles in England, and now determined to besiege London, the only place of consequence that held out in support of independence.

A. D. 1216. The barons, now driven to despair, had recourse to a most desperate expedient: they applied to the court of France for protection, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, eldest son to Philip, for their



their sovereign, if he would assist them with a body of forces against their enraged monarch. Though the sense of the common rights of mankind, the only rights which are indefeasible, might have justified them in their deposition of the king; they declined insisting before Philip, on a pretension, which is in general so unfavourably received among sovereigns, and which sounds harshly in the ears of royalty. They affirmed that John was incapable of possessing the crown, by reason of the attainder passed upon him during his brother's reign; though that attainder had been reversed, and Richard had even, by his last will, declared him his successor. They pretended that he was already legally deposed by the sentence of the peers of France, for the murder of his nephew, though that sentence could not possibly regard any thing but his transmarine dominions, which alone he held in homage to that crown. But they affirmed, more plausibly, that he had already deposed himself by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his sovereignty, and resigning an independent crown for a fee or vassalage under a foreign power.

The crown of England was too rich a prize to be neglected; and Philip accordingly accepted the offer made to his son. The pope's legate menaced him with interdicts and excommunications, if he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, or attacked a prince who was immediately under the protection of the holy see; but as Philip was assured of the obedience of his own vassals, his principles were changed with the complexion of the times; and he now as much disregarded the papal censures, as he formerly pretended to pay respect to them. But though Philip beheld with contempt the menaces of the pope, he had his scruples respecting the fidelity of the English barons, with regard to their engagements, and the danger of intrusting his son and heir in the hands of persons, who might, on any caprice or necessity, make peace with their native sovereign, by sacrificing a pledge of so much value. He therefore exacted from the barons twenty-five hostages, of the noblest birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this security, he sent over a small army to the relief of the confederates, and promised that his son, at the head of a more numerous body of forces, should follow with all convenient expedition.

In the mean time John, informed of the engagements entered into between the nobility and the French court, resolved to take all the advantages which the superiority of his arms over those of the barons had given him. Accordingly he laid siege to the castle of Colchester, which he took in a few days; and soon after the castle of Heddingham, belonging to the earl of Oxford, fell into his hands. These successes encouraged him to think of forming the siege of London. At the same time he ordered a fleet of sixty-five sail to block up the mouth of the river Thames. But London was, at that time, so powerful and populous, that the inhabitants boldly threw open their gates, and defied the king to attack their city. Savory de Malleon, however, one of his mercenary generals, advancing with a party too near the walls, was desperately wounded, and his men being cut to pieces by the Londoners, he himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Soon after, the Londoners equipped and manned the ships which lay in the river Thames, and falling down upon John's fleet, sunk or took most of them.

The northern barons animated at the success of the Londoners, resumed their courage, and taking the field in a body, laid siege to York, and obliged the garrison to purchase a truce till Whitsuntide, at the expense of a thousand marks.

The war now raged with as great fury as ever. But John, deading the effects of Lewis's landing, marched down to the sea coasts, where he took all imaginable

precautions to disappoint the expectations of his enemy, by putting every place in a proper posture of defence. He even pressed all the ships in the sea-ports, opposite to France, into his service, and manning them with the greatest expedition, resolved to fight Lewis in his passage to England; but while they were waiting for the appearance of the enemy, a violent storm happened, which either sunk or dashed to pieces, the greater part of his fleet. Soon after this misfortune, Lewis landed in the Isle of Thanet.

The arrival of Lewis put a final period to John's success. The greater part of his foreign troops, who were chiefly natives of France, now deserted him, declaring that they could not fight against the heir of their lawful sovereign. When Lewis landed, John was encamped near Dover; but instead of endeavouring to attack the enemy, before the French force could be joined by the barons, he retreated to Winchester. Conscious guilt and jealous distrust benumbed all the faculties of his soul, and disarmed him at the very instant he stood in need of more than common resolution.

The courage of Lewis was so heightened by the unmanly fears of John, that he marched to London without meeting with the least opposition. He entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people, and the barons and citizens immediately swore fealty to him; while the prince, in return, solemnly promised to restore all their estates, and confirm the ancient privileges of the kingdom.

Notwithstanding the great success Lewis hitherto met with, yet many difficulties still remained to be surmounted, before he could make himself master of England. Most of the maritime places were in the interest of John, who had favoured the sea-ports with many valuable privileges, and made many excellent regulations with regard to the marine. This was an alarming circumstance to Lewis, who considered his being master of some convenient harbour as a matter of the last importance. Destitute of that advantage, his receiving reinforcements from the continent would be rendered very precarious; nor would even his own retreat, in case of a reverse of fortune, be easy. He therefore attempted to make himself master of Dover; but his enterprize was rendered abortive; the castle defied his power. He therefore carried his arms into the inland parts of Kent and Suffex, where he reduced with great facility. But William de Coldingham, at the head of a thousand archers, retreating into the wilds and fastnesses of that country, supported himself against all the power of the French army.

In the mean time John was not idle. He fortified and furnished with provisions several sea-ports; entreating himself that the bolt of papal thunder, which was now ready to be launched against Philip and his son, would defeat all their schemes, and restore him to the quiet possession of the English crown. In this, however, he was mistaken. Innocent, indeed, annulled the sentence of excommunication against him; but the effect fell far short of John's sanguinary expectations. The French bishops declared new communication of Philip void, and Lewis paid no regard to the papal censure. He was more desirous of procuring a proper sea-port than of quelling the effects of Innocent's sentence. He therefore once more led his army to Dover, and invested that important fortress. But Lewis found the attack more difficult than he imagined. Hubert de Burgh, the governor, was a brave and vigilant officer, and being at the head of a resolute garrison, made glorious sallies upon the French army, so that Lewis was obliged to remove his camp to a considerable distance from the walls. Affamed, and enraged at this disappointment, Lewis first attempted to work upon Hubert's tenderness, by threatening to put to death



his brother Thomas, whom he had taken prisoner. This proving ineffectual, he endeavoured to corrupt him with gold; and both these expedients failing, he threatened to put the whole garrison to the sword, in case he should take the castle. But Hubert, equally proof against every attempt, continued to defend the place with so much vigor, that Lewis was at last obliged to change the siege into a blockade.

Lewis was greatly alarmed at this miscarriage, and his fears were considerably heightened on finding that his barons appeared less active in his service: but he was too haughty to conciliate their esteem by caresses, and wanted prudence to foresee the consequences of his neglect. He did not even endeavor to conceal his disgust; he excluded them from his councils and confidence; and instead of restoring the nobility to their honors and estates, he bestowed all his favors upon his own countrymen. The barons now saw their error, in calling in a foreign force to their assistance; the people complained of the oppressions exercised by their new masters; and every thing wore the appearance of fresh disturbances.

About the same time it was rumoured, that the viscount of Melun, one of Lewis's courtiers, fell dangerously ill, and perceiving himself tottering on the brink of eternity, he sent for some of his friends among the English barons, to warn them of their danger. He told them that Lewis had formed the detestable design of exterminating them with all their families, and bestowing their estates and titles on his foreign favorites. This report, whether true or false, acted powerfully on the English barons, and was of infinite prejudice to Lewis. The earl of Salisbury, and several others of the principal nobility determined, if possible, to elude the force of the storm which threatened their destruction. They sent private information to John of their intention of joining his army, and obtained a promise of a free pardon.

John, animated with the hopes of being joined by his nobility, exerted himself in collecting an army, and determined to bring on a decisive battle with the invader of his country. But in marching over the washes from Lynn into Lincolnshire, at an improper time of the tide, the sea rushed in upon him with such violence and rapidity, that he lost the greater part of his forces, together with all his treasure, baggage and regalia, he himself escaping with difficulty. He reached Swineshead-abbey, but the great fatigues he had undergone, and the constant hurry and perturbation of his spirits, added to the affliction he felt at his late irreparable misfortune, threw him into a violent fever. Next day, being unable to ride, he was carried in a litter to the castle of Sleaford, and from thence to Newark, where, finding his end approaching, he ordered his will to be drawn up, by which he appointed his son Henry, then a child, to succeed him. The same night, the 18th of October, 1216 he died, in the 51st year of his age, and the 18th of his reign.

His body was carried to Worcester, according to his own order, and buried with little funeral pomp, in the cathedral of that city, where his tomb, with his image on it, as big as life, is still to be seen, but without any inscription.

The character of this prince is little more than a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people. The insatiable thirst of his passion for pleasure broke into the pale of private honor. His subjects, who were wounded in to tender a point found, perhaps, their resentment of public grievances sharpened by personal injury. One excess brought on another, till at last government itself became a blank, and civil order ceased. John had many opportunities of re-

trieving his affairs; but he is a distinguished instance of the fatal consequence of wanting a good name. The horror which the public entertained for Arthur's death had more effect in driving him from his French dominions, than all the power of Philip; nor was he ever able to avail himself of the many favourable circumstances that afterwards offered. He seems to have valued power only as it gave him an opportunity of doing mischief with greater security. Years added nothing to his experience, though they increased his passions, which were always violent. He tried both extremes of fortune, and behaved ignominiously in both. Difficulties never inspired reflection, nor adversity moderation; yet, under difficulties, he was exquisitely sensible, and in adversity infinitely dejected. He had starts of every thing but goodness; he was profited by nothing but compulsion. The treasure he amassed was spent without dignity, and his favors were bestowed without judgment. He was not destitute of abilities, though nothing called them so effectually into action as necessity or revenge: in the former he found wonderful resources; and to gratify the latter, he often broke through his favourite indolence.

But while we deplore those vices which made him the scourge of that people over whom he had unjustly usurped the rule, and for which, in the end, he was so severely punished, let us not forget to mention the few laudable transactions of his reign, by which the nation received several distinguished benefits. He established the form of civil government in London, by granting the citizens liberty and authority to chuse to themselves yearly a mayor, which office before continued during life: he likewise gave them leave to chuse a common-council of the most substantial citizens, and to elect and deprive their sheriffs at pleasure. He was the first who coined sterling money, introduced the laws of England into Ireland, and granted the Cinque Ports those liberties they now enjoy. He made several excellent regulations for fitting out a navy on any sudden emergency, and on all occasions steadily supported the dignity of the English flag.

In John we have an admirable instance that some good may be produced even from the greatest apparent evil. The reign of this prince, wicked and miserable as it certainly was, gave occasion to those excellent charters which form the basis of the English constitution. His tyranny first prompted the barons to assert, and his sloth and indolence afterwards enabled them to obtain, those inestimable rights and privileges, which are at once the glory and safeguard of Englishmen.

John left two legitimate sons behind him, Henry, born on the 1st of October, 1207, and now only nine years of age, and Richard born on the 6th of January 1209. Besides these, he had three daughters, Jane, married to Alexander, king of Scots; Eleanor married first to William Marshal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and then to Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, andabella, married to the emperor Frederic II. All these children were born to him by Isabella of Angoulême, his second wife. Besides these, he had many illegitimate children, but none of them were sufficiently distinguished to deserve a place in history.

The most remarkable occurrences that happened during this prince's reign, were as follow:

In the second year of his reign French wine was sold in England for 20s. per tun. Afterwards people were allowed to sell red wine for 6d. per quart, and white for 8d.

In his 5th year died Peter of Colechurch, who began to build London bridge with stone, and was buried in the chapel under that bridge.



On the 10th of July, in the year 1212, great part of London was burnt: the fire began in Southwark, and having consumed the church of St. Mary Overy, spread to the bridge; and, whilst great numbers of people ran, some to behold, others to quench the flames, the houses at the other end of the bridge took fire, so that the multitude being thus en-

closed, many were forced to leap into the Thames: whilst others, crowding into the boats that came to their relief, were the cause of their own destruction, the boats and people sinking together. Near 2000 persons perished by this melancholy accident, some by water and others by fire.

## S E C T I O N IV.

### HENRY III. SURNAMED *of* WINCHESTER.

ON the death of John, the crown of England fell, by lineal succession, on his eldest son Henry, a child only nine years of age, who was consequently unable either to judge for himself, or to manage the reins of government, unless by the direction of others.

Fortunately for the young prince, as well as for the kingdom, the military command was at this time invested in William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, who, from his office, was likewise at the head of the state. This nobleman was possessed of fidelity, prudence, and fortitude; and seemed born to support the languishing constitution of his country. Knowing the distracted state of the kingdom, he seized the helm of government, and managed it with such an equal proportion of virtues and abilities, that at length he weathered the tempest, and brought the national vessel safely into port.

The first step he took towards this desirable end was, to endeavour to restore a mutual confidence between the throne and the great barons. This was, indeed, an essential point; for, notwithstanding that Lewis was already in possession of the metropolis, and the better half of the kingdom, and was, moreover, supported by all the power of France, yet, such had been the folly and imprudence of his own conduct, that the affections of the nobles were in a great measure alienated from him, and they remained attached to his party more through fear than regard.

The earl, well apprized of this disposition in the barons, and being himself strongly zealous for the hereditary rights of blood, called a council of the barons at Gloucester, whither all repaired who were in the interest of the royal family. As soon as the members were seated, the earl entered the assembly, leading young Henry in his hand. Perceiving the barons were pleased at the sight of the prince, the earl thus exclaimed, "Behold your king!" These words occasioned a short pause, after which Pembroke thus addressed the assembly:

"My dear friends and countrymen,

"Though we justly opposed the father of this young prince, on account of his wicked and mistaken conduct; yet this child is guiltless of his father's errors; and as the punishment of offences ought only to be inflicted on their authors, it would be unjust for us to make the son bear the iniquity of his father. It is our duty and interest to forget our animosities, and in compassion to his tender years, unite to support him on the throne of his ancestors. Let us exert our utmost efforts to drive Lewis and all his followers out of this oppressed country. By this noble, this generous action, we shall save our kingdom from becoming the reproach of its neighbours, and break the yoke of a debasing and foreign slavery."

This address, which carried conviction with it to the hearts of the barons, had the desired effect. The earl of Chester, indeed, stated an objection relative to their having called over Lewis; but it was over-ruled by recapitulating that prince's conduct since his arrival in England; and it was generally agreed that his arbitrary and tyrannical behaviour had dissolved all ties that might otherwise have bound those who had invited him to their assistance; and the assembly with one voice called out, "Let Henry be made king!"

The coronation was accordingly solemnized at Gloucester, on the eve of the 28th of October, 1216, in presence of Gualo, the pope's legate, and a few of the barons, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, the archbishop of Canterbury being then at Rome. Before the crown was placed on his head, he took the accustomed oath; after which it was thought necessary that he should swear fealty to the pope, and renew that homage to which his father had already subjected the kingdom. The prelates, barons, and all those who were present, next swore fealty and allegiance to the new king; and the following day they came to a resolution to appoint the earl of Pembroke the king's guardian, and regent of the kingdom.

The first step the new regent took was, to send circular letters, notifying Henry's coronation to the barons and communities of the kingdom, and promising a general amnesty to all those who should return to their obedience, and peaceably acknowledge Henry III. for their sovereign.

This prudent measure, and the known probity of the regent, had the desired effect upon many of the barons who still adhered to Lewis. They reflected that the cause which induced them to take up arms no longer existed; that opposition was now unprofitable rebellion; and that the only method they could pursue with propriety, was that of making their submission to their lawful sovereign. The pope's legate greatly assisted in bringing about this desirable result. He caused the sentence of excommunication to be thundered from the pulpit of every church in the kingdom against Lewis and his adherents. This sentence, however despised in the first transport of sentiment, many of the barons who still adhered to Lewis, withdrew, in the moments of cool reflection, to be disannulled, and they, by that means, were admitted into the bosom of the church.

In the mean time Lewis was employed in carrying on the siege of Dover, having made a vow not to abandon the undertaking till he was master of the place. The obstinate defence, however, of this important place, the fidelity of the sea-port town to the royal family, the visible decline of the influence of the barons, and the prosperous conduct of Henry's affairs, rendered the French prince







jealous than ever of the English nobility. He now exacted from them an oath of abjuration of John's family. This oath was taken by some through fear, by others through policy; but was disregarded by all. Lewis was soon sensible of this; he perceived he had now little more to trust to for success than his own sword: the excommunications against him and his adherents, thundered every day from every pulpit, heightened his apprehensions, and weakened his interest. He therefore again attempted to corrupt the fidelity of Hubert de Burgh, the intrepid governor of Dover-castle. He informed him of John's death, and tempted him with whatever the ambition of a subject could desire; but all his offers were rejected; and Hubert declared that he would defend the castle as long as one of the garrison was left alive. At last Lewis, despairing of success, raised the siege, and marched to London.

A short time after this Lewis advanced to Hertford, and made himself master of the castle. From hence he proceeded, with all the fury of disappointed ambition, to St. Alban's, which he threatened with destruction; but he was at last prevailed upon to spare the town and abbey, though not without exacting a very severe composition for that indulgence. And as the clergy, in general, were extremely active in the cause of young Henry, Lewis destroyed all their possessions that fell in his way. They were, however, sufficiently revenged; for, by their means, the French became every day more and more the detestation of the people. And so successful were their endeavours to distress the French party, that Lewis was obliged to accept of a truce during the Christmas holidays.

This cessation of hostilities was of infinite service to the protector: he wrote letters in the king's name to all the male-content barons; in which he represented to them, that whatever jealousy and animosity they might have entertained against the late king, a young prince, the lineal heir of their ancient monarchs, had now succeeded to the throne, without succeeding either to the resentment or principles of his predecessor: that the desperate expedient they had employed, exclaiming in a foreign potentate, had happily for them, and happily for the nation, failed of entire success; and it was still in their power, by a quick return to their duty, to restore the independence of their country, and to secure that liberty, for which they so zealously contended: that as all past offences of the barons were now buried in oblivion, they ought, on their part, to forget their complaints against their late sovereign, who, if he had been any wise blameable in his conduct, had left to his son the salutary warning, to avoid the paths, which had led to such fatal extremities; and that having now obtained a charter for their liberties, it was their interest to demonstrate, by their conduct, that so valuable an acquisition was not incompatible with their allegiance, and that the rights of the king and people, so far from being hostile and opposite, might mutually support and sustain each other.

These considerations, enforced by the character of constancy and fidelity, which Pembroke had always maintained, produced so happy an effect on the barons, that the greater part of them began secretly to negotiate with the protector, and many of them openly avowed their attachment to the young king.

A. D. 1217. Lewis now began to find that his party and interest declined daily: the war was very expensive, and could be supported only by draughts from France. The protector's whole aim was, to withdraw from the tumults of war, in order to give the English an opportunity to reflect. He knew then how to be aversive to the French, and that if he could, by repeated acts of generosity and clemency, win the people with a confidence in the govern-

ment, his master's authority would be soon established in every part of the kingdom. This disposition, together with the incessant endeavours of the court of Rome to serve the royal family, had so powerful an effect, that Lewis consented to another truce, which was to last till after Easter. During this cessation of arms, Lewis found himself obliged by his father, who durst no longer resist the solicitations of the pope, to return to France. He accordingly set out for that kingdom about the middle of January, intending to make a short tour to Paris, as well to avert the thunder of the Vatican, as to procure a supply of men and money.

The absence of Lewis furnished the regent with a favourable opportunity of making fresh levies, and using his interest and endeavours to bring over the most considerable of the barons to the royal cause; and so effectually did this worthy subject labour in his reconciliatory plan, that, besides the earls of Salisbury, Arundel and Warren, he had the pleasure to see Hugh de Lacy, and William the young earl of Marshal, his own son, who till then had been one of the most zealous partisans of France, return to their allegiance, and ever after remain faithful to their duty. In a word, the number of those who quitted Lewis's party during the truce was so great, that the loss was not made good by all the supplies he could muster in France to reinforce his army.

The Cinque ports likewise declared in favor of Henry, and fitted out a squadron of ships, with which they way-laid and attacked Lewis in his return; but, after a smart skirmish, he got safe, with the loss of a few ships only, to Sandwich. This instance of disaffection, however, incensed him so highly, that, in revenge, he burnt the town of Sandwich, as being one of the Cinque ports; and having made another unsuccessful attack on Dover-castle, he marched with his troops towards London, whither he arrived on the very day the truce expired.

The first considerable act of hostility was began by the regent, who detached a body of forces, under the earls of Lincoln and Albermarle, to invest Mount Sorrel, in Leicestershire, the garrison having committed the most dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of the castle. Lewis, who knew the consequence of that fortress, detached an army of six hundred knights and twenty thousand infantry, under the command of the count de la Perche, a marshal of France, to raise the siege. Upon his approach, the English, who were too weak to venture a battle, retired to Nottingham; and the count, confident from the superiority of his numbers, resolved to attack the castle of Lincoln.

This circumstance greatly alarmed the regent: the castle of Lincoln was a place of too much consequence to lose, without making one effort for its relief. A summons was therefore issued by the protector to all the king's tenants, ordering them to join the royal army at Newark upon Trent. The pope's legate not only excommunicated Lewis by name, but also declared that all who embarked in defence of Henry should be intitled to the same privileges as those who undertook a crusade. He himself assumed the cross, and the bishops and barons drew the temporal sword. This zeal of the clergy was of the utmost service to the royal cause: the people flocked with the utmost alacrity to the Protector's standard, inspired with a kind of enthusiastic ardor which seldom fails of success; and Pembroke had the satisfaction of seeing himself at the head of a noble and resolute army, inflamed with the desire of being led against an excommunicated enemy.

Such was the expedition used by the regent in his march, that he had advanced almost in sight of the enemy before they had notice of his approach. They



had all along hoped to take the castle before an army could be assembled strong enough to oppose them. Surprized to find the regent so close to them, the French general called a council of war, in which, after much debate arising from a difference of opinions, it was resolved to make one decisive assault upon the castle, (the garrison of which was by this time reduced to the utmost distress,) and to act on the defensive against Pembroke's forces. These measures proved the destruction of the French army. Fulk de Briant, soon after, found means to enter the castle by a postern-gate, at the head of a chosen body of French archers, and made several sallies to amuse the besiegers; while the royal army vigorously attacked one of the gates of the city, carried it by storm, and entered the place sword in hand. The French perceived their danger, and made a noble defence; but the fresh troops continuing to pour in through the avenue, a total rout ensued. The count of Perche was killed in the streets, having refused quarter, though offered several times, and most of the French troops fell with him.

When Lewis was informed of this defeat, he was struck with the most inexpressible consternation. He immediately left Dover, shut himself up in the capital, and dispatched a courier to his father for assistance. Philip, who was desirous of averting the censure of the pope from his own kingdom, refused to engage openly in the defence of his son; but permitted Blanch, his daughter-in-law, the wife of Lewis, to raise a powerful body of troops, and to provide a fleet of ships for transporting them into England. But they landed not in that kingdom: the French ships were met by the English on the coast of Kent, and totally defeated.

This defeat gave the finishing stroke to all Lewis's hopes in this kingdom; and, to add a greater weight to the misfortunes that crowded in upon him, he now beheld the regent, at the head of an irresistible army, in the neighbourhood of London, and himself blocked up in that city, without the smallest hope of relief. The people, no longer overawed by the superiority of foreign masters, now gave a free vent to their expressions of dislike to him and his conduct. The chief barons of his alliance were shut up in prisons after their defeat at Lincoln; the rest had either openly abandoned his party, or, by being in the same predicament with himself, continued about his person more through inability to go elsewhere, than out of any real affection to him or his cause. The whole nation resounded with the peals of ecclesiastical thunder hurled against him from the Vatican; and he now remained in a foreign country, hated, despised, and cut off from all means of changing the complexion of his fate.

Thus circumstanced, nothing remained but to seek by submission that safety which he had in vain tried to acquire by force. Lewis, accordingly, offered to conclude a peace with the Protector, by which he promised to evacuate the kingdom, on condition of his adherents being re-established in their honors and fortunes. The terms were accepted; and Lewis returned to the continent, with the mortification of having seized a sceptre he was unable to keep.

Exclusive of the articles of treaty, Lewis promised, and firmly engaged himself, to use his utmost endeavours to persuade his father Philip to restore to Henry all his rights on the continent; and if he failed in this mediation, to do it himself as soon as he should become possessed of the crown of France.

The greatest sufferers among all Lewis's adherents were the clergy. Nothing was stipulated for them in the treaty of peace: they were left entirely to the mercy of the pope, whom they had so highly offended, and who seized with eagerness this favourable oppor-

tunity to wreak his vengeance on them for their disobedience. Many of them were deposed, and many suspended; some were banished; and all who escaped punishment were obliged to purchase their pardon by paying large sums of money to the legate; so that the pope by these means became possessed of immense treasure. But Innocent lived not long to enjoy the fruits of his interposition in favor of young Henry. He paid the debt of nature soon after the departure of Lewis from England, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Honorius III.

A. D. 1218. The rage of civil war being now appeased, the Protector applied himself to the salutary measures of improving that peace his prudence and victories had so happily brought about. He procured a new charter of liberties, but it differed in several particulars from that of John. The full privilege of elections in the clergy, and the liberty of going out of the kingdom without first obtaining the royal consent, were not confirmed in the charter of Henry, because the state had already experienced the inconveniences arising from them. The obligation by which John had restrained himself from buying aids and scutages, without the consent of the great council of the nation, was also omitted in this instrument. The barons perceived that no aids, unless they were evidently reasonable, could be levied upon men who had arms in their hands, and who were able to repel any acts of violence. Nor did he content himself with granting anew the privileges that had been enjoyed in the preceding reign; he caused writs, in the king's name, to be issued to the sheriffs of the different counties, commanding them to lay open all forests, agreeable to the intention of the charter granted for that purpose by king John; and some time after, he sent the chief justiciary of the forests on a circuit through the kingdom, to see that the orders were fully executed, and the bounds of the forests distinctly marked. At the same time, orders were given to demolish all the new castles that had been erected since the beginning of the disputes between the late king and his barons.

A. D. 1219. While the earl of Pembroke was thus exerting his utmost abilities to restore peace and happiness to the king and his people, death put a period to his labours and his life. The nation suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this great man, whose valour, integrity and prudence had broke the yoke of foreign slavery, and restored the liberties of Englishmen. He died about the middle of March, and his body was deposited in the church of St. Knights Templars (now the Temple Church, where his effigy, in a coat of mail, is still to be seen).

This great man was succeeded by William of Roches, bishop of Winchester; and Hubert de Burgh, the gallant defender of Dover castle, was created chief justiciary of the kingdom. The councils of the latter were conformable to his character, that of a great, a prudent, and a virtuous man. His were for some time followed; and had he possessed the authority of Pembroke, the nation would not so greatly regretted the loss of that eminent patriot. His power, however, was not sufficient to repress the licentiousness of the barons, who were too strong to be restrained by laws under a minority, and whose rapacity induced them to usurp the domains of the crown, as well as the possessions of their weaker neighbours. Hence revolts were multiplied, and the government was perpetually employed in reducing the rebellions.

A. D. 1222. These disturbances roused the dormant spirit of faction in the minds of those who were well affected to the government. Lewis had still a party in the kingdom, especially among the meaner class of the citizens of London, while the clergy



inhabitants of Westminster were intirely in the interest of the royal family of England. The animosity of these two opposite parties first appeared at a wrestling match, held at the hospital of St. Maud, in the neighbourhood of the capital, where the Londoners came off victorious. The steward of Westminster, finding himself and his followers foiled, proclaimed another match of the same kind, in which the conqueror was to carry away a ram, as the prize. On the day appointed, when the Londoners came to the field, they were attacked by the steward and his party, armed with weapons; some were wounded, and the rest obliged to return to the city. This fray was reſented by the friends of Lewis, who immediately made it a party quarrel. One Constantine Fitz-ar-nulph, a bold, rich, and factious citizen, was at the head of the French party. His noisy harangues drowned the wise remonstrances of the mayor, who advised the citizens to complain to the abbot of Westminster. Constantine instantly gave out the words "God and king Lewis;" adding, that all the houses belonging both to the abbot and steward of Westminster, ought to be levelled with the ground. He put himself at the head of the rabble, marched immediately to Westminster, and there began hostilities by demolishing several houses belonging to the abbot. The words which had been given out alarmed the friends of the government; and the lawless rabble having now wreaked their fury, Hubert de Burgh entered the city, at the head of a strong body of forces. He immediately summoned the magistracy, with the principal citizens, and demanded who were the authors of the late riot? Constantine, not the least intimidated, stepped forward, boldly avowed himself the author, and justified all he had done; alledging in his own defence, the treaty made by Pembroke with Lewis, by which the citizens of London were to be restored to all their former rights; and by which a general act of indemnity was to pass, with regard to all who had been concerned in the late troubles. The justiciary, on hearing this resolute answer, dismissed the assembly, without declaring his design, or discovering the least emotion; but ordered Constantine and his nephew to be committed to prison; and the next morning, caused them both to be executed. Had the severity of the government rested here, it might have been thought reasonable; but a party of mercenaries entered the city, seized all who were suspected of having been concerned in the late riot, committed them to prison, and the unhappy victims were afterwards punished in a very exemplary manner. Nor did this impolitic severity, or rather cruelty, rest here: the court, pleased with an opportunity of revenging itself on the citizens, for the part they had acted during the residence of Lewis in England, arbitrarily deposed all the magistrates, and filled their places with creatures of their own.

A. D. 1223. These proceedings, which were considered as direct infringements on the great charter, excited the clamours of the populace, who, with justice, conceiving themselves injured, demanded a new confirmation of it. In consequence of this, a general council was called, and the demand of the people taken into consideration. During the debates, one of the council of the regency asserted, that no regard ought to be paid to the great charter, because it was extorted by violence. But Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, severely reprimanded the speaker for his misdirection, as his assertion had a direct tendency to raise a rebellion in the nation; affirming, at the same time, that the demand of the people was founded on justice; and that the government could not, without the most palpable injustice, dispense with any article in the charter. His opinion was adopted, and the parliament having granted a subsidy, the king issued

orders for a new charter of confirmation. At length the bishops, by the tenor of ecclesiastical censures, obliged the barons to deliver up the fortresses belonging to the crown, the possession of which they had obtained in the most forcible and illegal manner.

On the 14th of July this year (1223) died Philip Augustus, king of France, who was succeeded by his son Lewis VIII. As soon as the event was known in England, Henry's council sent over ambassadors to congratulate Lewis on his accession to the throne, and to remind him of his promise he had made with regard to Normandy and the other provinces, of which John had been deprived by his father. Lewis, however, far from granting this demand, not only declared that he looked upon Normandy as unalienably annexed to the crown of France, but should likewise, at a proper time, renew his claim to England, in virtue of the grant made him by the great barons. In consequence of this answer the English council published a manifesto, inviting the noblemen of Normandy to return to their allegiance, promising to restore them to their family possessions in England.

No material circumstances happened in England from this time till the year 1226, which was opened with a parliament held at Westminster, wherein the king was declared of age, though he had not yet attained his one-and-twentieth year. This, however, was not the business for which the parliament was assembled; they were more immediately convened in order to deliberate on an extraordinary demand made by the court of Rome. The pope had sent over a legate, under pretence of removing a reproach that had long been thrown upon the court of the Vatican. The pontiff observed, that the holy see having long been accused of selling her favors for money, it was the duty of all good Christians to assist in removing the cause of such a scandalous imputation, which flowed intirely from the extreme indigence of the Roman church. He therefore demanded, that two prebends in every cathedral, and two cells in every convent in England, should be granted to the church of Rome, by an authentic deed, confirmed by an act of the great council of the nation.

The English parliament treated this demand with such contempt, that no answer was returned to Rome. But the archbishop of Canterbury, who was more immediately interested, wrote to the pope, informing him, "That when the Roman see had procured the same assistance from other nations, England would follow their example; but would never establish the precedent."

This was by no means satisfactory to his holiness, who, to mortify Henry in return, sent inhibitory letters, commanding him not to attempt any thing against the dominions of France, so long as its king Lewis should bear the cross he had taken up against the Albigenses.

A. D. 1227. As Henry advanced in years, he discovered those principles that portended little happiness to his people. He was naturally of a mild and timid disposition, and possessed neither vigor of mind, nor political discernment. His sentiments were violent and transitory; his attachments sudden and inconsistent: the one excited no apprehensions, the other was not consolidated into friendship. At the same time his resolution was blended with the principles of avarice, tyranny and oppression. Little expectations of happiness could be therefore formed from his government.

Henry, on his arriving at the age of majority, summoned a parliament at Oxford, when he declared his intention of taking into his own hands the reins of government; adding, that as the great charter, and that of the forests, had been obtained by an act of rebellion, and confirmed in his minority, he could



not consider himself as legally bound by any acts or promises during his infancy. The members were astonished at this declaration; and the assembly broke up in a manner which sufficiently indicated, that the storm of resentment would soon exert its baleful power.

This year Lewis VIII. died in his expedition against the Albigenſes, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis IX. then a minor of twelve years of age. The Engliſh thought this a favourable juncture for attempting the re-poſſeſſion of the antient eſtates in France; and for this purpoſe a deputation was ſent into that country, commiſſioned to uſe all means to prevail with the Normans, and the other tenants of thoſe lands antiently held of the royal family of England, to renew their allegiance to Henry; but by the prudence of the queen-regent of France and her friends, the deſigns of the Engliſh were entirely fruſtrated, and the commiſſioners were obliged to return without making any progreſs in the negotiation.

In the mean time the conduct of Henry had inſpired the barons with ſo much diſcontent, that their affection for him was perceptibly leſſened. Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, having returned from France, ſoon after Henry had revoked the two charters, found one of his manors poſſeſſed by a German officer, who claimed it as a gift from king John. Richard inſiſted, that his pretended right ſhould be determined by his peers, and immediately diſpoſſeſſed the German. But inſtead of having recourſe to the laws of England, he poſted to court, and complained to the king of the injuſtice done him by the earl of Cornwall. Henry, without giving himſelf any trouble to examine into the truth of his allegations, ordered him a writ under the royal ſign manual, commanding a reſtitution of the eſtate. Exaſperated at ſuch treatment, the earl reſuſed obedience, and repaired to court to defend his property. The king, highly offended at Richard's obſtinacy, told him, that he ſhould either reſtore the manor in queſtion within a limited time, or depart the kingdom.

This diſtinguiſhed exertion of arbitrary power roused the paſſions of Richard, who boldly replied, that he would appeal to the laws of his country, repeating, that the judgment of his peers only ſhould oblige him either to part with his property, or to quit the kingdom.

Henry, whoſe anger as well as friendſhip was momentary, ſoon forgot the offence, and fearing the power of Richard, who was greatly beloved by the barons, he ſubmitted to petition a reconciliation, and offered to ſettle on him the dower of the late queen. Richard, allured by this liberality, accepted the terms; and both the cauſe and the offence was buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1228. This year the nation ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury. This prelate may be juſtly conſidered as one of the reſtorers of Engliſh liberty. He no ſooner had it in his power to be independent, than he acted with an independent ſpirit; and the part he performed in all public commotions was ſuch as became the firſt peer of England, and a ſincere lover of his country.

About the ſame time died alſo pope Honorius III. who was ſucceeded in the pontificate by Gregory IX.

A. D. 1229. Lewis, the young king of France, having made various depredations on the continent, the Engliſh nobility there ſtrongly invited Henry to come to their relief. He accordingly liſtened to their ſolicitation, and gave orders for all his military tenants to rendezvous at Portſmouth. The Engliſh were at this time highly exaſperated againſt the French. The great barons, and other military tenants, were animated with the hopes of recovering their family eſtates in Normandy, and all ranks of people appeared to

devoted to the ſervice of their king, that a more numerous army was collected than had ever been ſeen at one time, under the command of a king of England.

But Henry's expedition was fruſtrated by the neglect of the miniſter, who had iſſued neither the proper writs to the cinque ports, nor taken the uſual methods for aſſembling a ſufficient number of tranſports. Henry was ſo incenſed at this diſappointment, that he branded the miniſter with the name of traitor, and, drawing his ſword, would have killed him on the ſpot, had it not been for the interpoſition of the earl of Cheſter.

About the beginning of October the earl of Britany, who was at this time in arms againſt the French, came over to England. He was a bold, turbulent nobleman; but finding the ſeaſon of the year too far advanced, he adviſed Henry to put off his intended invaſion till the next ſpring. In the mean time, the irreſolution of Henry got the better of his reſentment; and the faults of his miniſter were now buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1230. In the beginning of the ſpring Henry again collected a powerful army at Portſmouth, from whence he ſailed on the laſt day of April, attended by the earl of Britany. The fleet, by ſome accident, was ſeparated, and put into different ports, but without receiving any damage. The king himſelf landed at St. Malo, where the earl of Britany not only renewed his homage, but ordered all the fortified places in his poſſeſſion to be delivered up to the Engliſh.

The French, who had all the winter to prepare themſelves, had taken poſt behind Angiers, with an intent of hindering the march of the Engliſh into Poiſtou. But Henry's conduct ſeemed to render precaution needleſs, for, inſtead of advancing to attack the enemy, he ſuffered them to fortify themſelves in their poſt, while he continued at Nantz, expecting the reſt of his troops, which were coming from Ireland. This inaction encouraged young Lewis, who was at the head of his troops, to advance within four leagues of Nantz, and lay ſiege to Ancennes, who Henry, who had now rendered himſelf ridiculous and contemptible, ſuffered him to take, without making one effort for its relief. The French army continued approaching towards Nantz, beſieged the caſtles of Oudon and Chateauceaux, which they took in the face of the Engliſh army, and afterwards extended their incuſſions even to the gates of Nantz.

Neither the inſults of the French, nor the entreaties of his friends, being able to awake Henry, and Lewis ſeeing no likelihood of an action, returned to Paris in order to form a reconciliation with his diſcontented nobility, at whole deſire Henry had invaded his dominions.

On the French king's retiring, Henry, to loſe no appearances, drew his troops out of Nantz, and marched into Gaſcony, by way of Poitou. Here he received the homage of many noblemen, and after ſtaying a ſhort time returned to Nantz, from whence he embarked for England, leaving a conſiderable army in France, under the command of the earls of Cheſter, Marcheſchal and Albemarle.

Henry had no ſooner left the French coaſt, than his generals took the field with ſo much ſucceſs, that they made an irruption into Angou, where they took the caſtle of Gantier, and laid the town waſte. They next fell into Normandy, where they took and razed the caſtle of Pontauru, and burnt the town. But the winter being too far advanced for them to make any further progreſs, they returned to Bolo, loaded with booty, having ſufficiently demonſtrated what might have been effected by the whole army. The king taken the field at a proper ſeaſon, and preſided the operations with the ſpirit of an able general.



A. D. 1231. The great success of the English generals, during the close of the last campaign, drew the French monarch very early into the field at the head of his army. His intention was to invade Britany, as being the place of the head quarters of the English, as well as of their principal resources. But the English commanders took their measures so effectually, as to render his designs abortive, by intercepting all his carriages loaded with provisions and military engines. Henry, however, was in no condition to improve these favorable incidents. He found it very difficult to raise the necessary supplies; and the pope backward to support his cause, under pretence that those quarrels in France prevented the zealous from prosecuting the crusades. On the other hand, nothing was more desirable to the French court, than a respite from war. A truce was therefore concluded for three years; and the English generals returned to their own country.

A. D. 1232. In the beginning of this year the king summoned a parliament at Westminster, which met on the 17th of March, of whom he demanded an aid to enable him to discharge the debts contracted by his late expedition into France; but the barons were so highly exasperated at his past conduct, that they peremptorily refused. He next tried the clergy, but with as little success; they did not, indeed, absolutely refuse, but desired further time to consider the matter; upon which the assembly was prorogued till Easter.

The reason of this coolness in the great men of the kingdom was principally owing to the countenance Henry had given to the pope, who, taking advantage of the king's weakness, had pursued the most unjust and unpopular measures. Many of the principal benefices in England were possessed by Italian priests, and one of the king's chaplains is said to have held upwards of an hundred livings. The prelates and lay patrons were inhibited from presenting natives, till all the foreign clergy were provided for. It is no wonder, that so shameful a practice raised a general clamour in the kingdom. It was considered as a national insult, and several associations were formed for delivering the realm from such shameful oppressions. The principal leader of the confederates was Robert de Twenge, a knight in the north of England. He had long beheld the tyrannical proceedings of the pope with detestation, but on being deprived by his holiness of the patronage of a church, he determined to take ample revenge on the foreign priests. He assumed the name of William Witham, and encouraged his followers to strip the houses of the Italian clergy, and dispose of their effects. They continued this practice for some time without opposition, and the foreign ecclesiastics, not daring to appear, took refuge in the convents. Informed of these violent proceedings, the pope wrote in a very lofty stile to Henry, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to chastise the insolence of his subjects, and restore the Italian clergy to their benefices. The pusillanimous soul of Henry was alarmed at these menaces of the holy father; he dreaded the effects of a papal censure. He ordered a strict inquisition to be made in the several parts of the kingdom, where those riots had prevailed, and had the mortification to find, that they had been supported and encouraged by men of all ranks; Hubert de Burgh, the chief justiciary, did not escape suspicion. At last Robert de Twenge, who seemed to disown an action, which he thought punishable, or to let any innocent person suffer on his account, appeared in the royal presence, attended by five knights, and boldly declared himself the leader of the confederates, who had stripped the houses of the foreign priests, alleging, that the injuries he had received were the sole motives for his proceedings. Pleased with the ingenious confession, and intrepid

behaviour of this resolute knight, who disdained to suffer tamely an injury, though inflicted by the holy father himself, the king gave him a free pardon, and procured a restitution of his right to the patronage in question.

But though Hubert was cleared from all suspicion by the voluntary confession of Twenge, yet the inconsistency of Henry furnished his enemies with an opportunity of procuring his ruin. Excited by the remonstrances of the bishop of Winchester, who hated Hubert, because he had been active in opposing his destructive councils, this weak prince, insensible to all his services, persecuted him with so much fury, that he was obliged to take sanctuary in a church; whence he afterwards escaped out of the kingdom.

A. D. 1233. The bishop of Winchester, who was a Poictevin by birth, having by the disgrace of Hubert, engrossed the entire confidence of his master, employed his authority to the worst of purposes. He was in temper proud and tyrannical, and the propoession he entertained in favor of his own countrymen alarmed the English. The court was filled with these strangers, and he conferred on them every office and every command in the disposal of the crown. These proceedings soon produced a general spirit of discontent, which Henry considered only as a confirmation of that rebellious spirit which Winchester had represented to be the characteristic of the English nobility. They were denied all access to the king; and treated by the minister with contempt.

At length, however, the English, wearied out by the insults and injuries they received from these insolent strangers, formed themselves into a body, and deputed the earl marshal to lay their grievances before Henry. He accordingly demanded an audience, and, with the noble spirit of an Englishman, laid the complaints of the nation before the king: he besought him not to continue lavishing his favors upon foreigners, to the utter neglect of his natural subjects; adding, that if he continued to treat their remonstrance with neglect, both himself and the other nobility would think it their duty to withdraw themselves from his councils, where they had no power to support the welfare of their country.

The haughty prelate, who was present at this audience, without giving the king time to reply, answered the earl with unparalleled effrontery, "That it was the highest degree of insolence in him, or any other subject to pretend to dictate to his majesty, on whom he ought to confer his favors: that both the king and his father had been so ill treated by the English, that the only expedient of procuring his own safety was that of trusting to foreigners, and that if their number in the kingdom was not already sufficient to reduce his rebellious subjects to their duty, large reinforcements should be procured."

This speech so astonished the earl, that he retired without returning an answer, and joined in the confederacy for checking the despotic power, which the king, by the violent counsels of his worthless minister, seemed desirous to assume. Henry was alarmed, and the bishop, to gain time, advised him to call a parliament at London. The barons refused to attend, and even threatened to deprive Henry of his crown, if the Poitevins were not banished the kingdom. Another parliament was called, and the barons presented themselves dressed in armour, and attended by their followers. Henry now saw his danger, and was desirous of a reconciliation; but the artful prelate found means to remove his fears by sowing dissensions among them, and gaining the earls of Cornwall and Chester over to the royal party. The estates of several of the confederates were confiscated, without any trial by their peers, and, by a very impolitic liberality,



berality, bestowed upon the Poitevins, before so odious to the English.

A. D. 1234. The time, however, now approached for the fall of that infamous set of ministers, who had, since the disgrace of Hubert de Burgh, exercised their power in the most illegal, odious, arbitrary and oppressive manner. The removal of them was reserved for the clergy, who, in order to avert the mischievous consequence that must have attended their mal-practices, resolved to exert themselves in behalf of their country.

Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, taking with him his suffragans, demanded an audience of the king, which Henry could not refuse. At this interview the prelate described, in the most pathetic manner, the dreadful effects of those ruinous measures, which he had pursued at the instigation of his ministers. He formally accused Peter, bishop of Winchester, as the author of those pernicious counsels, which had diffused a spirit of discontent through the whole nation; and after making a long detail of the grievances of the people, insisted that the king should remove from his councils a minister so odious to all his subjects; adding, that if so reasonable a request was refused, he would excommunicate both him, and all who opposed so necessary a reformation.

This spirited remonstrance, and the threatening at the close of it, produced the desired effect. Henry perceived his error. The bishop of Winchester was stripped of all his employments, and the insolent Poitevins banished the kingdom. The natives were restored to their places in council, and the primate, who was a man of prudence, and took care to execute the laws, bore the chief sway in the government.

A. D. 1236. Had Henry learned wisdom from former miscarriages, it had been happy both for him and his people; but he seems to have been one of that number, whom vice or indolence had rendered incorrigible. The remonstrance of the archbishop had, in all appearance, convinced him of his error in cherishing foreigners in preference to his English subjects. But this conviction was temporary; Henry soon forgot both his danger and his interest. He married Eleanor the daughter of the earl of Marche; and threw himself again into the arms of foreigners. William de Savoy, bishop of Valence, and uncle to the new queen, became his principal favourite. He took every occasion of giving him a remarkable preference over the greatest, and most faithful of his own subjects, and committed all the affairs of the state to his sole direction.

These proceedings immediately alarmed the English nobility. They dreaded a revival of the late times of ministerial insolence and oppression, and determined to exert all their power to put a stop to the career of this foreign minion. They began with presenting dutiful addresses to the king, at the same time remonstrating with a becoming spirit, against those measures, which they apprehended to be destructive of the public interest, and that union which should always subsist between an English king and his subjects. But they succeeded not in their attempts. Valence supported his power, and foreign influence grew every day more prevalent at court. The minister, who was offended with the English barons for their late spirited remonstrances, spared no pains to render them suspected by the king, and to remove the most active among them from his person and government. The seals were demanded from the bishop of Chichester, who had filled the high office of chancellor with the most unblemished integrity; but the prelate, on receiving the king's message, nobly replied, "That having received the seals by the order of the parliament, he would resign them by order of that assembly only."

A. D. 1237. This answer of the chancellor made not the least impression on Henry. He still adhered to his foreign ministers, and was deaf to the complaints of his people. But the wants of his needy courtiers soon exhausted his revenues, and he was obliged to call a parliament to procure a supply. The session was very full, some important business being expected to be laid before them. But they were told, "That the chief reason for their being called together, was to desire them to grant an aid, which should be collected and disposed of, for the necessary uses of the state, by such persons as they themselves should think proper to commission for that purpose."

The parliament, who had so often trusted to Henry's promises, were no longer to be deceived; and returned for answer, "That they had often granted the king aids, without receiving any marks of his affection; that since his accession to the throne, his dominions were considerably lessened, though he had frequently exacted from his subjects very large sums, which had been wholly lavished away upon foreign favourites, to the impoverishment of the state, and the disgrace of his character." To this spirited reply, Henry pleaded the expences of his own and his sister's marriage, which had entirely exhausted his treasury; but if they would grant him a thirteenth part of their moveables, he promised upon his honor, never to injure or oppress any baron of the realm. In order to facilitate their compliance, he disavowed the pope's bull, which his ministry had lately obtained for the resumption of grants; declared he would inviolably observe the articles of the Great Charter; and ordered a sentence of excommunication to be solemnly denounced against all persons, himself not excepted, who should dare to violate that sacred constitution.

The parliament, softened by these assurances, complied with the king's demand; but ordered the money arising from the tax to be deposited in certain abbies, churches and castles, as a fund sacred to the necessities of the state; and the following explicit condition was annexed to the grant for levying it: "That the king should no longer hearken to the suggestions of foreigners, who had already oppressed and impoverished the nation, but be governed for the future by his own natural-born subjects."

The king readily submitted to every thing proposed by the parliament; but his purposes were no sooner answered, than he returned to his former measures. Shewed as much fondness for foreigners as ever, and to secure himself a party sufficient to oppose the power of his barons, he had recourse to the most base and mean expedient. He made application to the pope for a legate to be sent into England, under whose protection he thought he might securely violate his recent engagements, which necessity had compelled him to enter into with his people. The English were alarmed, and the archbishop of Canterbury was expostulated with him on his conduct for suffering a legate to come into the kingdom without any apparent necessity, and without the knowledge of the parliament and clergy. But Henry regarded not their remonstrances of the prelate, the censures of the clergy were no longer terrible; he knew the authority of the pope to be superior to that of the archbishop. He seized the money deposited in the churches and convents by the parliament for the use of the state, and squandered it with the utmost profusion upon foreigners and favourites. His brother, the earl of Cornwall, law this destructive conduct with regret, and putting himself at the head of the nobility, demanded an audience, where he openly upbraided Henry with this shameful breach of faith and honor. He laid before him the exhausted state of the kingdom, the perpetual demands of his exchequer, though his re-



venues were large and abundantly sufficient to support the royal dignity ; and, lastly, the shameful step he had taken in calling in the legate of the pope, under whom he acted, with only a subordinate power. But these remonstrances had very little effect on Henry ; he heard them with patience, promising amendment ; but, as soon as the noblemen were departed, relapsed into his former indolence, and forgot his resolutions.

A. D. 1239. Notwithstanding Henry's entire dependence laid on the pope for support against the resentment of his barons and clergy, yet such was the inconsistency of his conduct, that he sent a body of troops to the assistance of the emperor Frederic II. then at open war with the court of Rome. Gregory IX. who then filled the papal chair, was highly offended at what he termed the insolence of his vassal, and ordered the legate to make the most severe remonstrances. The pusillanimous monarch was alarmed, and to avert the censure of the vatican, he suffered the sentence of excommunication against Frederic to be published in all the churches of England ; though that prince had lately married the princess Isabella, his sister.

The great interest of the earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, had arisen from his being considered as heir apparent to the crown ; but this year, on the 16th of June, the queen was delivered of a prince, who was named Edward, and afterwards acceded to the throne by the additional name of Longshanks.

A. D. 1240. Henry, by his conduct, had now obtained the universal hatred of his subjects. The nobility were justly incensed against the rapacious foreigners, who wasted the royal treasure, governed the kingdom, and treated the laws of England with contempt. The parliament therefore refused to grant their exhausted monarch any supplies, and the king had recourse to the most illegal methods and dangerous expedients for supplying his necessities. He exacted loans ; he demanded benevolences ; he usurped a power of dispensing with the laws, because the pope scrupled not to dispense with the canons of the church, whenever the interests of the holy see required it. The people complained loudly ; the barons formed associations for their defence ; and the judges were alarmed at the illegal proceedings of the king. " Alas ! " exclaimed one of them upon the bench, " in what a corrupt age do we live ! The civil court is vitiated in imitation of the ecclesiastical ; and the river is poisoned from that fountain."

A. D. 1242. The earl of Marche, father-in-law to Henry, was at this time at war with Lewis IX. of France, and Henry was desirous of going to his assistance. The earl had given him the strongest assurances of success ; promising, that all the old tenants of his family in France would immediately join his standards, together with the king of Arragon, and the count of Tholouse. Pleased with the prospect of recovering his old dominions on the continent, and wresting from Lewis the territories which Philip had taken from his father, Henry summoned a parliament, in order to procure the supplies necessary for carrying his arms into France. But he had the mortification to find his request denied, the parliament absolutely refusing to grant him any assistance for carrying on the war. Henry, however, found means to raise the necessary sums at exorbitant interest, and sailed over to the continent at the head of a considerable body of troops. But he was equally destitute of military and civil talents. His army was defeated at Taillebourg ; his allies deserted him ; he lost what remained to him of Poitou, and returned with disgrace to England.

A. D. 1244. The whole kingdom had for some time past resounded with complaints against the enter-

prizes of the pope of Rome : but his holiness was not to be intimidated ; he determined to proceed, and even to increase his destructive exactions. Accordingly he sent over one Martin as his nuncio, to demand a thousand marks from the clergy, to assist him in the war he was carrying on against the emperor. This nuncio was invested with more ample powers than any of his predecessors, and his oppression and insolence exceeded every thing that had yet been experienced from that proud and venal court.

The nation was now sensibly alarmed, and the barons resolved to lay before the general council, then assembled at Lyons, the intolerable oppressions of the holy see.

The methods made use of by Martin to extort money from the clergy exasperated the nation ; and it was concluded on, in an assembly of the barons, to drive him out of the kingdom by force, if persuasions could not prevail upon him to depart peaceably. They assembled in arms, under pretence of holding a tournament ; and chose Fulk Fitz Warren as their messenger, to carry their resolutions to the nuncio.

This was the most proper person they could have chosen, as he had himself severely suffered by papal exactions, and thoroughly hated every partisan of Rome. He set out immediately to execute his commission, with a determined resolution to terrify the nuncio, and induce him to abandon the kingdom. On being introduced into Martin's presence, he told him, with a stern and resolute air, that he must instantly prepare for his departure from England. The nuncio, little accustomed to such disrespectful addresses, asked him by whose authority he dared to speak to him in so insolent a manner ? " By the authority of a body of English knights now in arms," answered Fulk, " who ordered me to tell you, that " if either you yourself, or any of your followers, " remain in England more than three days, every " one of you shall be cut to pieces. Act as you " please ; but remember it is an English knight that " delivers you this message." Martin was sufficiently intimidated. He was too well acquainted with the character of the English to contemn a menace so peremptorily delivered. He immediately complained to Henry, and desired his protection. But the king, who had for some time beheld the exactions of the pope with concern, told him, that his robberies and oppressions had raised such a spirit of resentment in every part of the kingdom, that he was hardly able to protect himself against his own subjects, who were thoroughly incensed against him for having countenanced his rapacious proceedings.

Martin was now convinced of his dangerous situation, and determined to abandon a kingdom where his life was in the utmost danger. He accordingly demanded a passport, which was readily granted him by Henry, and he embarked with all possible expedition for the continent, but it was thought necessary to send a proper guard with him to the sea side, to protect him from the resentment of the justly incensed multitude.

In the mean time the English ambassadors, having arrived at Lyons, laid their complaints before the council, where the pope himself presided in person. They represented, that the benefices enjoyed by the Italian clergy in England amounted to sixty thousand marks a year, a sum that exceeded the annual revenue of the crown. They accused the pope of frequently cancelling his own acts by clauses of non obstante inserted in his bulls, which absolutely destructive of all the rights of patrons, and of all the liberties of the English church. They expatiated on the perpetual extortions of the nuncios and legates, and various other oppressions to which the British clergy had been so long exposed. The pope was confounded, and gave an evasive answer. He feared the power of the council,



council, and was willing to soothe the English agents. He promised them redress; and caused two bulls for that purpose to be published.

A. D. 1246. The promises of the pontiff were of no longer existence than his fears; for the council was no sooner broke up, than he renewed all his exactions. The English were exasperated; and a parliament was summoned at London for redressing this public grievance. A state of the hardships suffered by the nation from papal tyranny was drawn up; and, after being signed by the king, bishops and temporal lords, sent to the court of Rome, and satisfaction demanded from the pontiff. This instrument produced not the desired effect. The ambassadors were treated with contempt, and the pope threatened to proceed to the same extremities against Henry, as he had lately done against the emperor. The king immediately prohibited any farther payments to the pope. But Henry wanted firmness to support a measure so agreeable to his subjects; he relapsed into his former indolence, and suffered the pope to proceed in his extortions.

A. D. 1248. Henry had for some years subsisted entirely on the revenues of the crown estates. These were, indeed, very large, and amply sufficient for supporting the grandeur and dignity of the crown, could he have been prevailed upon to have kept his expenses within proper bounds: but his prodigality to foreigners still subsisting, he was forced once more to the disagreeable necessity of having recourse to the parliament for a supply.

The assembly met on the 9th of February, when Henry accordingly applied for a pecuniary supply; however, he was not only peremptorily refused, but also severely rebuked by the assembly for demanding any assistance after he had so often broke his promises, openly violated the great charter of their liberties, and refused to abandon his destructive partiality to foreigners.

Henry was confounded at such plain language from his parliament, especially as he was conscious that all the allegations were strictly true. He, however, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the assembly by repeated promises that he would, for the future, faithfully observe all the articles of the great charter. He promised, at a proper opportunity, to consider and redress all their real grievances; and concluded with expatiating on the prudence, as well as justice, of their furnishing him with supplies for recovering his patrimonial dominions in France.

But all Henry's rhetoric was in vain. By trifling with his former oaths and promises, he had forfeited the esteem of his people; his character was without dignity, and his power without authority. The parliament considered him in this disgraceful light, and treated him accordingly. They plainly told him, that they would no longer, on specious pretences, impoverish themselves for the emolument of strangers; and put him in mind of his contemptible and disgraceful behaviour during his last expedition into Poitou and Gascony.

Henry finding it in vain to labour any longer in removing this spirit of opposition, dissolved the parliament: but his finances were reduced so low, that he was obliged to sell his family plate and jewels. After they were disposed of, he asked who had been the purchasers? It was replied, the citizens of London. "On my word," (said the king) "if the treasury of Augustus could be brought to market, the citizens of London are able to be the purchasers; these clowns, who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to the utmost necessity." And he was so firmly persuaded of the opulence of London, that he took every opportunity of fleecing the citizens.

A. D. 1251. An accident happened this year that evinces to what means the deluded Henry could

proceed, to compass any end upon which his heart was set. The bishopric of Winchester being now vacant, the king wrote to the monks of the convent in the most earnest obliging manner, desiring them to chuse his half-brother Ethelmar for their bishop. As there were, it seems, many and great exceptions to the character of the candidate, who had not one qualification to fit him for the office, it was in vain that his letters were seconded by the intrigues of his chief favourites, whom he sent down to influence the election. In short, the objections of the monks were so strong, and Henry's probability of success so small, that he resolved to try what he could do in person. For that purpose he went himself to Winchester, and going into the chapter-house, in a full assembly of the monks, he began to hold forth upon the following words of scripture; "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other;" and made a sermon on this text, in which he used all the motives he could think of to induce them to accept of his recommendation. Perhaps the royal eloquence would have had very little effect, had it not been for a sting in the close of this discourse: for he petitioned with sword in hand, and declared to the brotherhood, that if they refused his request, he would confound them all. This eloquence was irresistible; the young prince was chosen, and afterwards confirmed by the pope.

A. D. 1253. Innocent IV. who was now pope was one of the most implacable pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair. The emperor Frederic, with whom he and his predecessor had been so long at war, was now dead; but the hatred he bore that monarch did not die with him; it devolved on his grandson, Conrad, the lawful heir of the crown of Sicily, but whose succession was set aside by the perfidious arts of his uncle Manfred.

The pope soon perceived that his own force was far from being sufficient to dispossess Manfred of the Italian dominions of Frederic; and therefore sent a nuncio into England, to offer the Sicilian crown to Richard, earl of Cornwall. That nobleman, though extremely fond of power, had prudence sufficient to perceive, that the sole design of the pope of Rome was nothing more than the acquisition of a large sum of money, and prudently declined the offer. But Henry had not the sagacity of his brother; he accepted it for his second son, Edmund, and gave the pope unlimited credit for expending the sum necessary for the reduction of Sicily. Edmund was accordingly treated with the honors of royalty; all means of extortion or oppression were omitted by the pope, in conjunction with Henry, to obtain money from the English, under pretence of establishing prince Edmund in his new kingdom.

A. D. 1255. The war was begun by the pope's army with great success; but Manfred, determined to risk his crown on the event of one decisive action, advanced against the Roman forces. A battle ensued; the army of Innocent was totally defeated, and he himself was threatened with being beleaguered in his capital. His haughty soul could not bear the reverse of fortune; the violence of his passion led him into a fever, which, in a short time, put a period to his life. He was succeeded in the papal chair by Alexander IV. who pursued the same measures as his predecessor, and undertook to place Edmund on the throne of Sicily.

The deluded Henry, in order to grasp this phantom of sovereignty for his son, had complied with the exorbitant demands of the pontiff, that he now found himself more embarrassed than ever. The parliament refused to grant the necessary supplies for carrying this ridiculous project into execution; and the weight fell upon the clergy. This was not, however, effected without a noble struggle from the clergy.





( HENRY III.

*Preaching to the Monks of*  
WINCHESTER.



lies. For when Rustan, the pope's nuncio, assembled the prelates, and proposed their signing obligatory notes proportioned to the benefices of each individual, the bishop of London declared, he would sooner lose his head than submit to so shameful an act of tyranny. He was seconded by the bishop of Worcester; and the whole assembly unanimously declared, that the clergy of England would not submit to be enslaved by the pope.

The nuncio complained of this refusal to Henry, who threatened the bishop of London with his resentment; but the prelate, far from being intimidated, replied, with a noble intrepidity, "That he knew the king and the pope were his superiors; but if they deprived him of his mitre, he would supply its place with a helmet."

This generous stand in support of the liberties of the English church, exasperated the haughty Rustan; who finding it would be impossible to prevail on them in a body, determined to wreak his vengeance on each in particular. He accordingly commenced prosecutions against individuals for pretended faults, and obliged them to make an atonement, by paying very considerable sums. The prelates appealed to the pope; and Alexander, dreading the consequences of driving the English clergy to despair, ordered his nuncio to desist from his prosecutions.

A. D. 1256. During these disputes between the nuncio and the clergy, Henry was determined to make another attempt to procure a subsidy from his barons. A parliament was called for that purpose; and the archbishop of Meffine was sent with letters from the pope, pressing the nobility, in the most earnest manner, to comply with the request of their sovereign. But all attempts were in vain: the parliament, after mature deliberation, unanimously refused to grant the subsidy.

The pope's nuncio, finding there were no hopes of procuring a supply from the parliament, declared, in an assembly of the prelates, that the demands of the pope upon Henry amounted to above 150,000 marks; and that if the clergy still refused to comply with his request, he would immediately make a demand of the whole debt, and lay the kingdom under an interdict till it was paid. Could the bishops have depended on Henry for support, they would, doubtless, have treated this menace with the contempt it deserved; but they knew his weakness, and the shameful concessions he had already made: they knew that an interdict on the kingdom would expose both the church and state to the most imminent danger. These considerations induced them to submit. In the mean time the conquest of Sicily advanced so slowly, that Henry, finding it would be impossible to raise the sums necessary to supply the avance of the holy father, renounced all pretensions to the crown of that kingdom.

A. D. 1257. In the beginning of this year, William, earl of Holland, and king of the Romans, was killed in a skirmish with the English. The electors met to consult upon a new choice, and the majority carried it for Richard earl of Cornwall, who was considered as the most wealthy prince in Europe. In consequence of this, deputies were sent over to England, acquainting the earl with the consent of the majority of the electors in his favor; but that there were others of them who were for placing the crown on the head of Alphonso, king of Castile. Richard, pleased with this proffered addition of dignity and power, resolved to be beforehand with his competitors, and every thing being ready for his departure, a parliament was held at Westminster, when he took leave of the representative body of England in form, and was chately escorted, attended by a great number of Englishmen of fortune and quality. Toward the end of May, Henry received advice of his leaving;

actually crushed the opposition against him, and that he had been crowned king of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle.

A. D. 1258. The parliament met this year on the second Tuesday after Easter, when Herlot, the new nuncio, produced a bull from the pope, enjoining the bishops to pay the tenths granted to the king by his holiness, under pain of excommunication. The king seconded the demand of the nuncio, and pressed the barons to assist him with a supply.

Had Henry really intended to provoke the members, he could hardly have mentioned any thing more likely to produce that effect. The intolerable acts of papal tyranny and oppression, and such complicated scenes of royal fraud and deceit, as the nation had for some time unhappily experienced, could not fail of rousing the indignation of a people not wholly lost to all sense of freedom and independence. Far from granting his request, they reproached him with his acts of rapine and injustice, and with his hatred of the English nation, from whom, they said, he ought to blush to require any aid or subsidies, while he preferred strangers to them, and made them groan under the most dreadful oppressions. Four of their brethren were deputed by the bishops to make warm remonstrances with regard to his conduct in general, and the uncanonical elections which had been made to vacant dignities in particular.

Henry acknowledged that their complaints were well founded; adding, that as each of them had attained his benefice in that irregular manner, it was proper that their dignities should be vacated by resignation, in order to have them disposed of according to the method prescribed by the canons of the church. But the remonstrances of the barons were not to be answered. They insisted on a ratification of the great charter; and it was in vain for the king to oppose the whole power of the kingdom. His brother Richard, whose power was very extensive, was absent in Germany, and the barons defied all the censures of the Vatican. Henry therefore submitted to necessity, and the great charter was ratified with the most religious ostentation.

Henry swore to observe every article of the charter; but he soon forgot the oaths he had taken; the same indolence, the same insatiation for foreigners again returned, and the articles of the great charter were forgot; they were violated whenever the interest of the court, or the ambition of his minions required it.

A. D. 1259. The barons, enraged at finding that neither oaths nor promises could bind the perfidious king, determined to have recourse to the same expedient that was before used with his father. They formed an association; and a parliament being called at Oxford, they came to the assembly, attended by their military tenants, well chosen, and properly armed. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, was at the head of this association. That nobleman, who was at once both haughty and ambitious, had been greatly exalted by Henry, who had given him his sister in marriage, and made him governor of Guienne. But the inconstancy of the monarch, and the unbounded ambition of the earl, soon produced an open breach between them; and Leicester, who imputed his disgrace to the insinuations of the foreign minions, determined to take an ample revenge. He was a perfect master of intrigue; and his violent remonstrances against the government, his apparent zeal for the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the church, obtained him not only the friendship of the prelates and barons, but also the universal affection of the people.

The military appearance of the barons greatly terrified Henry, who, on his entering the assembly,



asked, with some emotion, whether he was their prisoner? the earl marshal replied, that he was not their prisoner, but that it was the determined resolution of the whole assembly to banish his foreign favourites from the kingdom, and redress the grievances of the nation. Adding, that if he would agree to these reasonable demands, and give authority for that purpose to persons of character and capacity, they would grant the supplies necessary for giving weight and dignity to the state.

Henry perceived it would be in vain to oppose the power of his barons, and therefore made no objections to the proposal; but, on the contrary, promised to submit to any regulations they should think fit to enact.

Having thus obtained the king's consent, they constituted a council of twenty-four barons, whom they invested with an unlimited authority for reforming the state; and Simon Montfort was elected president. Henry himself took a solemn oath to maintain the ordinances they should issue for that salutary purpose. The plan of government had been digested in a previous meeting of the principal barons; so that a set of regulations soon appeared; and these, conformable to the practice of all innovations, were favourable to the people. They were in substance as follow:

1. That the king should confirm the great charter, which he had so often sworn to observe, and so often violated.

2. The important office of chief justiciary should be bestowed upon a person of talents and integrity, who should administer justice to the poor and the rich without favor or partiality.

3. That the chancellor, treasurer, judges, and other public ministers, should be annually chosen by the council of twenty-four.

4. That the custody of the king's castles should be committed to the care of that council, who should entrust them to such persons as were well affected to the state.

5. That any person, of what degree or order soever, who should oppose, directly or indirectly, what should be decreed by the council of twenty-four, should be punished with death.

6. That three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year, to enact such laws as should from time to time be found necessary for the good of the people.

These articles, which, from the place where they were drawn up, were called the Statutes, or Provisions of Oxford, were approved by the parliament, and confirmed by the assent of the king, who swore to observe, and cause them to be observed, to the utmost of his power.

The earl of Leicester, who was a man of an aspiring disposition, now ruled the government with such ascendancy, that the king perceived himself no more than a cypher in the administration. He expected that the parliament would grant him a large subsidy, pursuant to their promise, when he signed the Oxford Constitutions: but he was deceived; the consideration of the supplies was postponed; and his two uterine brothers, the sons of the earl of Marche, and the queenabella, were stripped of their wealth, and banished the kingdom, as the principal authors of the public calamities. Not was the council satisfied with banishing these foreigners; even the officers of the household were removed, and their places filled with persons in the interest of the council. At the same time, they also obliged every individual in the kingdom to take an oath to obey them.

Understanding that the king of the Romans intended coming to England, and fearful that his credit

might check their progress, they dispatched the bishop of Worcester to the continent, to inform him that he would not be suffered to land in England, unless he would promise to take an oath to observe the Statutes of Oxford. At the same time, they required to know on what account he was coming to England, and how long he intended to stay.

Richard, incensed at their insolence, and exasperated at the degrading treatment of his brother, swore he would never take the oath they wanted to impose upon him; and that he would visit England when, and as often as he pleased, without submitting to give them any reasons for his actions. He was, however, soon after informed, that the barons had taken such precautions, by marching troops to the sea-coasts, and fitting out a powerful fleet, that it would be impossible for him to land in England without their consent. He therefore thought it more prudent to submit to the necessity of the times, than engage in a fruitless opposition. He agreed to take the oath required, and the barons gave him permission to come to England.

Among several innovations introduced by the council, the most important was the establishment of a committee, consisting of twelve persons, who during the recess of parliament, were invested with authority, and were to attend the person of the king, all his motions. Thus the whole constitution of England was overturned, and the kingdom governed by a committee of nobles.

It was not reasonable, however, to suppose, that a government of this kind could be permanent. It was soon perceived, that the good of the people engaged not the attention of the council: the state was oppressed by a confederacy of the nobles. The people were no longer deceived; they complained loudly of their tyranny; and the knights of the shires not only joined in the complaint, but implored the assistance of prince Edward to undertake the defence of the right of the crown, and the liberties of the people. The prince accordingly sent a message to the barons insisting on their finishing, without delay, the determination they had undertaken; otherwise he should think himself obliged to exert all his power to procure redress for an injured people.

This spirited remonstrance alarmed the barons, and a new code of laws was published: but it appeared that the whole was nothing more than a new common law of England, with some trifling alterations. So glaring an imposition exasperated the people: and the animosities which now broke out between the barons themselves, gave them hopes that their tyranny would soon have an end. The earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the two most powerful barons in the whole confederacy, became professed enemies to each other. These divisions greatly weakened the strength of the barons; and Leicester retired to France, under pretence of abandoning himself to administration.

Leicester, however, had very different views. He hoped, by his retreat, to increase the power of his party, by gaining the French monarch over to his interest. But fortunately for England, the king of France was filled by a prince who delighted in the distresses of other nations. He was devoted to healing, not of increasing, the wounds which the English constitution had lately received. Louis, generally called St. Lewis, was endued with all the piety of an anchorite, as well as the virtues of a king. His liberality was not in the least inconsistent with his wisest economy. He knew how to reconcile a frugal policy with an exact justice. He was pious and firm in council, intrepid but cool in war, and as compassionate as if he had always been an exile. From a prince of this character England had nothing to fear; he desired not to usurp the territory of his neighbours.



neighbours, and was so far from taking advantage of the troubles of England, that he laboured to establish peace and harmony among the contending parties, whose divisions threatened the kingdom with destruction. He even entertained a doubt with regard to the justice of the sentence passed against John in the court of peers in France; and had formed a design of restoring to Henry all the provinces that had been wrested from his father. The tranquillity of his own country at last diverted him from this resolution; but he made a treaty with Henry which abundantly proved, that a love of justice, rather than power, was the ruling passion of his soul.

A. D. 1261. Henry, careless and indolent as he was, could not but regret, and at the same time heartily wish to resent, the insults he daily received from the council of the barons, who had now been three years absolute masters of the kingdom, under pretence of reforming the state. The quarrel between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester gave him hopes that his misfortunes were drawing to a close; and perceiving that the dispositions of the people had taken a turn in his favor, he determined to make one struggle for recovering his authority.

In order to this, he applied to the pope to absolve him from the oath he had taken with regard to the Oxford provisions; when the pontiff, who was highly exasperated at the barons for having stopped the revenues of foreign beneficed priests, readily granted the desired dispensation.

Henry, having surmounted this difficulty, now determined to declare publicly the resolutions he had formed; and having assembled a parliament at London, he told them, "That as they had not on their parts performed their promise with regard to paying his debts, and augmenting his revenues, when he signed the provisions of Oxford, he did not think himself obliged to keep the oath he had taken on that occasion; that he was determined no longer to remain in the hands of a faction who had treated him more like a slave than their king, but would immediately free himself from such inglorious fetters, and assert the dignity of his own prerogative."

The assembly were astonished at this unexpected declaration; and the king, without giving them time to reply, retired immediately to the tower; seized all the money in the mint; published a proclamation for removing the sheriffs and other officers appointed by the council of twenty-four; and acted with such vigor as seemed to be the effect of a fixed resolution to support his own independence. He informed his subjects that he had resumed the reins of government, and that he would inviolably observe the two charters, notwithstanding any false reports to the contrary; he nominated a chancellor, chief justice, and officers of his household, in the room of those who had been appointed by the council.

In short, Henry found means to repel the attempts of the barons, and obliged them to promise obedience for the future. But the gaining any advantage, or even the total defeat of an army, was of very little consequence in these times of national debility and division. New forces suddenly sprung up, and suddenly dispersed; to day one leader remained master of the field, and to-morrow was obliged to take refuge in some place of safety. Henry was again defeated, and again obliged to confirm the statutes of Oxford.

A. D. 1264. The young prince Edward, who had hitherto scrupled to break the oath he had taken to submit to the council, perceiving that the barons, with Leicester at their head, were determined to render their tyranny perpetual, undertook the defence of his country. He was soon at the head of a powerful army, and was also joined by several of the barons, who thought they could not, as true Englishmen, continue any longer with Leicester and his party.

The two armies were in sight of each other, and a decisive battle was every moment expected, when several of the most prudent persons interposed their good offices to prevent the effusion of blood. But it soon appeared that the claims of the contending parties were not to be adjusted, and it was agreed to refer the decision to St. Lewis, in whose wisdom and equity both parties placed an equal confidence.

Lewis accepted the office of arbitrator, and having heard, with the utmost attention, the whole cause fairly debated, together with the allegations of both parties in an assembly of the states at Amiens, he delivered the following award:

"That the statutes of Oxford, with all the proceedings that followed in consequence of those acts, should be annulled: that the king should enjoy all the rights and prerogatives, which were invested in the crown, before those statutes were enacted: that all the castles which the king had ceded to the barons as a security for the performance of his promise, should be restored; and that he should enjoy the privilege of appointing his great officers of state and government, equally from foreigners or natives." But, at the same time, he declared that his award was not meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties of the English, nor from the charters which had been granted them by king John.

This sentence was so contrary to what the barons expected, that they were highly exasperated. They asserted, that the saving clause was utterly contradictory to the other part of the sentence; because the latter ratified Magna Charta, and the former condemned the statutes of Oxford, which were calculated to support that charter.

The negotiation was therefore entirely broke off, and each party prepared to decide the contest by the sword. The royal army headed by the king in person, the king of the Romans, and prince Edward, encamped at Lewes in Sussex. Leicester, being reinforced by a body of fifteen thousand Londoners, marched immediately to Lewes, resolving to hazard a decisive engagement. The battle was begun by prince Edward, who charged the van of the rebel army with such impetuosity, that the troops gave way, and a dreadful carnage ensued. He then fell upon the Londoners, routed them with great slaughter, and pursued them near four miles with the utmost fury. This conduct of the prince lost the battle. Had he, instead of pursuing a body of unexperienced troops, fallen, in conjunction with the rest of the royal army, upon the remaining forces of the enemy, a complete victory must have been obtained. But the absence of the prince afforded Leicester an opportunity of changing the fortune of the day. He attacked the second body of the king's forces, cut the greatest part of them in pieces, and took the king of the Romans prisoner. The third body, commanded by Henry in person, made so noble a stand, that it was not broke till the evening; but the king's horse being killed under him, and he himself slightly wounded, he retired, with part of his followers, to the priory of Lewes.

Prince Edward, returning from the pursuit of the Londoners, was surprized to see the field of battle covered with dead bodies, and several of his principal followers were so intimidated at the fatal event, that they fled with seven hundred of their best troops to Pevensey, and passed over to France. The prince himself, who was a stranger to fear, thought only of retrieving the misfortune. He immediately attacked the barons, but night prevented a general engagement. Uncertain of the consequence, and solicitous for the fate of his father, the prince went round the town and castle in search of him; but without effect. At last he found him at the priory, which was now attacked by the rebels; but the royal party made so noble



noble a defence, that the enemy were obliged to abandon the enterprize. The gallant prince Edward now exerted all his abilities to rally and collect his scattered forces; and having still the advantage of some excellent officers about his person, he determined to try the fortune of another battle. Leicester had lost near half his army. The Londoners had been so totally broken, that they made no attempt to rejoin his army. He was therefore desirous of avoiding a fresh engagement with a body of resolute troops, more experienced than his own. He knew that a defeat must be fatal, and that he could expect no mercy if he fell into the hands of the enraged monarch. Under pretence, therefore, of preventing the farther effusion of human blood, he sent mediators next morning to the prince, to propose a cessation of arms, in order to terminate this destructive war by an equitable peace; offering to submit his demands to such arbitrators as the king should approve; but, at the same time, insisted, that prince Edward, and young Henry, son to the king of the Romans, should be delivered as hostages for the king's performance of the conditions. This demand was absolutely rejected by the king as insolent and unreasonable; it concealed, under the mask of a desire of peace, a treacherous design of making himself absolute master of the kingdom.

Leicester, fearful of another engagement, had recourse to menaces; he threatened to strike off the head of the king of the Romans, together with those of all the prisoners of note in his hands, if the prince made any attack upon his army.

The earl's character was too well known, to doubt of his carrying this threat into execution. The prince feared the consequence; and before he could determine in what manner to act, Leicester had rallied his forces. There was now a necessity for coming to an accommodation, which was dictated by Leicester, on the following conditions:

"That prince Edward, and Henry, son to the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves prisoners, as pledges in the place of the two kings: that all other prisoners on both sides should be released; and that, in order to settle fully the terms of agreement, application should be made to the king of France, that he should name six Frenchmen, three prelates and three barons. These six to chuse two others of their own countrymen; and these two to chuse one Englishman, who, in conjunction with themselves, were to be invested by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the settlement of the kingdom."

These conditions were termed the Mise (that is, the agreement or convention) of Lewis, and were confirmed by the seals of the king, the prince, and all the chiefs of both parties. The king immediately sent orders for the prisoners taken by his forces to be set at liberty. But Leicester never intended to perform his part of the agreement: for after sending the prince and young Henry to Dover-castle, he refused to set his prisoners at liberty, and both the king and his brother were retained in custody.

Leicester, instead of sending ambassadors to Lewis, took the whole power into his own hands. He disposed of offices, without even consulting the king, and had recourse to every method he could project to raise money for strengthening his party. He projected a new form of government, by which he might become in reality the sole master of the kingdom. He summoned a parliament of his own partizans, in order to rive the chains of slavery he had imposed upon the nation. In this assembly it was enacted, that every act of royal power should be exercised by nine persons, who were to be chosen and removed by the authority of three others, namely Leicester himself

the earl of Gloucester and the bishop of Chichester. By this intricate plan of government the scepter was, in reality, put into Leicester's hands, as he had the entire direction of the bishop of Chichester, and consequently commanded all the resolutions of the council of three, who could appoint, or discard at pleasure, every member of the supreme council.

It is little to be wondered at that this strange mode of government should be but of short continuance, the least incident was sufficient to shake its very foundation. Queen Eleanor, who had for some time resided in France, lest no means untried to stir up every court to assist her in revenging the injuries offered to her royalty. She raised a considerable army, and set out a fleet, for releasing her son and husband, and Lewis himself, who beheld with detestation the perfidy of Leicester, favoured her enterprize.

As soon as the ambitious earl was apprized of these proceedings, he was greatly alarmed, and immediately dispatched a number of troops to guard the coast; but little could be expected from men who were exasperated at his behaviour; and Leicester owed his security more to unfavourable winds, which rendered the attempt abortive, than to any defence that could have been made against the French had they landed in England.

The Roman pontiff being highly exasperated at the behaviour of the barons, dispatched cardinal Guido, as legate, to excommunicate the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Norfolk, by name, and all others in general who joined in the oppression and captivity of their sovereign. But Leicester took an effectual method to prevent the consequences of the papal censures: he threatened the legate with immediate death the moment he landed in the kingdom, a consequence of which Guido was so greatly intimidated, that he returned back to Rome, and the sentence was never pronounced.

A. D. 1265. The attention of the barons began now to be roused at the ambitious projects of the earl of Leicester: even Gloucester himself was alarmed, and remonstrated sharply with him on his behaviour. The nobles, still in the interest of Henry, retired to the marches of Wales, and received protection from the earl of Gloucester. The people complained loudly of the shameful breach of the convention made at Lewes; and demanded that prince Edward and the other prisoners, should be set at liberty, conformable to the articles of that treaty.

Leicester perceived that it would be impossible to divert the gathering storm, without having recourse to some artifice to deceive the English. He ordered a parliament to meet at London, but fixed that it should be on a more republican basis than any that had yet been summoned since the foundation of the English monarchy. Besides many barons and ecclesiastics who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered the sheriffs to return two knights from every shire, and the same number of deputies from every borough. The meeting of this parliament happened on the twentieth of January, 1265, and is esteemed the epoch of the House of Commons in England; and that, indeed, with great reason, it is certain that this is the first time representatives sent by the boroughs to parliament.

The active and intrepid prince Edward, who had languished in prison ever since the fatal battle of Lewes, was, by this parliament, declared his full liberty, after stipulating to deliver up all the castles possessed by the barons in the interest of the king's party, and neither to depart the land more than three years, nor introduce any foreign troops.

But Leicester never intended to set prince Edward at liberty; he was strictly guarded by the earl of Gloucester, a soldier, and continued only a prisoner.



large. The barons now saw that there were no hopes of restoring tranquillity to the nation; the tyranny of Leicester was more dreaded than that of Henry.

The earl of Gloucester perceived his own danger; for every thing that opposed the despotism of Montfort was sacrificed at the altar of his ambition. He therefore retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales; and Leicester followed him to Hereford at the head of an army, carrying with him both the king and the prince. Gloucester found means to open a negotiation with young Edward, and a plan was formed for the prince's escape. A horse of extraordinary swiftness was procured by Gloucester, and conveyed to Edward by means of a trusty servant, and Edward Mortimer, at the head of a small party, waited in a wood not far from Leicester's camp, in order to receive the prince, and convey him to a place of safety. Every thing being thus prepared, the prince pretending to take the air with some of Leicester's retinue, made matches between their horses, and rode several of them himself. When by this stratagem he had sufficiently tired and blown their horses, he mounted the steed sent him by Gloucester, and calling to his attendants, bade them adieu, and effected his escape.

The people were highly elated at the escape of the prince; they flocked to his standard from all parts of the country, so that Edward soon found himself at the head of a powerful army. He immediately took the field, and in order to prevent Leicester from retreating back to the capital, broke down all the bridges upon the Severn. Leicester saw his danger, and dispatched an express to his son to hasten from London with an army to his relief. But Edward was too vigilant, and too well informed of young Leicester's motions, to suffer him to join his father. As soon as he heard that he was advanced to Kenilworth, Edward marched to meet him, surprised him in his camp, and totally dispersed his army. The absence of the prince furnished Leicester with an opportunity of crossing the Severn in boats; and being entirely ignorant of his son's misfortune, advanced to Evelham, expecting every hour to be joined by the forces from London.

Prince Edward, being informed of Leicester's situation, divided his army into three bodies, one of which advanced along the road to Kenilworth, carrying before them the banners which had been taken from young Leicester's army; while he himself, at the head of the second division, made a circuit, in order to attack the earl's army in another quarter. This stratagem for some time deceived Leicester; he took the first division for his friends; but perceiving his mistake, and observing the excellent disposition of Edward's troops, he exclaimed, "They have learned from me their military order! The Lord have mercy upon our souls, for I see our bodies are the prince's." The greater part of the army of Leicester made but a feeble resistance; the Welsh, who formed the van, unable to support the furious attack of Edward, fled with the utmost precipitation, while Gloucester, at the head of another division, charged the main body with equal fury. Leicester, however, maintained the battle with amazing intrepidity, till his horse being killed under him, he demanded quarter, which was refused, and he fell among the slain, together with his son Henry. His troops, deprived of their two principal leaders, threw down their arms, and begged for quarter.

Thus fell Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, a bold, valiant, and enterprising genius, superior to most men of the age in the art of war; intemperate, and perceptive. His talents enabled him to

purpose, and his intrepid heart supplied him with vigor to carry them into execution; so that with these advantages, no man was so well qualified as himself to lead a party, or subvert the constitution of a state.

The battle of Evelham entirely changed the face of affairs. The king of the Romans, his son and all the barons of the royal party were immediately set at liberty. Edward easily subdued the remains of the rebel party; and the far greater part of the castles garrisoned by the rebels delayed not to make their submission, and open their gates to the king.

Adam Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himself for some time in the forest of Hampshire, and committed depredations in the neighbourhood. Edward led a body of forces against him, and attacked the camp of the rebels with the utmost fury. The two valiant leaders met, and a single combat ensued between them. The victory was long doubtful; but at last ended in favour of Edward. Gourdon was wounded, thrown from his horse and taken prisoner. But Edward knew how to estimate valor, even in an enemy. He procured his pardon, granted him his friendship, and Gourdon served him faithfully till his death.

A more distinguished moderation was perhaps never shewn upon a similar occasion. No sacrifices of national liberty were made; the great charter continued inviolate. No blood was shed upon the scaffold; those who had borne arms against the king were punished only by pecuniary compositions, and even these were exacted with great moderation. The city of London had merited the most rigorous chastisement, but this was greatly mitigated; its privileges were indeed taken away, but they were soon after restored.

A. D. 1268. Tranquillity being now in some measure restored to the kingdom, Henry summoned a parliament, at which the pope's legate assisted, who informed the assembly that the pontiff had resolved to publish a crusade in every state that professed the Christian religion; exhorting the English to support an enterprize calculated to promote the glory of the church. The English had not yet learned wisdom from past misfortunes; enthusiasm prevailed, and the recovery of the Holy Land was considered as more meritorious than the strictest exercise of all the Christian virtues. Prince Edward, his brother Edmund, and their cousin Henry received the cross from the hands of the legate; and their example was followed by the earls of Gloucester, Warrenne, and Pembroke, one hundred and twenty knights, and great numbers of inferior orders.

A. D. 1269. A parliament was held this year at London, in which the conduct of the Jews came under consideration. These people had, during the last commons, found means to become possessed of very considerable landed interest, by getting lands from many of the king's subjects for loans of money, for the payment of which they had certain annuities or fees upon the estates of the debtors. It was therefore now provided, that no Jew should enjoy a freehold in any manor, land, or estate, by charter, gift, obligation, or otherwise. This was a great relief to the subject, and, no doubt, materially contributed towards enabling the nation to pay its subsidies.

Henry's thoughts had been for some time engaged in the design of celebrating the feast of Edward the Confessor, his tutelary saint, in the most magnificent manner, and translating that saint's relics into a rich shrine of very curious workmanship. The ceremony was performed with great pomp and solemnity, Henry, and his brother the king of the Romans, bearing the relics on their shoulders, in presence of all the prelates and nobility of the realm.



A. D. 1270. The nation now enjoying a profound tranquillity, prince Edward prepared for embarking for the continent; and a parliament being called at Winchester, the assembly took leave of him in the name of the whole kingdom. At the same time the king, whose presence was judged necessary in his own dominions, delivered his cross to prince Edward, and assigned to him the whole produce of the subsidy that had been granted him for the expedition.

Lewis of France, who had also engaged in the crusade, failed some time before the English forces were ready, and landed near the ruins of Carthage, in order to reduce the city of Tunis. Edward reached his camp, but had the misfortune to find that great prince already dead from the intemperance of the climate, and the great fatigues he had undergone.

The devotion of Lewis was destructive to France; and is a proof that the excess of a good quality may be criminal. He was succeeded in the throne by Philip, surnamed the Hardy, a prince of considerable merit, but much inferior to that of his father.

The death of Lewis was not, however, sufficient to intimidate Edward. He continued his course to Palestine, where he signalized himself by the most astonishing acts of valour. He revived the glory of the English name in those parts, and struck the Saracens with such terror, that they had recourse to the infamous method of assassination. The villain employed to execute this inhuman design, was admitted several times into the prince's presence, under pretence of negotiating a treaty between Edward and the governor of Joppa. One day, finding the prince alone, sitting on a couch undressed, he approached him, and offering him some letters, took the opportunity of drawing a concealed dagger, and endeavoured to sheathe it in the prince's breast; but Edward fortunately warded off the blow. He received indeed a considerable wound in the arm, but that misfortune did not prevent him from seizing the villain, and having wrested the dagger from his hand he plunged it into his heart.

This affair caused an universal consternation among the prince's followers, which was not a little increased by the report of the surgeon, who declared the wound to have been made with a poisoned instrument, and that there were symptoms of much danger. Edward himself received this notice like a soldier and a man: he made his will, and expected his fate with perfect composure; but happily the great skill of the surgeon, who was an Englishman, effected a cure in little more than a fortnight.

With respect to the recovery of Edward, most historians pay a compliment to the female sex, at the expence of truth, by extolling the unexampled conjugal affection of Edward's princess Eleanor, who cured her sick consort by sucking the venom from his wound: but historical truth obliges us to refuse this pretty tale, as having no foundation but in the imagination of those who delight in the marvellous: though, at the same time, we must so far satisfy the ladies as to assure them that Eleanor was so excellent a wife, that, had she believed this dangerous expedient to be the only possible means of preserving her husband's life, she would probably have tried it.

When Edward was perfectly recovered, he found that his soldiers were so greatly intimidated by this attempt, that it would be in vain for him to think of proceeding. He had done enough for justice, enough for glory. The Sultan of Babylon sent an ambassador, solemnly disclaiming all knowledge of the base assassination; and Edward seemed to give credit to the attestation, but was far from being satisfied that their master was not privy to the attempt. In the mean time the princess Eleanor was delivered of a daughter, who, from the place of her nativity, had afterwards the name of Joan of Acre.

A. D. 1271. Prince Edward's absence from England was attended with many of those pernicious consequences which had been dreaded from the time of his departure. The laws were not executed; the barons oppressed the common people with impunity; they gave shelter on their estates to bands of robbers, whom they employed to commit ravages on the estate of their neighbours. The populace of London returned to their usual licentiousness; and the king, who was now grown old and infirm, called aloud for his son to return, and assist him in swaying that sceptre which was ready to fall from his feeble and uncertain hand.

A. D. 1272. This year Henry received advice of the death of his brother Richard, king of the Romans, who expired at Berkhamstead on the 2d April. His body was deposited in his own abbey at Hayles, and his heart in the priory of Rowley, founded by him in the suburbs of Oxford, for Cistercian monks. He was succeeded, as earl of Cornwall, by his son Edmund, who married Margaret, sister to the earl of Gloucester.

Among the various insurrections that happened about this time, one of the most remarkable was at Norwich, occasioned by a quarrel between the citizens and the monks, in which the cathedral and monastery adjoining were reduced to ashes. Henry was determined to punish the authors of these commotions and for that purpose summoned a great council at Northampton, whither he went himself, though at that time very weak in health. Here the citizens of Norwich were fined 3000 marks, and several of the most active in the riot were sentenced to be hanged, and their bodies burnt.

Henry went to Norwich to see justice done on the rioters: here he staid twelve days, and then came to St. Edmundsbury in his way to London, where he was seized with a malady that soon put an end to his life. His distemper increasing daily, he ordered himself to be removed by easy journies to Westminster; when, finding his end approaching with hasty strides, he set out for the earl of Gloucester, and exacted from him an oath, that he would preserve the peace of the kingdom, and, to the utmost of his power, maintain the interest of his son Edward. He then sent for the chief nobility, took a solemn farewell of them, and expired in the evening of the 17th of November, in the 65th year of his age, and the 57th of his reign. His body, dressed in royal robes, was, on the 24th, carried by the chief nobility to the abbey church of Westminster, and interred, according to his own directions, near the shrine of Edward the Confessor, where his tomb, with his statue in brass, is still to be seen.

The character of this prince is so marked by his principal actions of his life as to leave the historian but few particulars to relate concerning him. His mind was narrow, his temper capricious, his power arbitrary, and his measures oppressive; which, together with his attachment to foreigners, were the causes of the troubles that disturbed his reign. He proved destructive to the tranquillity of his subjects. He evinced two principles that are undeniable demonstrations of meanness of soul; the former, a most presumptive arrogance in prosperity, and the latter a most abject dependence in adversity. With all these vices and foibles, he had some virtues: he was noted for his piety and devotion, and he attended on public worship. He was also an affectionate husband, and an indulgent parent.

Henry left three sons, namely, Edward, who succeeded him, and Edmund earl of Lancaster. He had also two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, duchess of Brittany. Besides these he had five other children, all of whom died in infancy.



The remarkable occurrences that happened in this king's reign were as follow :

In the sixth year of his reign there was a dreadful tempest of thunder, lightning and rain, in February, which threw down several churches, and rooted up many trees. This was followed by extraordinary rains, and these by a dearth, another violent tempest, an earthquake, a prodigious storm of wind, inundations, and a comet.

In his seventeenth, it thundered for fifteen days together. The next year began with terrible tempests of thunder, rain, and floods, which spoilt the fruits of the earth.

In April, 1233, there appeared four false suns in Worcestershire and Herefordshire. The true sun was of a red colour, with a great circle of a chrystalline colour, whose circuit seemed as large as the kingdom of England : from its sides went forth certain half circles, in whose sections the four false suns appeared. The true one was in the east, it being about seven in the morning, the air clear, and the sky serene. The bishop of Hereford and Sir John Monmouth saw and witnessed to this wonder. Near the sea-side, the figures of two huge dragons were seen fighting in the air : after a long dispute, the one vanquished the other, and drove him into the sea ; and the conqueror following him, they were both no more seen. The same year there was a dearth, which was preceded by an earthquake.

On the 6th of June, 1239, the twenty-third year of this king's reign, prince Edward, his eldest son, was born. Before his birth-day there appeared a new star in the heavens for several days together ; it was carried with a swift course through a long circuit of air ; it seemed sometimes to bear fire along with it, and sometimes to leave smoke behind it. In the next, there was a great battle of fish at sea ; the consequence of which was, that eleven whales were cast on the shore, and appeared to be dead of some wounds they had received. Not long after, a great sound was heard at one time in all parts of England, as if it had been the noise of mountains falling into the sea.

In the twenty-sixth year, the sun was eclipsed in a terrible manner ; and two years afterwards, so many stars seemed to fall in one night as if there would have been none left in the sky.

In his thirty-second year, a dreadful earthquake happened on the 14th of February ; and the sea, for a long tract near the coast of England, ceased to ebb and flow near three months together. The next year, the town of Newcastle was destroyed by fire, and an earthquake threw down several steeples and houses in Somersetshire.

On the 11th of October, in his thirty-fourth year, the moon appeared red and bloated, which was the prelude of a storm of wind so violent, that the sea flowed twice without ebbing, and in the night seemed to burn. Soon after, an earthquake was felt at St. Albans.

In the following year, the chimney of the chamber where the queen and her children lay, was blown down by a terrible storm, and her whole apartment at Windsor shaken and torn ; oaks in the park were rent under, and turned up by the roots, and all was accompanied with such thunders and lightnings as had been heard or seen in the memory of man.

In May, the new moon appeared three days before time, and the sun, moon, and stars, for fifteen days successively, seemed of a red colour. A dearth and murrain among cattle followed this prodigy.

In his thirty-eighth, the new moon in February was seen four days before the course of her time.

In his thirty-ninth year, the figure of a ship was seen in the air at St. Albans, and in his fortieth, a comet

In his fifty-second year, the two companies of goldsmiths and taylors of London fought, and several were killed on both sides. The sheriffs appeated the tumult, and thirteen of the most mutinous of them were hanged : as were thirty citizens of Norwich, in the last year of his reign, for quarrelling and fighting with the monks of that city.

Hollingshed has many more miracles, prodigies, and extraordinary fights in his history of king Henry III ; but we have reported enough to let the reader see that the seasons were as much distracted as the times, and that nature seemed to be disturbed in all her productions during the reign of this weak prince, who had, however, many brave subjects, and governed a people that shewed they might have been great and happy, had their prince known how to have made them so.

The most remarkable learned men that lived in England from the accession of Henry II. to the death of Henry III. were as follow :

The first of these is Roger Hoveden, who was chaplain to Henry II. He wrote a book of Annals that begin with the year 732, and are carried down as low as the reign of king John. This work is written in a very pleasing style, and contains many valuable materials for the civil as well as ecclesiastical history of the times he has treated of.

Ralph de Diceto lived in the reign of king John, and wrote a chronicle of the British kings, from Brute to Cadwalladar, and from Hengist to Harold.

John Wallingford, supposed to have been abbot of St. Alban's, wrote a short chronicle of the progress of the Saxons and Danes in England. This work is still preserved in the Cottonian Library, though wretchedly mutilated and defaced.

Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, who also lived in the reign of king John, is said to have been profoundly learned in matters of antiquity, particularly the British and Saxons. He compiled a large History of the Britons, Saxons and Normans, from their origin to the reign of king John. The greatest part of this work is lost, but the remains, which contain the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. sufficiently evince the whole to have been a very valuable performance.

Grotell was an able divine and a great scholar, and particularly distinguished himself by a vigorous opposition to the extension of the papal authority in the reign of Henry III. His principal performance was a translation from the Greek into Latin of the Testament of the twelve patriarchs. He was born at Stodbroke in Suffolk, and died on the 8th of October, 1253.

Richard Poor, at first bishop of Salisbury, and from thence translated to the see of Durham, is remarkable upon two accounts : his persuading the inhabitants of Sarum to remove to a more advantageous situation, where Salisbury now stands, and where he founded that noble cathedral which remains to this day ; and for his Synodical Constitutions, which he enacted for the use of the church of Salisbury.

Alexander Hales, born in Gloucestershire, a great canonist, was professor of divinity in the university of Paris. He composed Annotations on the Bible, and several tracts in logic and metaphysics.

Sewald, archbishop of York, was an able divine, and remarkable for the purity of his life. He was so incensed at the impudent exactions of the court of Rome, that he could not forbear writing a letter of complaint to the pope, in which he declares his holiness to remember, that " when Christ gave the charge of his flock to Peter, it was that he might feed them, and not fleece or slay them."



## B O O K VII.

*From the Accession of Edward I. to the Death of Richard II.*

## S E C T I O N I.

## EDWARD I. SURNAMED LONG-SHANKS.\*

ON the death of Henry III. his son Edward succeeded to the crown of England; and notwithstanding he was at this time on the continent, yet not the least opposition was made against him, but, on the contrary, all ranks and orders of people in the kingdom testified their earnest desires of seeing him placed on the throne of his ancestors. He was accordingly proclaimed king, by the council of state, immediately after the decease of his father; and all the estates of the kingdom swore fealty to his person and government.

Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received the news of the death of his father; and about the same time advice was brought him of the loss of his son, who died at Acre in Palestine. He appeared more sensibly affected with the news of the former than that of the latter; and the king of Sicily expressing a surprize at so singular a circumstance, Edward replied, "That the death of a son was a loss he might hope to repair; but the death of a father was a loss absolutely irreparable."

A. D. 1273. Edward, after having paid the necessary tribute of respect to the death of his father, made preparations for proceeding on his journey to England. Before, however, he had left Sicily, he received advice of the quiet settlement of his kingdom, in consequence of which he was not in such haste to take possession of the throne; and therefore determined to settle all affairs in the best manner he could before he left the continent.

In passing through France he was invited by the prince of Chalons in Burgundy to a tournament he was preparing to celebrate. Edward had particularly distinguished himself in these dangerous and martial exercises, and was too ambitious of glory to lose so favourable an opportunity of signaling his courage and address in arms. He therefore accepted the invitation, but the glory he acquired excited envy, and produced consequences of a very serious nature. Edward and his retinue were so successful, that the French knights finding themselves foiled in every attempt, made a violent and envious attack upon them; but they were repulsed, and many lives were lost. So that what was at first intended as amusement, became at last a matter of the most serious consequence.

From Chalons Edward repaired to Paris, in order to do homage to Philip for the dominions he held in France, and was received by that monarch with every possible mark of politeness and respect. He afterwards repaired to Guienne, and put an end to the troubles of that province.

A. D. 1274. Edward, having now settled his affairs on the continent, embarked at Boulogne for England, and arrived at Dover on the second of Au-

gust. He was received by his subjects with all possible demonstrations of affection and respect; and on the nineteenth of the same month was crowned at Westminster, with Eleanor his queen, by the archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of Alexander III. king of Scotland, the duke of Britany, and all the principal nobility of the kingdom.

The ceremony of the coronation was no sooner over, than Edward applied himself to the correcting of those disorders, which the civil commotions and the weak administration of his father, had introduced into every part of government. He made the great charter the rule of his conduct; and obliged the barons to observe it with regard to their vassals. The licentiousness of the nobles had long been the source of various calamities, both with respect to the crown and people. He therefore took care to curtail their power, and, without invading their real privileges, rendered them obedient to the laws of their country.

A. D. 1275. Edward summoned a parliament to be held at Westminster, when several excellent statutes were enacted; besides which he took care to inspect the conduct of his magistrates and judges; to displace such as were either negligent or corrupt; to provide them with sufficient force for the execution of justice; to root out all bands and confederacies of robbers; and to repress those more silent robberies which were committed, either by the power of the nobles, or under the countenance of public authority. By this rigid administration the face of the kingdom was greatly changed, and Edward's subjects flattered themselves with possessing that happiness, which had been denied them in the reign of his predecessor.

But amidst the excellent institutions, and vigorous plans of Edward, a circumstance happened this year, that shewed the natural severity of his disposition, and, at the same time also displayed the common prejudices of the times. Among the various disorders to which the kingdom had been a long time subject, no one was more universally complained of than the adulteration of the coin; and, as the gold required more art than the English of that age, who chiefly employed force and violence in their money, were possessed of, the imputation chiefly fell upon the Jews. Edward also appears to have indulged a strong prepossession against those people, and, with a misguided zeal for christianity, (naturally augmented by an expedition to the Holy Land) he let loose the rigor of his justice against those unhappy people.

Besides many who suffered in various parts of the kingdom, near 300 of them were hanged in London. The houses and lands of those who had of late ventured to make purchases of their goods, as well as the goods of great numbers who were confiscated; and the king, lest it should be thought

\* The king is called Edward I. from his being the first of that name after the Conquest; and he received the name of Long-Shanks from the remarkable disproportion of his legs.



EDWARD I.



Walden

K. b. d. r. u. p.





that the riches of the sufferers were the chief part of their guilt, ordered one half of the money raised by the confiscations to be set apart and bestowed upon such as were willing to embrace christianity. But the resentment of their injuries was more prevalent over their minds than the temptation arising from their poverty; so that very few of them could be induced to embrace the religion of their persecutors.

But the miseries of these people did not terminate here: though the arbitrary talliages and exactions levied upon them had yielded a constant and considerable revenue to the crown, Edward, prompted at once by his zeal and rapacity, resolved, a short time after, to purge the kingdom of that hated race, and to seize to himself their whole property, as the reward for his labour. He left them only money sufficient to defray the expences of their passage into foreign countries, where new persecutions and extortions awaited them. But the inhabitants of the Cinque ports, imitating the avidity of their sovereign, deprived most of them of this small pittance, and even threw many of the Jews into the sea; a crime for which the king, who was determined to be the sole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted capital punishment on the perpetrators. No less than 15000 Jews were thus robbed of their effects, and banished the kingdom.

A. D. 1276. This year Edward undertook an enterprize that was not only of the utmost importance to himself, but of peculiar advantage to his people. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had been closely connected with the Montfort family, had refused to repair to the court of Edward and pay him homage. This exasperated the haughty spirit of the English monarch, and he determined to reduce his refractory vassal. Llewellyn well knew the power and great abilities of Edward, and endeavoured to strengthen himself by a strict alliance with the remains of the Montfort family. He accordingly demanded Eleanor, daughter to the late earl of Leicester in marriage. The young lady was then at the court of France, where she had taken refuge on the death of her father. The request of Llewellyn was, however, readily complied with, and Eleanor, embarked for Wales, under the care of her brother Aumeri; but the vessel being taken at sea, the betrothed princess was sent to the court of Edward, where she was detained as a prisoner of state; but her brother was committed to Corfe-castle. Deputies soon after arrived from Llewellyn, offering to ransom the princess, whom he asserted to be detained against the law of nations. But Edward refused to let Eleanor at liberty, unless Llewellyn would engage to repair all the devastations committed on the borders of England, and restore all the castles he had taken during the late wars. Llewellyn refused the conditions, and hostilities immediately commenced between them; but the operations of the first campaign were of little consequence, neither Edward nor Llewellyn heading their troops in person.

In the spring of the following year, A. D. 1277, Edward marched with his army into Wales; and Llewellyn, perceiving it would be madness to meet the English in the open field, retreated to his woods and inaccessible mountains, in order to harass the English troops; but Edward was not to be surprized. He cut a capacious road for his forces through a tract of woods extending from the marches on the border of Cheshire to Caernarvonshire, by which his forces penetrated with ease into the heart of the country. Llewellyn retreated to Snowden, the usual place of refuge when attacked by the English. But then tallies now were of very little consequence. Edward forced all the passes, and prevented any provision from being carried to Llewellyn's army. Lamm

soon reduced the Welsh prince to sue for peace, and a treaty was concluded at Aberconway, on the following conditions: "That Llewellyn should pay fifty thousand pounds sterling as a satisfaction for damages; that he should quit for ever a tract of land containing the whole country between Chester and the river Conway; and that he should repair to the court of Edward and perform his homage." Edward, however, thought proper to remit the payment of the fifty thousand pounds, and brought Llewellyn with him to London, where he did homage and swore fealty in the presence of a great number of the prelates and nobility of England. The ceremony being over, Edward delivered to him his betrothed spouse, Eleanor, and caused their nuptials to be celebrated with the greatest magnificence.

A. D. 1278. Soon after Midsummer this year Edward held a parliament at Gloucester, in which several laws were enacted for securing the rights and liberties of the subject, and providing for the better administration of justice. But among the many excellent regulations made by Edward for the advantage and happiness of his people, he took one step that again threatened the nation with all the miseries of a civil war. He issued commissions to enquire into all the encroachments made on the royal demesnes; and all persons were summoned to produce the titles by which they held their estates. The barons were sufficiently alarmed, and vigorously opposed the order, as cruel and oppressive. Among others, John, earl of Warrenne and Surry, was cited before the king's commissioners for that purpose. He obeyed the summons, but on being called upon to produce his titles, drew a family sword he had brought with him for that purpose, and addressed the court in the following manner: "It was with this sword, that my ancestors, who came in with William the bastard, acquired their possessions; and by the same I will defend them: it was not for himself only that William conquered; it was not for him alone that my ancestors fought." This noble and spirited declaration, which was consonant to the sense of all the old English nobility, put an end to the enquiry. Edward soon saw his error, and immediately revoked the commission.

A. D. 1281. Notwithstanding Llewellyn had strictly observed the conditions of the treaty yet the officers of Edward had committed so many acts of violence upon the Welsh, that they implored the protection of their prince against their insolent neighbours. Llewellyn made strong remonstrances to Edward, but without effect: the grievances still continued. Exasperated at such unjust treatment, the Welsh determined rather to encounter a force which they had already experienced to be so much superior to their own, than bear any longer the oppressions of the haughty victors.

David, brother to Llewellyn, had long served the crown of England with the utmost fidelity; but exasperated at the unjust oppressions of his countrymen, he joined his brother, and offered to head the army, and venture his life to retrieve the liberties and independence of that ancient people. The generous proposal was joyfully accepted, the whole nation flew to arms, and joined the standard of David, who led them immediately against their oppressors. Several castles soon fell into their hands, and they severely retaliated on the English the miseries they had so long suffered from their unprovoked violations.

Edward, piqued at the success of the insurgents over his English subjects, determined to crush for ever a people who had only taken up arms in defence of their liberties, and to procure that redress they had so often solicited in vain.

The archbishop of Canterbury, desirous of preventing



venting the effusion of human blood, exerted all his interest to bring about an accommodation, and made several equitable proposals by the request of Llewellyn and his brother, for sheathing the sword of destruction, and preventing the horrid devastation that must ensue, if the bloody standard of war should be carried into the country of that distressed and injured people. But his labours were in vain. Edward was determined to put a final period to the government of Wales, and exterminate all the remains of its antient independence.

In consequence of this resolution, Edward, in the spring of the following year, A. D. 1282, led his army into the enemy's country, without meeting any opposition, Llewellyn and his brother having retired to their fastnesses in Snowden, waiting for an opportunity of falling on the English when embarrassed among the woods.

In these expectations, however, they were greatly disappointed, for Edward, who had learned experience from his former expedition, invested the enemy by securing all the avenues through which it was possible for them to escape, and threw a bridge of boats over the river Menay, opposite to Bangor. Before the work was entirely completed, three hundred men at arms, under the command of lord Latimer and Lucas de Thany, a Gascon, passed the river to amuse the enemy, while the main body of the army crossed the bridge. The Welsh, who were well acquainted with the nature of the river, and knew that the water would soon swell and cut off their retreat, did not for some time molest the English in their passage; but when about 1500 of them were landed, they rushed down from the mountains, with the most horrid cries, and fell upon the English with such fury and resolution, that they were immediately routed with the most dreadful slaughter.

The English were so dispirited at this defeat, that for some time their operations were suspended; they found it impossible to advance, and were ashamed to retire. The Welsh, on the other hand, flushed with their late success, and encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, began to think themselves invincible; more especially as their bards had persuaded them that the period was arrived for the accomplishment of the prophecy of the great Merlin, who had foretold, that one of the race of Llewellyn would ride through the streets of London with a crown on his head. This ridiculous notion, well adapted to the ignorance and superstition of the times, proved the destruction of the Welsh army. It was resolved to commit the care of Snowden to David, while Llewellyn himself led the main body of the forces against the English.

This fatal resolution being taken, the prince advanced into Radnorshire, in order to join the remains of Montfort's party; but his little army was met at Pont Orewyn, a bridge which secured the passage over the Wye, by a detachment of the English, and totally defeated; and he himself, who had advanced some distance before his troops, killed by the hand of one Adam de Frampton, who not knowing him, ran a spear through his body.

Thus fell the famous Llewellyn, a prince descended from one of the most antient royal families in Europe, and with him the small remains of Welsh liberty expired; after having been preserved in that little corner of the island above eighteen hundred years, against

all the efforts of the English monarchy, though destitute both of foreign alliances, and a naval power.

No sooner was Llewellyn dead, than his head, together with the news of the victory, was sent to the king then encamped at Conway. Edward immediately ordered the head to be sent to London, where it was conveyed, through the streets upon the point of a lance in a cart, and, at last, crowned with a silver circle, in contempt of a prophetic tradition, which said, that Llewellyn's head should ride down Cheapside, encircled with a silver diadem. It was next placed upon a pillory in Cheapside, from whence it was conveyed to the Tower of London, crowned with ivy, in ridicule of the prophecy, which said, that Llewellyn should wear the crown of Brute. And here, pursuant to the order of the king, it was fixed on the point of a high staff erected for that purpose on the top of the fortress.

The death of Llewellyn struck the Welsh with terror; they made no farther efforts to support the falling state of their country: the greater part of them submitted to the English. David himself retired to the woods and fastnesses of the mountains, where he continued for some time in the greatest distress; but was at last seized by his own countrymen in one of his retreats, and conveyed a prisoner to Edward, who ordered him to be sent in chains to Shrewsbury. The captivity of David put a final period to all opposition: the Welsh nobility delivered up their castles, and the whole country submitted to the conqueror.

About the latter end of the summer of the following year, 1283, summonses were issued for a full meeting of parliament at Shrewsbury, to deliberate on the fate of the captive David. The trial, however, took up but a short time, at the close of which David, instead of being respected as the defender of the liberties of his country, was condemned as a traitor, to be drawn, hanged and quartered. This sentence was executed with many circumstances of barbarous exultation; his bowels were consumed in the fire; his four quarters were exposed in different parts of the kingdom, namely, one at Bristol, another at York, the third at Northampton, and the fourth at Winchester, and his head was placed on the Tower by that of his brother Llewellyn.

Edward having thus secured the conquest of Wales, built two castles, one at Aberconway and another at Caernarvon; and having settled the civil government of Wales, it was ever after annexed to the crown of England. It was, however, happy for the Welsh, placed as they were in such disadvantageous circumstances, that, when they fell, they fell into a state not of slavery, but of dependence, and of that dependence as bears marks rather of an unbloody conquest.\*

The satisfaction which Edward received from the conquest of Wales was greatly checked by the loss of his eldest son prince Alphonso, who died about Christmas, 1283, in the 12th year of his age. This was the third son Edward lost within the space of three years. John, his first son died before his return from the Holy Land; and Henry, his second son, formed.

A. D. 1284. In the beginning of this year Edward made a progress into Glamorganshire, which was received with extraordinary magnificence by earl of Gloucester, between whom and the king now appeared to subsist the most perfect good understanding.

\* The following anecdote, which is very properly adapted to the taste of Monkish writers, is related by several of our historians. Edward, by threatening the Welsh, promised to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, born in their own country, and one who could speak no other language. The

favor was accepted with the greatest acclamations of the people, and promise of obedience, and he immediately bestowed the vestiture of the principality on his son Edward, then an infant and born at Caernarvon. Since this period the princes of Wales have given title to the eldest sons of the kings of England.



*Engraved for  
Ripley's History  
of England.*



*The Head of LLEWELLYN the last reign-  
ing Prince of Wales, publicly exposed on a  
pole, in Cheap-side, London.*

*W. H. H. delin.*

*W. H. H. sculp.*



standing. Edward, willing to render himself as popular as possible in that country, ordered tournaments to be held for several days, during which his queen was delivered of a son at Caernarvon, and Edward gave the young prince the name of that place.

Edward, having settled matters in Wales, came, about the middle of December, to Bristol, where he kept his Christmas, and held a parliament; and then repaired to London, from whence he had now been absent near three years. Soon after his arrival, namely, about the middle of February, 1285, he received a summons from the king of France, to attend that prince in his war against the king of Arragon, by reason of the lands he held in Gascony; but a truce being soon after concluded between those two powers, Edward was left at liberty to attend the affairs of his own kingdom.

Edward now directed his attention to the reforming of many great abuses which had been practised by the city magistrates during his absence. George Brockley, the mayor, was turned out of his office for having taken bribes from the bakers, to connive at their selling bread short of weight; besides which he took away the charter of the city, and put in another mayor by his own authority. At the same time licence was given to merchant-strangers to rent houses and keep shops; whereas formerly they were only importers of goods, and the English landlords, with whom they lodged, acted as brokers to sell the goods for them.

A. D. 1286. In the month of July this year Edward passed over to the continent, in order to establish a peace between Alphonso king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father, Philip the Hardy, in the crown of France. He continued here three years; and during the greater part of the time was employed in this business, which he effectually accomplished by forming an alliance between the two monarchs on the most solid and permanent foundation.

A. D. 1289. Edward had made preparations for leaving France early in the spring; but through unavoidable delays, he did not arrive at London till the middle of August. During his absence great disorders had happened in the kingdom: the streams of justice were poisoned at their fountains by the corruption of the judges. Edward was determined to examine very strictly into their conduct, and for that purpose, in the beginning of the following year, 1290, summoned a parliament at Westminster, and before that assembly the judges were tried. Two only were found innocent: the proofs against the rest were so clear, that they could not make any defence, and they were all deposed and severely fined. The two judges who were found, on the strictest examination, to have administered justice with integrity, were John de Martingham, and Elias de Bokingham, both clergymen.

In this parliament an act was passed for banishing the Jews out of the kingdom, they having rendered themselves odious to the whole nation by their usury and extortion. They were ordered to depart the kingdom before the 1st of November on pain of death, and all their wealth, except only such sums as were necessary to defray the expence of their voyage, was confiscated to the king's use. But many of them were not suffered to escape even with so small a pittance of their fortune: some of them were murdered by the common men in their passage; and others, after being plundered of their little all, were left destitute on an inhospitable shore. Such are the dreadful effects of unbridled consequences, when under no restraint from the laws of humanity.

In the beginning of May this year (1290) Edward left his daughter Jane, or Joan of Acre, on the

earl of Gloucester, after that nobleman had sworn to maintain the lineal succession of England. In the month of July following his other daughter Beatrix was married to the eldest son of John, duke of Brabant. But the joy these alliances occasioned was soon destroyed by the loss of Queen Eleanor, who died as she was accompanying Edward in a progress to the north, at Holmsby in Lincolnshire, on the 29th of November. The death of this truly excellent princess (who had lived his wife in loving participation of all his troubles and long voyages thirty-six years) overwhelmed Edward with the most poignant grief; and, making every other consideration give way to affection, he instantly returned to Westminster with her corpse, where her obsequies were performed with a magnificence suitable to the greatness of his love, and the deep sense he had of her loss. He ordered a handsome tomb, with her image on it in brass, to be erected over her grave; as likewise several crosses of stone to be raised to her memory, with her arms engraven upon them, at those places where her body had rested in its conveyance to London, and where solemn dirges had been sung for her soul, as at Northampton, Waltham, &c. several of which crosses are still remaining. There was one in Cheap-side, and another at the place now called Charing Cross; but these two last were taken down by order of the Long Parliament in 1643, as relics of popish superstition.

We now come to the commencement of an incident, which was productive of circumstances that particularly distinguished the remainder of Edward's reign. It had always been lamented by the greatest statesmen, that England and Scotland were not united; and some attempts had been made to produce so desirable an event. Alexander III. king of Scotland, had been unfortunately killed by a fall from his horse in the year 1286, leaving no male issue. Margaret, daughter to Eric king of Norway, and granddaughter to Alexander, was the only lineal descendant from the royal family of Scotland. This princess, then an infant, and known by the name of The Maid of Norway, was recognized successor by the states of Scotland. Edward, who was great uncle to the Norwegian princess, now flattered himself that an opportunity offered for uniting the two kingdoms; and accordingly proposed a marriage between his son, the prince of Wales, and the Maid of Norway. The friendship which had for some time prevailed between the two nations greatly facilitated this project, so favourable to the grandeur and happiness of both kingdoms. The estates of Scotland were pleased with the offers of Edward, and the marriage articles were drawn up, agreed to, and ratified. The bishop of Durham was appointed the queen's lieutenant in Scotland; and two of the Scottish commissioners, with the earl of Warrene and the dean of York, embarked for Norway, to settle every thing relating to the marriage. Thus every thing appeared ripe for effecting a lasting union between the two kingdoms, when this coalition, which would have been so much to the advantage of both parties, was suddenly and unexpectedly broken off by the untimely death of Margaret, who died in one of the islands of the Orkneys, whither she had been driven by streaks of weather, as she was on her passage to England, in the month of October, 1290.

The death of this princess, in so critical a juncture, brought upon Scotland all the calamities which attend a disputed succession; and besides the intestine broils and foreign invasions which soon after rendered that country a scene of blood and debilitation, it laid the foundation of those wars and depredations on the borders, which were continually carried on for some ages between the Scots and the English, and



and of that animosity which hath, in some degree, ever since subsisted between the two nations.

A. D. 1291. Several persons offered themselves as claimants to the crown of Scotland, but the two principal competitors were, Robert Bruce and John Baliol, both descended in the female line from the brother of that William who had been taken prisoner by Henry II. The Scots, who were at this time a gross and ignorant people, were little qualified to discuss the claims of these competitors. The parliament was divided; and if they had determined the dispute by a plurality of voices, the competitors were so powerful, that there were little hopes of their submitting to their decision; the animosities of the parties would, in all probability, have been heightened, and the nation plunged into all the horrors of a civil war. It was therefore resolved to refer the contest to the king of England, who had already shewn himself so able and impartial an arbitrator in several contentions between different princes of Europe.

Edward readily accepted the office; but they little thought he would abuse their confidence, in order to impose on their independence. He determined to establish a right of superiority over Scotland, a project he had some time formed, though he had hitherto wished to obtain it rather by compact than claim; by the arts of policy and address, rather than by force of arms. He wished not to plant his standard of power in fields manured with the blood of their inhabitants. He sought, with the utmost diligence, for proofs in ancient histories; but the only circumstance he insisted on, which had the least appearance of plausibility, was the homage paid by William to Henry II. tho' Richard I. had renounced his homage. Furnished, however, with a number of uncertain testimonies, he advanced to Norham, a town on the northern banks of the Tweed, at the head of a powerful army, to give weight to the unexpected claim he intended to make. On his arrival, he invited the parliament of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to his camp; where the chief justiciary told the assembly, "that the king had taken the greatest pains to collect proofs from all the ancient records and chronicles, to determine this important truth, namely, that the kings of Scotland had been dependent on the English monarchs from time immemorial, and had accordingly done them homage, except when they had taken advantage of the intestine commotions of the nation, or the reign of a weak prince, to withdraw their allegiance. The king was, therefore, intitled to decide this dispute, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in the quality of liege lord of the kingdom."

This unexpected declaration threw the assembly into the greatest consternation. It was in vain, however, to make any remonstrance: they therefore begged to have some time allowed them to give in their answer, as many of the prelates and the nobility of Scotland were absent, whose advice was necessary in a point of so much importance. Edward consented to indulge them with three weeks for that purpose; and issued safe conducts for all the nobility of Scotland to repair to Norham on the day appointed for giving in their answer. No objection being made by the barons to Edward's claim, the king addressed himself to the several competitors, requiring their acknowledgment of his superiority. Bruce was the first to acknowledge it; while Baliol, afraid of giving offence to the Scottish nation, contented with more reluctance.

Having gained this important acknowledgement, Edward demanded that the principal castles in that kingdom should be put into his hands, adding, that it would be in vain for him to pronounce any sentence, without having it in his power to enforce it. The

demand was complied with; and Edward hath named commissioners to inquire into the claims of the competitors, promised to pronounce sentence the ensuing year.

A. D. 1292. The most celebrated lawyers of Europe were now consulted on this question, who unanimously gave their answer in favour of Baliol. After long debates, and several adjournments, Edward pronounced sentence in favour of that claimant, and he was immediately put in possession of the kingdom. All the English garrisons were withdrawn, and Baliol did homage and swore fealty to Edward at Norham. After this he set out to take possession of his new dignity, and was, in the middle of December, crowned at Scone, with the usual formalities, and the noblemen of Scotland swore allegiance to him, except Robert Bruce, who absented himself from this ceremony. The new king then repaired to Newcastle upon Tyne, where he again did homage to Edward, in such terms as fully denoted his state of absolute dependence.

A. D. 1293. A circumstance happened this year which threatened two powerful kingdoms with dissolution, and evinced that the most fatal effects may arise from very trifling causes. Two seamen, one belonging to a Norman, and the other to an English ship, having some dispute at a spring near Bayonne, with regard to the preference of filling their casks with water, the Norman attempted to stab the Englishman with a dagger he drew from his side. The latter perceived his design, grappled with him, threw his adversary on the ground, and the Norman was killed by falling on his own dagger. Exasperated at the death of their countrymen, the Normans determined to take the severest revenge; and meeting with an English vessel, they hanged several of the crew by the yard-arm together with some dogs; bidding their mariners inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Normans at Bayonne. The English were not formed to so deliberate an insult: they made severe reprisals, the seas were covered with hostile fleets, whilst the kings of France and England seemed indifferent spectators of the dreadful outrages committed by their subjects. Fleets were fitted out for carrying on a new species of war, which now became truly alarming; and increased to such a degree, that in one of those naval engagements, the French lost near thirty thousand men. Philip the Fair now demanded satisfaction from Edward; and being dissatisfied with his answer, cited him to appear before the parliament in France, as duke of Guienne. Edward, however, not being able to leave the kingdom, sent his brother Edmund into France, in order to adjust the quarrel and prevent, if possible, the ravages of a civil war.

A. D. 1294. While these negotiations were on at the court of France, an event happened which left the Scots no room to doubt of the absolute state of vassalage into which they were fallen. A baron of Berwick, complaining of an injury he had received from some English commissioners sent into Scotland, Edward ordered the cause to be tried in England by his judges. The council of Scotland considered this order as a breach of promise in Edward, who had assured them, that any offences committed by their kingdom should be cognizable only in the Scottish courts, sent a remonstrance to the English monarch. But they obtained no redress. It was declared, "That the cause should be tried in England, as it belonged not to vassals to punish those who presented the person of their sovereign." The Scots were mortified at this instance of their dependency, they were much more so in the treatment of their new king, who was soon after obliged





England for Rufus's  
History of England.

Ruald's submission to  
EDWARD I.



appear personally before Edward, in his court at Westminster, to answer a complaint exhibited against him by the earl of Fife, for seizing certain estates of which he had been invested by Edward's particular order. At this trial, Baliol was obliged to relinquish the seat of honor hitherto filled by the kings of Scotland in the English courts, and to plead his own cause at the bar as a common defendant. This pusillanimous submission rendered Baliol so contemptible to the Scottish nobility, that they chose a regency of twelve persons to direct the management of affairs. The Scottish monarch was alarmed; and notwithstanding the facility of his temper, determined to shake off so ignominious a dependence. He left the court of London without taking leave, and Edward seized all his estates in England.

Baliol now saw his danger, and concluded a treaty of alliance with Philip of France; an incident that gave rise to that strict union which continued so many ages between the French and Scottish nations.

A. D. 1295. Edward had determined to make an entire conquest of Scotland; but the situation of affairs on the continent prevented him from carrying his designs into execution. Edmund was now at the French court soliciting a treaty of peace between Philip and his brother; but the former refused to listen to any accommodation, unless some expedient could be found for repairing his honor, which he pretended was wounded on account of his being the liege lord of Edward with regard to his possessions on the continent. It was therefore proposed that the English monarch should put Philip in possession of Guienne, as a reparation for the insult; and that the king of France should immediately restore it to Edward. Philip promised, on the word of a king, to perform his part of the treaty; and Edmund was commissioned to give him the satisfaction he desired. But the French king had no sooner obtained possession of the province, than he refused to fulfil his engagement, cited Edward to appear in the court of France, and on his refusing to obey the summons, the province of Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown.

Frustrated at the shameful duplicity of Philip, Edward determined to take a severe revenge; while this infamous breach of faith awakened the highest resentment among the English, who resolved to support their monarch to the utmost of their power. Edward, instead of obeying the summons of the French monarch, renounced the homage he had paid him on the footing of former treaties, and resolved to recover by force the territories which Philip had so treacherously usurped.

To defray the expences of an armament for this purpose, an additional duty was laid upon all merchandize in England and Ireland; the prelates and clergy granted a moiety of all their revenues for one year, and the parliament voted a subsidy, amounting to one tenth of all their effects.

A. D. 1296. During the last year the war with France had been carried on with various success; but Pope Celestine, who was desirous of engaging the powers of Europe in another crusade, now offered his mediation; and a truce was made between the contending monarchs.

The cessation of hostilities with Philip enabled Edward to make preparations for repelling the attempts of the Scots, whom he knew were highly exasperated at the affront their king had lately received. While he was employed in raising an army necessary for that purpose, he received advice of the treaty secretly concluded between Baliol and Philip, but he was not intimidated by the close connection between the two powers. He summoned Baliol to perform the duty of a vassal, and cited him to appear before the

English parliament; but he refused the citation, and having procured a dispensation of the pope from his oath of fealty, he renounced his homage, and had defiance to the English monarch.

Edward, exasperated at the conduct of Baliol, marched to the northward, at the head of 30,000 foot, and 4000 horse. The Scots army was more numerous, being composed of 40,000 infantry, and 5000 horse, but they wanted both discipline and experience; and, what was still of more consequence, dissensions prevailed among the leaders. From these alarming appearances, several of the Scottish nobility, (among whom were Robert Bruce, the father and son, the earls of Marche and Angus) prognosticated the ruin of their country, and made their submission to Edward, who now passed the Tweed at Coldstream, without opposition. Berwick was taken by assault, and above seven thousand of the garrison put to the sword.

Edward now dispatched the earl Warrenne, at the head of 10,000 men, to besiege the castle of Dunbar, defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility. Baliol knew the importance of this fortress, and determined to venture a battle for its relief; and Warrenne, informed of his intention, marched to meet him. The Scots, had armed and disciplined, could not support the furious charge of the English; they were soon broke, and driven with great slaughter from the field of battle; above twenty thousand of them are said to have fallen by the swords of the English. The castle surrendered the next day to Edward, who then joined his army, and pursued his conquests without any farther opposition from Baliol's army. The castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Sterling submitted after a feeble resistance; and all the southern parts of the kingdom were immediately subdued by the English.

The timid Baliol, finding himself unable to resist the progress of his antagonist, resolved to make his submission, which he did by appearing before Edward mounted on a lofty steed, holding a white rod in his left hand and his sword in the right, the latter of which he abjectly presented to the king. The next day his submission was drawn up in form, as also an instrument, by which he resigned his kingdom to Edward, to be disposed of according to his pleasure. This instrument was signed by Baliol himself, together with the greatest part of the barons of Scotland, on the 10th of July, 1296, at Brechin, a town on the river Elk, about 40 miles from Edinburgh.

Baliol was sent prisoner to the Tower of London, and two years after submitted to a voluntary banishment in France, where, without making any farther attempts for the recovery of his throne, he died in a private station.

Scotland being thus subdued, Edward, the better to secure his acquisition, ordered the states to assemble at Berwick, where the principal noblemen and governors of castles swore fealty to him, and delivered up all their fortresses into his hands. The great seal of Scotland was now broken, and another, with the English arms, made in its stead, which was delivered to the care of Walter de Agmondesham. At the same time the king appointed Hugh de Cressingham treasurer, W. de Ormesby justiciary, and John, earl of Warrenne, guardian of the Scottish realm; and that he might not leave these vanquished people the least particle of the liberty they had hitherto enjoyed, Edward ordered the crown and sceptre of Scotland, with all the rest of the regalia to be carried to England, as also the famous marble stone at Scone on which the inauguration of their kings had always been performed. The popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration to this stone, which was regarded as the true palladium of their power.



and the ultimate resource in every national misfortune: the loss of it was therefore considered by them as an indubitable proof of the utter extinction of their monarchy, agreeable to a latin distich engraven on it, the translation of which is thus:

Or fate's deceiv'd, and Heav'n decrees in vain,  
Or where they find this stone, the Scots shall reign.

This stone, which was inclosed in a wooden chair, had been placed at Scone by Kenneth II. as a monument of the victory which he obtained over the Picts near the monastery of that place. It had been brought out of Spain into Ireland by Simon Breccus; from Ireland into Argyle, and from thence to Scone, from which place Edward now caused it to be conveyed to Westminster, where it continues to this day, and is always used at the coronation of the English monarchs.

Edward, having made all those regulations he thought necessary for the peace of the country, returned with his army to England, bringing with him several of the most distinguished Scotch noblemen that had been made prisoners, and whom he thought proper to detain as such, till he should form a satisfactory reconciliation with the French monarch.

The Scottish expedition had drained Edward's coffers, and he was obliged to have recourse to his parliament for a farther supply, in order to enable him to wrest the province of Guienne out of the hands of Philip, the truce with that monarch being now expired.

The barons and burgessees very readily complied with his request, but he met with an opposition from the clergy, which was attended with some important consequences. Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, had procured a bull from pope Boniface VIII. who had lately succeeded Celestine in the papal chair, prohibiting the princes of Christendom, under the penalty of excommunication, from levying, without his consent, any tax on the clergy; and restraining, under the same penalty, all ecclesiastics from submitting to such impositions.

Edward, who knew nothing of this bull, was astonished when the clergy refused their assistance, and published the bull as a reason for their conduct. But Edward was not formed to submit to insults; he, however, adjourned the parliament till the fourteenth of January, that they might have time to deliberate on his demand, and form their final resolution.

A. D. 1297. The parliament met according to the time of prorogation, when the king hoped to find the clergy in a more compliant humour; but in this he was mistaken. Having sent to the archbishop of Canterbury to know his final resolution, that prelate, in the name of his brethren, returned for answer, "that they had two superiors, namely, the pope and the king; and though they were bound to obey both, yet they owed the greater obedience to the successor of the holy apostle, St. Peter, as then spiritual lord and master."

Though Edward was greatly enraged at this answer, yet he concealed his resentment; but told them, that as they refused to assist the civil power, it was unreasonable for them to expect any protection from the laws.

The clergy were dismissed with this answer, and Edward issued orders to the judges to receive no cause brought before them by any ecclesiastic, to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants; to do every man justice against them; but to do them justice against no man: at the same time he locked up all their granaries and barns, and prohibited any rent to be paid them.

The prelates were astonished at these proceedings, they had never before experienced the proper re-

sentment of an English monarch. The archbishop of York and his clergy complied with the king's request, and received the royal protection; but Winchelsey grew more obstinate from persecution. He ordered the pope's bull to be published in all the churches of his diocese, and convened a synod of his suffragans. But Edward, aware of his intentions, issued a writ, inhibiting him, under pain of imprisonment, from denouncing any ecclesiastical censure either against the king, his ministers or subjects. At the same time, the archdeacon of Bath appealed, in the king's name, to the pope against all proceedings; an expedient which rendered the operations of the synod totally ineffectual.

The clergy now found themselves in the most dreadful situation. Their houses and convents might indeed, have afforded them a safe retreat, but they were in want of subsistence; and whenever they ventured abroad, they were robbed and abused by every ruffian. The people, who had hitherto beheld them with a kind of religious awe, now looked upon them with contempt, and laughed at their sufferings. The archbishop himself was robbed of his equipage and furniture, and at last reduced to board himself with a single servant, in the house of a poor clergyman.

This situation was not to be endured: experience convinced them, that a deprivation of the advantages of citizens was the greatest calamity; and they accordingly became solicitous to satisfy both the king and the state. But in order to avoid an open disobedience to the positive injunctions of Boniface, instead of granting the king a fifth of their moveables, they agreed to deposit an equivalent sum of money in some church or convent; whence it should be received by proper officers appointed by the king.

Though these supplies were very considerable, yet they were far from being sufficient to answer the designs formed by Edward for taking ample vengeance on Philip for his perfidy; so that he was obliged to have recourse to arbitrary measures, extremely oppressive to the people. He imposed a tax of forty shillings on every sack of wool exported; he levied, without consent of the owners, the cattle and other commodities necessary for the supply of his army, and required the attendance of every proprietor of land, possessed of twenty pounds a year, even though he was not a tenant of the crown, and therefore not obliged by the tenure of his estate to perform any such service.

It is no wonder that despotic measures, like these, occasioned great uneasiness in the kingdom. The nobility were alarmed; they gave countenance and authority to the complaints of the people, and Edward was soon convinced that he had pursued improper measures.

An army was assembled on the sea coast, whither Edward intended should embark for Guienne, under the command of Humphrey, earl of Hereford, constable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, marshal of England; at the same time he prepared heading another army himself to attack the French in the side of Flanders.

This incident gave the two barons an opportunity of shewing their resentment of the arbitrary measures pursued by the king. They affirmed that their oath obliged them only to attend his person in the war, and therefore refused to lead the army he had directed. A violent altercation ensued; and the king, turning himself to the constable, exclaimed, "By God, I will have thee, earl, you shall either go or hang." "By God, Sir king," replied the constable, "I will neither go nor hang." And immediately left the army with the marshal, and about thirty other barons of very considerable power.

Howe



However provoked Edward might be at this rebuff, he endeavoured, by pursuing conciliating methods, to get the better of this opposition. He caressed his nobility; he reconciled himself to the clergy; he made an apology for his conduct, which he imputed to the urgent necessities of the crown, and promised on his return from his expedition, to redress all grievances, and restore the execution of the laws.

The two earls were convinced, from Edward's conduct, that it would be very imprudent to carry their resentments farther than they were warranted by the laws of their country. They accordingly contented themselves with drawing up a remonstrance, which was presented to the king at Winchelsea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. Edward again promised them redress as soon as he returned to England, and added, that he hoped those nobles who had declined leading his army, would do no injury to his crown or kingdom during his absence. The barons were, however, far from being satisfied, and he had hardly landed on the continent, before the constable and marshal insisted on an authentic confirmation both of the great charter, and the charter of the forests. Edward was very desirous of putting it off till his return, but the parliament, which had been assembled at London by his order, joining with the two earls, and the charters being sent over to Flanders, he confirmed them in presence of all the prelates and nobility in his army.

A. D. 1298. Though Edward had been as expeditious as circumstances would admit in getting over to the continent, yet he did not land in Flanders till the season was too far advanced for making any attack of importance. The earl of Flanders, who had joined in a league with Edward, soon experienced the power and resentment of Philip. Lille, St. Omer, Courtray, and Ypres were already wrested from him, and many more of the principal places in his dominions were threatened with the same fate. The arrival of Edward indeed put a stop to the successes of Philip; but the two kings, instead of venturing a decisive action, agreed to a truce for two years, and engaged to submit their difference to pope Boniface. But as both these monarchs were jealous of the claims made on the most trivial pretences by the holy see, they took care to insert in the reference, that they did not submit their differences to his decision, from any right he might pretend by virtue of his pontifical character, but merely by their own consent, as a private person.

The pope soon gave his sentence, which seemed to have been dictated by his passion rather than his judgment. He commanded not only a restitution of Guinec, but also the places which had been taken from the earl of Flanders. Philip was desirous of comprehending John Bahol and the Scots in this treaty, but this was absolutely refused by Edward. At last the two monarchs compromised their differences, by making mutual sacrifices to each other. Edward abandoned his ally, the earl of Flanders; and Philip gave up the Scots. This is not the only time the interests of allies have been sacrificed at the altar of ambition. The sentence of Boniface was, however, regarded, and the treaty cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himself with Margaret, Philip's sister; and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, the daughter of that monarch.

While these things were transacting on the continent, the Scots made a successful effort for the recovery of their liberties. Edward had not been fortunate in his choice of persons to whom he had committed the administration of justice in Scotland. The earl of Warrenne, to whom the chief authority had been delegated, was, indeed, a man of prudence, virtue,

and abilities; but his ill state of health obliged him to return to England. At his departure, the affairs of government were intrusted to William de Ormesby, chief justiciary, and Cressingham, the treasurer. The former was distinguished by the rigour and severity of his temper, and the latter by his avarice. Persons of such characters were ill adapted to the task of reconciling the Scots to a yoke they bore with the utmost reluctance. Instead of making use of moderate and lenient measures, they treated them as a conquered people, and made them sensible of the servitude into which they were fallen.

This exasperated the whole nation, and the Scots resolved to attempt the recovery of their ancient liberties. Among those who had severely felt the hand of power, was one William Wallace, a person of small fortune, but descended from an antient family. He saw the distresses of the people, and undertook the defence of his country. He was of a gigantic stature, prodigious strength, heroic courage, and disinterested magnanimity. He had retired to the woods, to avoid the vengeance of the government; and put himself, at the head of a small body of men, who like himself, had fled from the tyranny of the English. He planned his enterprizes with so much prudence, that he was always successful; and the fame of his exploits soon increased the number of his followers. He now determined to attack the governors, and accordingly advanced to Scone for that purpose. But Ormesby and Cressingham, apprized of his intention, fled into England, and were followed by all the other officers of that kingdom.

Elated at this success, the Scots flew to arms; and some of the principal barons, among whom was Sir William Douglas, openly countenanced the party of Wallace.

The earl Warrenne was now sufficiently alarmed, and endeavoured to recover by the celerity of his motions what he had lost by neglect. He entered Annandale, and came up with the Scottish army at Irvine before they were sufficiently formed. The nobility finding it would be in vain to oppose the English, made their submission, and obtained a pardon. Wallace, however, at the head of a chosen body of men, who had all bound themselves by an oath never to lay down their arms till they had effected the liberty of their country, retired before the capitulation was signed, and took post on a hill above the monastery of Cambuskenneth, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. Warrenne continued his march, and discovered the enemy on the opposite bank of the Forth; but at the same time, perceived the danger of attacking them in this advantageous situation, especially as the bridge over the Forth was so narrow, as hardly to admit two men abreast. Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotman of birth and family, but a firm adherent to the English, desired a party of five hundred horse, and a proportional body of foot might be put under his command; promising to pass the river at a ford a few miles above, and to fall on the rear of the enemy, in order to divert their attention while the main body of the army passed the bridge. This prudent design was, however, rendered abortive by the impatience of Cressingham, who being irritated, both by personal and national animosities, against the Scots, urged the general to attack them immediately, exclaiming loudly against all delays, as expensive, and dishonourable to the king. Warrenne, who considered these reflections as censure upon his own conduct, ordered the army to pass the bridge immediately. Wallace let as many of them pass as he was confident he could conquer, and then attacked them with such fury, that they were all cut to pieces, or pushed into the river, where they perished. Near five thousand men fell in the action, and among the



rest Creffingham himself, who being found among the slain, the Scots flayed his body, and made saddles and girths of his skin. The remainder of the English army were so dispirited at the destruction of their countrymen, whom they could not assist, that Warrenne thought it advisable to make no farther attempts against the enemy; and he accordingly retreated to Berwick.

The Scots now flocked from every part of the kingdom to join the standard of Wallace, who was immediately declared regent of the kingdom during the captivity of Baliol. His forces were greatly elated with their success; and he immediately led them towards the borders of England, where he was sure of finding subsistence; the disorders of war, added to unfavourable seasons, having occasioned a famine in Scotland. The castles of Berwick and Roxburgh made but a feeble resistance, and opened the Scots a free passage into Northumberland. Wallace first led his victorious troops against Carlisle; but not being able to take the city, he ravaged the country as far as Durham, and then returned loaded with plunder.

A. D. 1299. Edward, who was returned from the continent, determined to wipe off this stain of national disgrace, and make the Scots pay dearly for their conduct. But before he put himself at the head of his army, he prudently endeavoured to appease the murmurs of his people by concessions and promises. He assembled a parliament at York, and ordered the two charters, together with the additional statutes in favour of public liberty, to be read and published for the satisfaction of the common people. This was accordingly performed with great formality; and the bishop of Carlisle solemnly denounced the sentence of excommunication against all violators of these charters. The king then ordered a strict account of the quantity of corn, and other commodities, which had been violently seized before his departure, to be taken, in order that the owners might receive satisfaction; and returned to the citizens of London the privilege of choosing their own magistrates, which had been taken from them in the latter part of his father's reign.

By these popular measures he so gained the affections of his subjects, that they flocked to his standard, and he soon found himself at the head of an hundred thousand fighting men; a force abundantly sufficient to reduce the insurgents to subjection. On the other hand, that union, which alone can render an army powerful, was wanting among the Scots. Divisions and envy took place among that unhappy people. The noblemen descended from the royal family of Scotland, instead of looking upon the patriotic virtues of Wallace with admiration, and joining in a glorious emulation in the service of their country; threw the most ungenerous reflections upon his conduct, and even charged him with having formed a design of seizing the crown. Wallace saw the fatal consequences that must attend these divisions, and generously resigned his authority, retaining only the command of a body of men who refused to follow any other leader. The liberty of his country, not a desire of power, had called him from his retreat, and he willingly sacrificed the latter to preserve the former.

On the resignation of Wallace, the command of the army devolved upon the steward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenock, both eminent for their birth and fortune; who marched to Falkirk with a determined resolution to wait the attack of the English. The army was drawn up in three bodies, the front of which were composed of pikemen, and the intervals filled with archers. But dreading the great superiority of the English cavalry, they endeavoured to secure their front with pilastræ, fastened together with ropes,

Edward divided his army into three bodies, conformable to that of the enemy, and led them to charge. The attack was begun by the English archers, who poured a dreadful shower upon the enemy. The Scottish bowmen, unable to support the fury of the English, were driven from the field of battle, with great slaughter. The archers pursued their advantage; and pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, threw them into disorder, which was improved by the cavalry, and a general rout ensued, attended with most dreadful carnage. The number that fell in this remarkable battle is said to have amounted to at least twenty thousand.

The only commander among the Scots that kept his troops together was Wallace, who retreating beyond the Carron, marched leisurely along the banks of a small river, which protected him from the enemy. Bruce followed him, and when near enough, requested of him a short conference. He began with reproaching the Scottish leader with madness, in taking up arms against Edward, one of the most powerful princes, and the best general of the age; at the same time insinuating, that Wallace himself had formed a design of seizing the crown. Wallace warmly repelled every ambitious intention; declaring, that the miseries of his country alone roused him to arms. Adding, that he had neither any right to expect, nor any inclination to seize the scepter of Scotland. "To you," added he, "your country owes her afflictions. You left her overwhelmed with miseries, and I undertook the cause you so basely betrayed. I will cause I mean to support while I have strength to wield a sword; nor shall I envy you a life of ease and pleasure in the court of a foreign tyrant. You may, my lord, have, indeed, a just title to the crown, and may wear it with honour to yourself, and advantage to your country; but you seem to prefer the chains of servitude to freedom, and the smiles of despotism to the calls of honour."

Bruce was sensibly struck with the noble sentiments of Wallace. He saw his own conduct in a very different light, and determined to seize the first opportunity of joining those patriotic chiefs who had nobly supported the cause of his country. Bruce returned to the English army; and Wallace, at the head of the poor remains of the battle of Falkirk, retired in the northern parts of the kingdom, determined never to submit to the laws of the conqueror.

The Scots, finding themselves unable to resist the army of the English, and desirous, if possible, to support the liberties of their country, implored the protection of Lewis. He had abandoned to the fury of the conqueror by his late treaty. But the Scots were more successful in their application to him. That pontiff, who seemed determined to exert the power of the papal chair to the most extraordinary height, wrote a letter to Edward, in which he confuted the pretensions of this monarch to the sovereignty of Scotland, he advanced claims, which he found in their room. He asserted, with a firm degree of confidence, that the pope was the true lord of Scotland, that his right was truly derived from the most remote antiquity.

Edward, both astonished and offended, at this assertion, was at first inclined to treat the papal letter with contempt, but fearing the superstitious bigotry of the people might occasion disorders in the nation, and prevent his maintaining the superiority he had acquired over Scotland, he wrote immediately to the pope a reply, and advanced claims to the crown at least as chimerical as those of his subjects. He deduced the superiority of England over Scotland from the time of Brutus the Trojan, who he said founded the British monarchy, in the time of the patriarch Samuel. He laid it down as a fact, that the



records of antiquity, that the English monarchs had often made grants of Scotland to their subjects, and had deposed those vassal kings when they proved unfaithful to them. He recited, with great ostentation, the homage which William had done to Henry II. but mentioned not the abolition of that extorted deed by Richard I. These pretensions, however absurd, were confirmed by one hundred and four barons assembled at Lincoln for that purpose. But though they signed those pretensions, and agreed to send them to Boniface, they took particular care to prevent this act from affording the least pretension for his holiness to make it the foundation of any claim to a superiority over England. They annexed a positive declaration, that though they were willing to submit these proofs to him as a man, they did not by any means receive him as a judge. "The crown of England" added they, "is free, nor will we suffer even the king himself to relinquish its independency."

A. D. 1303. Notwithstanding the Scots had been so lately defeated at the battle of Falkirk, yet they were far from being subdued: the remains of that army had been joined by fresh forces from the mountainous parts of the country, who again attacked the districts belonging to the English. An army of 10,000 men was soon formed under Cummin, appointed regent on the resignation of Wallace, and advanced to Biggar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. John de Segrave, whom Edward had left guardian of Scotland, assembled all the English forces in that kingdom to oppose the Scots; but perceiving that it would be difficult to procure the necessary quantity of provisions for their subsistence in a body, he separated them into three divisions: the first was commanded by himself in person, the second by his brother, and the third by Sir Robert Neville. Cummin determined to take advantage of this separation, and advanced, under covert of the night, to attack Segrave's division, which lay at Rollin, about sixteen miles from the Scottish camp. As soon as the dawn appeared, the English discovered Cummin's army marching to attack them, but it was too late to make them any preparations; the Scots fell upon them before they could form themselves in order of battle, and soon obtained a victory: a few only escaped, by flying to the second division, informing them at once of their misfortune, and the approach of the enemy. The commander immediately drew up his men, and led them on directly to revenge the deaths of their countrymen. A bloody contest ensued. The Scots, though in success, charged with the utmost fury, while the English animated with vengeance, made a desperate defence. The battle continued for some time doubtful, but at last terminated in favour of the Scots, and the English were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. By this time the third division, under the command of Sir Robert Neville, appeared, and the Scots, already exhausted with fatigue, and their ranks considerably thinned by the two former actions, would scarcely have declined the engagement. They pleaded the excessive labours they had already undergone; they pointed to their wounds, and desired to retire while it was yet in their power. Cummin, who knew that a retreat was now impossible, reminded them of the cause for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the English, the glory of their ancestors, and the disgrace of slavery. His arguments prevailed, and having furnished the followers of his camp with the spoils of the vanquished, they mounted the horses they had taken, flood the flock of a third engagement, and with the utmost difficulty obtained the victory. The event was not, however, wholly glorious to Neville; he refused Segrave, who had been taken prisoner in the last engagement, and retreated in excellent order. The Scots soon after made them-

selves masters of Stirling-castle, and gave the command of that fortress to one Oliphant, a brave and experienced officer.

On the twentieth of May this year, a peace was finally concluded between the two crowns of England and France at Paris, and ratified by both parties.

The success of the Scots in the late engagements proved only gleams of sunshine before a dreadful storm. Edward determined to revenge the disgrace of his forces, and appointed Roxburgh for the rendezvous of his army. Every precaution was taken to ensure the success of this expedition; and to prevent any want of provisions, a numerous fleet was fitted out with orders to sail along the coast, and attend the march of the army with proper supplies. The forces being assembled at Roxburgh, Edward advanced into the heart of Scotland, at the head of an army that would have rendered all opposition in the open field a species of madness: the Scots had no other resource than to fly for safety to the woods and fastnesses of their country. The only opposition Edward met with was from two or three castles: the rest opened their gates on the last summons. In this manner he led his army from one extremity of Scotland to the other: his vigilance preserved his forces from surprise, and his fleet supplied them with plenty of provisions. Even the intrepid Wallace, though he followed the English armies, found few opportunities for displaying his valour. The conduct of Edward rendered all his attempts abortive.

A. D. 1304. Edward having at last completed his conquest of Scotland, applied himself to the more difficult part of the undertaking, namely that of settling the country, of establishing a new form of government, and of making his acquisition durable to the crown of England. He seems, however, to have carried matters to extremities against the natives; he abrogated all the Scottish laws and customs; he endeavoured to institute the English in their place; he entirely destroyed all the monuments of antiquity; such records or histories as had escaped his former search were now burnt or dispersed, and he took every other measure he could project totally to extirpate the Scottish name.

A. D. 1305. After Edward had settled his affairs in Scotland, he returned to England, and immediately issued a general pardon to all the Scottish nobility who had carried arms against him. Wallace, however, was excepted; the king resolving that he should surrender himself at discretion. That chief still continued in arms, at the head of a few followers, and still cherished the expiring sparks of Scottish liberty. But the publication of Edward's pardon caused a very considerable desertion in his little party, and he was obliged to wander from one part of the country to another, in order to keep himself concealed from the vigilant eyes of his enemies. He continued this itinerant course of life for some time, but was at last betrayed by Sir John Monteith, his former friend, and sent prisoner to London. Edward, whose natural bravery should have induced him to cherish similar qualities in an enemy, was so engaged at some violence committed by Wallace during the fury of the war, that he ordered him to be tried as a rebel and traitor. He was accordingly conducted to Westminster hall, and his indictment, which accused him of treason being read, he pleaded, not guilty, and said, that it was absurd to accuse him of treason against a king, whose authority in Scotland he had never owned, and whose government he had ever disputed. The judges, however, upon the principle that Edward was not only the direct, but natural lord of Scotland, condemned him to suffer as a traitor; and the sentence was accordingly executed with every circumstance of barbarity.



A. D. 1306. Edward, however, failed in the purpose which his barbarous policy was directed to support. The Scots, already distinguished by the many innovations introduced by the sword into their laws and government, were still further enraged by the injustice and cruelty exercised upon Wallace. All the envy, which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant leader, was now buried in his grave. Influenced with resentment, and desirous of retaliating the injuries they had received, the people were every where disposed to rise against the English government; and it was not long before a general of the greatest merit presented himself.

Robert Bruce, descended from the royal family of Scotland, determined to seize the sceptre of his ancestors. He well knew, that after the submissions he had made to Edward, he never should be able to appear with any advantage, while the illustrious Wallace, then the idol of the common people, survived; but the death of that chief removed the only obstacle to his ambition. John Baliol, the competitor with Bruce's father for the Scottish crown, died also about the same time. This incident united the two parties, which had before divided Scotland, and greatly encouraged Bruce to attempt the deliverance of his country from the yoke of slavery. He was now at the court of Edward, and opened his mind to Cummin, who approved of his design, and promised his assistance; but by reflecting coolly on the enterprize, he changed his opinion, and informed Edward of Bruce's intentions. The king, who suspected that the discovery of Cummin proceeded from envy, omitted to secure the person of Bruce, till he was convinced of the truth from concurring circumstances.

The friends of Bruce soon perceived the dangers to which he was exposed; and the earl of Gloucester, thinking it would be imprudent either to converse with him or give him the necessary information in a letter, sent him, by a servant, a pair of gilt spurs and a purse of gold, which he pretended he had borrowed from him. Bruce soon perceived the meaning of the enigmatical present, and immediately effected his escape. Soon after his arrival in his native country, he presented himself at a meeting of the Scottish nobles, discovered to them his designs, and exhorted them to join in the noble attempt to break the chains of servitude, and revenge the insulted rights of their fellow citizens. They listened to his remonstrances, and declared their resolution of seconding his patriotic designs and asserting the undoubted rights of the nation, against their common oppressors. Cummin alone opposed this general determination. He represented the attempt as pregnant with destruction; he told them it was madness to oppose the power of the English, while that power was in the hands of a prince of such uncommon vigour and abilities. He added, that nothing but the most rigorous punishments could be expected, if they again broke their oaths of fealty and shook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward.

Bruce, who plainly foresaw the failure of all his ambitious projects, from the opposition of Cummin, followed him, on the dissolution of the assembly, to the cloisters of the Grey Friars, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kilpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asking him soon after if the traitor was slain. "I believe so," replied Bruce. "And is that a matter," cried Kilpatrick, "to be left to conjecture? I will secure him." He immediately ran to Cummin, and drawing his dagger, stabbed him to the heart. This act, so justly condemned in the present age, was at that time considered as a noble achievement of patriotic virtue.

As no pardon could be expected from Edward, Bruce and his party had only the alternative to at-

tempt a conquest, or perish. No time was to be lost, and that martial leader improved every moment. He flew into different parts of the kingdom to excite his countrymen to arms, and persuade them to shake off the galling yoke of slavery. The Scots embraced with ardour the pleasing hopes of recovering their liberty. Their courage was stimulated by opposition. The English were again driven out of the kingdom, except those who had taken refuge in places of strength; and Bruce, coming to the abbey of Stirling on Lady-day, 1306, was there crowned by the countess of Buchan, sister to the earl of Fife, a privilege inherent in that family.

As soon as Edward was informed of this unexpected event, he sent Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, at the head of a considerable body of forces into Scotland, to check the progress of the rebels. Bruce had collected a considerable number of forces, but they were raw and undisciplined, and frequently unable to withstand the attacks of veteran troops. They were encamped at Methuen, near Perth, without suspecting the approach of an enemy. Pembroke profited by their ignorance; he attacked them in the night, and drove them from their camp. Bruce behaved with the greatest intrepidity; he was thrice dismounted from his horse and as often recovered himself: but all his efforts were in vain. He was obliged to submit to superior fortune, and save his safety in a speedy flight. This dreadful disaster struck the Scots with terror: the greater part of them deserted their leader, and Bruce was obliged to fly for shelter to the Western Isles.

A short time after this defeat, Edward himself arrived in Scotland, and divided his army into two bodies, one of which he sent to the northward under the command of the prince of Wales, assisted by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. The prince took himself master of the castle of Kildromme, and soon after took the countess of Buchan, and the lady Mary Bruce, sister to the Scotch king, prisoner. These two ladies Edward, from a disingenuous motive of revenge, ordered to be shut up in wooden cages, and one of them to be hung over the battlements of Roxburgh, and the other over those of Berwick castles, as public spectacles to the insulting papists. After performing this successful expedition, Edward went to Carlisle, where he assembled a parliament in order to fix the establishment of that kingdom.

While Edward appeared at Carlisle with all the dignity of an English monarch, at the head of his parliament, he met with an affliction in his own family which afforded him an affecting proof that happiness is seldom the companion of greatness. He was, with concern, the dissolute courses of his son, the prince of Wales, who was entirely guided by Gaveston, his favourite. Edward had several times endeavoured in vain to reclaim him, sometimes by gentle admonitions, and sometimes by punishments bordering on severity. But a distinguished person being now offered to the bishop of Chester, the king determined to proceed in a legal manner against his favourite; and it was determined that Gaveston should, in three months, embark for France, never more to return to England, without the king's permission or command. At the same time he ordered him a pension of an hundred marks, on condition that both he and the prince should solemnly swear to observe the sentence, which he readily accepted.

A. D. 1307. Edward's tranquillity was further interrupted by a circumstance little expected. A person who had hitherto concealed himself to avoid notice, that it was generally believed he had profited by the late war, now appeared at the head of a small body of men, and committed the most dreadful ravages in the



peaceable inhabitants who were in the interest of the English. Edward, at once alarmed and exasperated at this sudden and unexpected interruption, dispatched the earl of Pembroke and lord Lorn, with a considerable body of forces, to repel the insurgents.

Bruce, finding the enemy far superior in strength to his own, intrenched himself on the brow of a hill; but it was not long before he perceived the highlanders under lord Lorn endeavouring to form a compass round the eminence, by which he must have been surrounded, and cut off. He therefore immediately divided his army into three bodies, and ordered them to march different ways, but all to rendezvous, by a certain time, in the wood of Glantroule near Cumnock. This retreat being performed, Bruce's army was considerably increased, and he obtained several advantages over the enemy, though his whole force did not exceed 1000 men. With these, however, he knew so well how to choose his ground, and watch his opportunity, that he defeated the earl of Pembroke, and attacked a party under the earl of Gloucester with so much resolution, that after a bloody engagement, that nobleman was obliged to shut himself up in the castle of Ayre, till he could be relieved by Edward. This gleam of success raised the Scots from despair. The spirit of freedom ran from breast to breast, and Bruce, in a short time, found his army increased to several thousands, by which he became a dangerous, because a desperate enemy.

In the mean time Edward remained at Carlisle, impatiently waiting for a number of troops he had summoned to meet at that place at Midsummer, having formed the resolution of taking a signal vengeance of the Scots, even to the extirpation of their very name: but death cut short all his mighty projects, and saved the Scottish nation from the precipice of destruction.

Edward had, for some time, laboured under a dysentery, which had greatly weakened him, but his eagerness for executing his designs not permitting him to wait for the day of the general rendezvous of his forces, which was to be on the 8th of July, he put himself at the head of such of them as were already come up, and marched on Monday the 3d of July from Carlisle, though not able to proceed more than two miles a day.

When Edward came to a place called Burgh on the Sands in Cumberland, he found that his last moments were coming very fast, and therefore sent for prince Edward his eldest son, to whom he earnestly recommended the following particulars, viz. that he should bury his body in Scotland, and prosecute the war with the utmost vigor; that he should send his heart to the Holy Land, with 30,000l. sterling, which he had provided for the support of the holy sepulchre, and that he should never recall Gaveston. To these requests the prince solemnly swore observance; but with what sincerity we shall see in the history of his reign.

Edward now took leave of his children and all his great officers, and then delivered himself up to the care of his spiritual monitors; soon after which he breathed his last breath, as his servants were raising him up to receive some nourishment, on the 7th of July 307, in the 68th year of his age, and 35th of his reign.

It is almost impossible for any prince's character to be perfect, but that there will be some kind of flaw in it. Edward was certainly possessed of many virtues, though at the same time it must be acknowledged he had some vices, but the former were more numerous to balance the latter. His ambition, and desire of increasing the power of his kingdom, or to have formed the ruling passion of his soul, in pursuit of this, he scrupled not to pursue mea-

asures inconsistent with the liberty of his people. The equity of his enterprize against Scotland has been justly questioned; but when it is remembered, that the union of the two kingdoms must have been attended with the most solid advantages to both, we shall, perhaps, be more inclined to praise than censure his conduct. At the same time, it must be confessed, that if his character should be thought exceptionable in this particular, his country obtained the most permanent advantages from his activity, his courage, his policy and his prudence. He restored authority to the government, maintained the laws against all the efforts of his turbulent barons, and executed justice with severity on all who disturbed the domestic peace of the kingdom. His merit as a legislator was so great, that he is often called, "The English Justinian;" because, in his reign, the laws acquired a great perfection, and justly deserved the name of Establishments. He settled the jurisdiction of the several courts; and he first established the office of justice of peace. His conduct with regard to the clergy was more politic; he saw their power, and was desirous of preventing its increase. Their possessions were unalienable, and perpetually augmenting; he therefore prohibited them from making new acquisitions, by passing the statute of mortmain. But the undertaking that will always render the name of this great legislator dear to the English, was his establishing the House of Commons, by summoning two deputies from every borough, conformable to the example of the earl of Leicester. By this means the boroughs became of importance in the state; and the mechanics and tradesmen, whom the feudal system had placed in a despicable point of light, acquired the honor of being one of the branches of the legislature; trade was encouraged, and men of property thought it no disgrace to engage in the commerce of their country.

Edward is represented in his person as graceful, tall and comely; his features regular and elegant, with eyes keen and piercing, and an aspect that equally commanded reverence and esteem: he was of a robust and compact make, and excelled most of his contemporaries in bodily strength and activity; his shape was somewhat disproportioned, on account of the too great length of his legs, whence he received the name of Long-shanks; but then this blemish was attended with a considerable advantage, for it gave him such a firm seat on horseback, that he was not, without the greatest difficulty, to be dismounted.

With these bodily perfections he possessed a cool head, a sound judgment, and an intrepid heart; he was sagacious in foreseeing difficulties, provident in guarding against them, and ever steady under the most sudden change of events, and in the midst of the greatest perils. In a word, if we compare him with his father, his grandfather, and his own son his successor, we must conclude that England suffered a very considerable loss by his death.

Edward had by his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, four sons, but Edward his heir and successor, was the only one that survived him. She also bore him eleven daughters, most of whom died in their infancy: Joan was married first to the earl of Gloucester, and, after his death, to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret espoused John duke of Brabant; Elizabeth married, first John earl of Holland, and afterward the earl of Hereford; Mary was a nun in the monastery of Amblesbury. He had by his second wife, Margaret of France, two sons and a daughter, Thomas, created earl of Norfolk, and marchal of England; and Edmund, who was created earl of Kent by his brother after he ascended the throne. The prince died in her infancy.



The remarkable occurrences of this king's reign were as follow :

In the third year of his reign, a general earthquake happened in England ; from which, among other accidents, St. Michael's church on the Hill, near Glastonbury in Somersetshire was entirely thrown down.

In his sixteenth year, as the king and queen were talking together in their bed-chamber, a flash of lightning struck in at the window, passed by them, and killed two of the servants in waiting, though their majesties received no other injury than being greatly frightened.

In the 27th of his reign, an act was made by the common-council of London for preventing imposition

in the sale of provisions, when the prices of poultry to be sold in the city were fixed as follow :

	s.	d.		s.	d.
A fat cock	—	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	A plover	—	0 1
Two pullets	—	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	A swan	—	0 2
A fat capon	—	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	A crane	—	0 1
A goose	—	0 4	Two woodcocks	—	0 1
A mallard	—	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	A fat lamb, from Christ-		
A partridge	—	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	mas to Shrove tide		0 6
A pheasant	—	0 4	All the rest of the year		0 4
A heron	—	0 6			

In this king's reign the title of Baron, which was common to all such as held lands of the crown, was confined to those only who were summoned by the king in parliament.

## S E C T I O N II.

### EDWARD II. SURNAMED *of* CAERNARVON.

EDWARD II. was not quite twenty-three years of age when he acceded to the throne of England. The gracefulness of his person, the majesty of his appearance, and the mildness of his disposition inspired the people with the most pleasing ideas of enjoying both happiness and tranquillity under his government. But they soon perceived that all their hopes were built on a chimerical foundation, and that the pleasing prospect was merely delusive.

The first act of his reign gave an unhappy omen of what followed. His father had scarcely resigned his breath, and himself received the homage of the English prelates and nobility at Carlisle, than, forgetting his promises to his dying parent, he sent to recall his favourite Gaveston ; and, without waiting his return, made him the richest subject in the kingdom, by creating him earl of Cornwall.

Such was his prejudice in favor of this minion, that no sooner did he hear of his arrival in England, than his impatience to have his company got the better of faith, honor, promises, interest, and even decency ; he instantly appointed the earl of Pembroke his governor of that part of Scotland which still remained in allegiance to the English, and then hastened to welcome the companion of his wishes.

Gaveston was no sooner returned, than the weak and deluded young monarch removed all his father's officers and domestics, without even advising with his council. Langton, bishop of Lincoln, treasurer to the late king, was removed from his dignities, his effects were sequestered, and himself imprisoned in Wallingford-castle.

About Michaelmas a parliament was summoned at Northampton, to regulate the late king's funeral\*, together with the marriage and coronation of his son,

the reigning prince, and also to deliberate on the state of the nation. Here a subsidy was granted to defray the expences of the two ceremonies ; and a very impolitic ordinance was passed, making the halfpenny coin, which had been cried down in the preceding reign, again current throughout the kingdom.

Edward, not satisfied with having broken his engagements to his dying father, in the two instances of recalling Gaveston, and the disposal of his body, now added a third of the most aggravating crime, by bestowing upon his favourite, as a gift, the very sum which the deceased prince had, by his last will, appropriated to the maintenance of 140 knights, who had engaged to carry his heart to Jerusalem ; and to crown the whole, he gave him his niece Margaret, sister to the young earl of Gloucester, in marriage, the nuptials being celebrated with great magnificence on the first of October.

While Edward was thus lavishing power, honors, and estates on a worthless favourite, the war in Scotland was neglected. Bruce, who had retired to his fastnesses on the approach of the former Edward, now appeared boldly on the plain, fell upon the earl of Galloway, and soon reduced it to his obedience. The earl of Britany was sent at the head of a powerful army to stop the career of the Scots ; and Bruce, perceiving that it would be in vain to contend with a force so superior to his own, once more retired to his mountains and morasses of that country.

A. D. 1308. The necessary preparations being made for Edward's voyage to the continent, in order to consummate his marriage with the princess Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, he sailed on the morning of the twenty-second of January, landing at Boulogne, did homage to the French king,

\* The body of the deceased king, instead of being conveyed into Scotland, agreeable to his dying request, was removed from Carlisle to Waltham ; from hence it was carried to Westminster-abbey, where it was interred with great solemnity on the 13th of October 1307, on the north side of the shrine of St. Edward, under a tomb of grey marble, with the following inscription: *Edwardus Primus, Sacerum malleus, obiit 1307. Partum Scotorum.* That is, " Here lies Edward I. the Saviour of the Scots 1307. Observe Engagements." It is remarkable that the tomb of this king was opened so lately as in the month of May 1774, the cause of which was as follows: The Society of Antiquarians having found it mentioned in a book called *Kymer's Fables*, that king Edward I. surnamed Long Shanks, was interred in a stone coffin, inclosed in a stone tomb, in Edward the Confessor's Chapel, and that a sum of money was allowed to preserve the tomb, deter-

mined to gratify their curiosity by endeavouring to discover the truth of it. Accordingly they applied to the dean of Westminster for leave to open the tomb, who readily complied with their request. At the time appointed for opening the tomb, they, with about fifteen of the society, attended, when, to their astonishment, they found the royal corpse to appear exactly as by the historian. He had on a gold and silver mantle, which was a very handsome one of cramon velvet, belted quite fresh, and the jewels that were about him appeared of exceeding bright. He had in one hand a sceptre and bow, and the other a sceptre and crozier, which were fixed nearly in length. The crown on his head being raised, the skull was bare, but the face and hands seemed perfectly entire, and fixed in length six feet two inches.







France on the twenty-fourth. The following day the nuptials were celebrated in the church of Boulogne, the kings of France, Navarre, of the Romans and Sicily, with the queens of the two former monarchs, being present at the solemnity.

Edward, after spending some days on the continent, returned to England, and was crowned with his new queen at Westminster, on the twenty-fifth of February. But a difficulty arose, previous to the performance of the ceremony, which greatly alarmed the monarch. The barons, exasperated at the insolence of Gaveston, who affected to treat them with the most mortifying contempt, refused to assist at the coronation, unless Gaveston was banished the kingdom. Edward promised to redress all their grievances provided they would not force him to delay the ceremony; and the barons, in return, agreed to suspend their resentment. But Gaveston was so far from profiting by these national marks of disgust to his person and conduct, that he appeared, with the most fastidious pomp, in the procession, in which he carried the crown of St. Edward before the king. One of the barons was so highly provoked at his assuming behaviour, that he was, with some difficulty, prevented from sacrificing the insulting favourite to his resentment.

No sooner was the ceremony of the coronation over, than Edward, unmindful of his promise to his barons, began to heap new favours every day upon Gaveston: there was no access to the king's person but through him; and all places of profit and honour were disposed of solely by his will. The barons were irritated at this, that a party was formed against Gaveston, at the head of which was Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and once the most opulent and powerful subject in England. The confederate barons bound themselves, by a solemn oath, never to desert each other till the detested favourite was banished the kingdom. Countenanced by the opposition of the nobility, the people paid no longer any submission to the laws: robberies, murders, and other alarming disorders, the constant preludes to civil war, were committed in every part of the kingdom. But Gaveston still despised the threatening storm, and even treated the young queen with contempt.

The king, in order to remove these disorders, summoned a parliament at Westminster. The barons, determined not to miss so favourable an opportunity of effectually humbling the favourite, came to the house, attended by a numerous armed retinue, required the banishment of Gaveston, and prevailed upon the bishops to threaten him with excommunication. Edward found it would be madness to resist, and therefore complied with their demands; but instead of sending him out of the English dominions, as the barons expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, with powers as ample as those of royalty itself, allotting him the whole revenue of that kingdom for his subsistence; and when the day of his exile came, he accompanied him as far as Bristol, where he shewed the most unmanly weakness at parting with him.

A. D. 1309. Gaveston, who did not want bravery, and possessed all the necessary talents for war, was not idle in his own government. He put the laws vigorously into execution, and reduced several bands of Irish rebels who had for some time disturbed the peace of that kingdom. These actions, together with Edward's conduct to his nobles during the favourite's absence, made such a change in the minds of the latter, that they even consented to his being recalled, and all resentment seemed to be buried in the grave of forgotten injuries.

But Gaveston learnt not wisdom from experience: he forgot his former misfortunes, and returned, on his

return, the same insolence and ostentation which had before procured his exile. The barons were now more provoked than ever; they determined to put it out of the power of the king himself to protect so hated a minion. They again came to parliament, attended by an army of their retainers, and compelled the king to surrender his authority into the hands of twelve persons, whose ordinances were to have the force of statutes.

A. D. 1311. After this junta had governed the kingdom near a year and a half, the king summoned a parliament to meet on the eighth of August, when a set of ordinances were produced, which the king confirmed with the same facility he granted this unlimited commission to the barons. These ordinances were twenty-six in number, the most material of which were as follow: That all evil counsellors should be removed from the king's person, particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his sister the lady de Vescy, who had obtained grants from the king dishonourable to the dignity, and prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown. That whereas Piers Gaveston had given evil counsel to his majesty, removed all persons of integrity and abilities from the public offices, and supplied their places with his own weak and worthless creatures, embezzled the king's treasure, impoverished the realm, by obtaining unreasonable grants, and procuring blank charters, which he filled up according to his own pleasure, protected robbers, arrogated to himself the royal power and dignity, and formed associations inconsistent with the laws of the land; he should, for these misdemeanors, abjure the kingdom for ever before the first of November; and if found in any part of his majesty's dominions after that day, should be treated as a public enemy. That the king should not leave the realm, nor declare war against any prince or potentate, without the consent of the barons. That on his quitting the kingdom with their consent, a guardian of the realm should be appointed by the parliament, who should also nominate the chief officers of the state, of the household, of the revenue, and of justice, as well as the keepers of forests, the escheators on both sides the Trent, and, in a word, all persons employed under the crown in any part of his Majesty's dominions. That all persons in office should take an oath to observe these ordinances; and that one bishop, two earls, and as many barons, should be chosen in every parliament, to receive the complaints against the king's ministers, and others who should violate these ordinances, and to punish offenders at discretion.

Though several of these ordinances were well calculated, not only for the regular dispensation of justice, but also as barriers against any oppression on the people, yet others wholly deprived the king of his prerogative, and rendered him a mere cypher in government. Edward was no stranger to this; and therefore, when he signed them, he determined to observe them no longer than he had an opportunity of declaring them void, and of no effect. For as the commission was granted solely for the purpose of making such ordinances as should be advantageous both to the king and his people, such articles as should be found prejudicial to either could not be considered as ratified and confirmed. The parliament was therefore no sooner dissolved, than the king repaired to York, where he published a proclamation, repealing the article relative to the exile of Piers Gaveston, "as being unjust, and contrary to the oath taken by the king at his coronation." Gaveston immediately obeyed the royal mandate, and was reinstated in all his former employments.

A. D. 1312. This barefaced breach of the late ordinances so exasperated the barons, that they immediately took up arms, and besieged Gaveston in Scarborough.



borough Castle. The king exerted all his power in raising an army for the relief of his favourite; but his attempts were in vain; for the people refused to join his standard.

While the king was thus employed in endeavouring to raise a body of forces, Gaveston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, and the want of provisions, was obliged to capitulate; by which it was agreed, that he should surrender himself a prisoner for two months, during which time means should be used for bringing about an accommodation; but if the terms proposed by the barons should not be accepted, the castle should be restored to him in the same condition as when he surrendered it.

The earl of Pembroke, taking charge of the prisoner, proposed to conduct him to Wallingford castle, which belonged to Gaveston as earl of Cornwall; but he stopped at Dedington in Oxfordshire, where he left him under a guard on pretence of having some very pressing business to transact in the neighbourhood.

The earl of Warwick, having notice given him of this disposition, got together a strong force and surrounding the house where Gaveston was lodged, took him out of the custody of his keepers, and carried him to his own castle of Warwick, where the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel were assembled. Here a sham trial was set on foot, and Gaveston adjudged to die as an enemy to the public; after which he was removed to a place called Blacklow Hill, about a mile from Warwick, where his head was severed from his body by an executioner who had been previously provided for the bloody purpose. Such was the end of Piers Gaveston, who, having enjoyed his prince's favour in a higher degree than was scarce ever known in any other instance, fell at last a victim to his own vanity, insolence and avarice!

When Edward was informed of the death of his favorite, he was almost frantic: he threatened to take the severest vengeance, and even to exterminate his whole nobility who were concerned in that detestable action. But he soon found that his threatenings were in vain. The more reasonable part of the nation could not indeed behold this bloody tragedy without horror, and dread the consequence of a reformation begun with murder and perjury; yet they did not think it advisable to plunge the nation into all the horrors of a civil war, and depopulate the kingdom to revenge a breach of the laws of humanity. Nor was Edward himself inexorable in his resentments; he soon listened to the terms of accommodation. It was stipulated, that the barons should ask him pardon publicly on their knees, and he was so pleased with these vain appearances of exterior submission, that he readily forgave them all their past offences.

A. D. 1314. All animosities being now subsided between the king and his barons, it was determined to send a powerful force against the Scots, who taking advantage of the troubles in England, had made inroads into the northern counties, and committed the most dreadful ravages. The whole military force of the kingdom was assembled: and Edward put himself at the head of a powerful army, which, according to the Scottish writers, amounted to an hundred thousand men. Bruce, whose army was inferior in numbers, endeavoured to supply by art, what he wanted in strength. Persuaded that this important contest was to decide the fate of his kingdom, he chose the field of battle with the utmost prudence, and made the necessary preparations for receiving the English. He posted himself at Bannock burn, about two miles from Sterling, having a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. In the front of his camp ran a small rivulet, the banks of which as well as the bed

of the stream, he filled with sharp stakes; and each deep pits to be dug a little beyond the opposite bank, into which sharp stakes were also planted and the whole covered over with turf. The van of the English army reached the neighbourhood of the Scottish camp in the evening of the twenty-fourth of June, and a smart skirmish ensued between two parties of cavalry. The English were led by Henry Bohun, a younger brother of the earl of Hereford, and the Scots by Bruce in person. The contest was very bloody; but was at last decided in favour of the Scots, by the valour of Bruce, who rode up to Bohun, and cleft his head with a battle-axe, in the midst of both armies.

The English, on the loss of their leader, retreated, and night coming on, the general attack was postponed till the morning, when the English troops prepared for the dreadful conflict. The wings, composed of cavalry, were commanded by the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, and the king himself led the centre or main body. Bruce drew up his force consisting chiefly of foot, in three lines, and a fourth of reserve. The centre was commanded by himself, the right wing by his brother Edward, the left by Randolph, and the body of reserve by Sir James Douglas and the lord high steward of Scotland.

When the English army were just ready to engage a dispute happened between the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, with regard to making the first attack upon the enemy. The first claimed it by custom, having been always employed by his ancestors, and the latter as constable of England. The earl of Gloucester, determined not to submit to his opponent, broke the rank, and, impelled by all the ardent youth, rushed on to the attack, and fell among the covered pits, by which means his whole squadron was thrown into confusion, and he himself perished. This imprudent folly of youth proved fatal to the English army. Several of the covered pits had been discovered during the skirmish in the evening; and the king, in order to prevent a similar mistake, gave orders for a body of infantry to take a circuit round the morass, and attack the main body of the Scottish army in flank; and during the conflict, that unexpected attack, the cavalry were to be forced the passage of the rivulet, and fallen sword in hand on the embarrassed enemy.

Gloucester had hardly paid the forfeit of his imprudence and disregard to military discipline, when the English infantry, having made the pretence of circuit, fell with the utmost fury on the wings commanded by Randolph, and galled them so with repeated showers of arrows, that they were thrown into disorder. Sir James Douglas perceived the confusion, and fell suddenly upon the rear of the English with such impetuosity, that they were cut to pieces with great slaughter. The main body of the Scots, however, marched up with a determined resolution to attack the enemy; when they observed the English army marching leisurely to surround them. This formidable appearance was nothing more than a number of waggoners and sumpter boys, whom Bruce had supplied with military standards, which at a distance gave them the appearance of a numerous army of forces. The English were struck with alarm, and they fled with the utmost precipitation, and obtained a complete victory.

The booty acquired by the Scots was prodigious, besides which they took several persons of distinction as prisoners, who paid largely for their ransom. Edward himself had scarce time to reach Dunbar, before Sir James Douglas appeared at the head of four hundred horse, hoping to intercept him, but he attempted to escape to Berwick by land, but



Engraved  
for Russell's History  
of England.



HENRY DE BOHUN Brother to the Earl  
of Hereford, killed with a Battle Arrow  
by Bruce, KING of SCOTLAND.



king eluded his vigilance by passing to that town by water.

Bruce distinguished himself as much after the victory by his humanity and generosity, as he had done in the battle by his bravery and prudence. He treated all his prisoners with the greatest tenderness; he sent the bodies of the earl of Gloucester and lord Clifford to the English monarch at Berwick; he dismissed lord Monthermer, for whom he had a particular friendship, without ransom; he exchanged the earl of Hereford and other noblemen, for his wife, his daughter and sister, the earl of Mar and the bishop of Glasgow, who had remained prisoners in England ever since the battle of Methuen: and he caused the dead bodies left on the field of battle to be decently interred.

A. D. 1315. The barons were not in the least affected at the overthrow of their monarch by the Scotch king, but, on the contrary, seemed totally regardless of the honor of their country, and even founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakness and distresses of the crown. They no sooner saw the king return with disgrace, than they insisted on a renewal of their ordinances, and Lancaster was placed at the head of the ministry. Edward perceived his danger, and sensible of his own incapacity for holding the reins of government, attached himself to a new favourite. This was Hugh le Despenser, or Spencer, a young man of high rank, descended from a noble family, and an Englishman by birth. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address, necessary to engage the affections of Edward; but wanted that prudence and moderation which alone could have supported him in this dangerous pre-eminence, surrounded by such numbers of powerful enemies. Had the opposition of the barons, however, been founded on virtue, and directed only to support the honor of their country, these defects would have been considered as abundantly supplied by the talents and experience of the father of this new favourite, and who had also acquired a considerable share in the administration. He was a nobleman venerable for his age, and during his whole life had been respected for his wisdom, his valor and his intrepidity. But envy now obscured all his merits; his past services were forgotten; and he was, together with his son, devoted to destruction.

A. D. 1321. The turbulent barons first indicated their displeasure by absenting themselves from parliament; this not producing the desired effect, they determined to have recourse to more powerful methods for completing their designs. It was not long before an opportunity offered. Edward, who had set no bounds to his bounty with regard to his favourites, had not only married the younger Spencer to his niece, one of the co-heiresses of the earl of Gloucester (who at the fatal battle of Bannock burn) but also given him a barony, which it was pretended had been bequeathed to the crown. This transaction, which could be considered as nothing more than a proper subject for a law, caused an insurrection in the kingdom. Lancaster, and several other barons, flew to arms, and immediately demanded the banishment of the king's favourites. The king refused to comply; upon which they marched to London, and presented to the king an accusation against the favourites. All resistance was in vain: the two Spencers were condemned to banishment without a single crime being proved against them.

The sentence was voted by the lay barons alone, the clergy all attention being paid to the voice of the laity. The only indication those turbulent barons showed of regard to law, was, their requiring the king, an indemnity for their illegal proceed-

ings; after which they disbanded their army, and retired to their several castles.

Edward, circumstanced as he was, might possibly have submitted to this incroachment made upon his prerogative, had not a fresh insult roused him from his indolence. The queen, having occasion to pass by the castle of Leeds in Kent, belonging to Lord Badlesmere, one of the confederate barons, dispatched some of her servants to desire a night's lodging in the castle; the request was not only denied, but they were even refused admittance, and some of them killed. This outrageous behaviour to a princess who had joined the barons against the younger Spencer, was resented by all parties, and the king, levying an army, made himself master of the castle, and put the governor and several of the garrison to death. This seasonable act of justice was approved even by the turbulent barons themselves, and Edward, who was too apt to be over elated at the most trifling success, now determined to attempt the recovery of his prerogative. He ventured to recall the two Spencers, whose sentence he declared to be illegal and unjust, as being passed without the consent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the barons assembled in parliament. He added, that he was bound by the great charter to receive the petitions of the Spencers, because he was obliged to do justice to all his subjects.

A. D. 1322. The turbulent barons still continued in arms, upon which Edward, at the head of a powerful army, marched against them, and continued his rout to the borders of Wales, where, finding them totally unprepared for resistance, he seized their castles, and many of them being taken, were committed to prison.

In this distressed situation, the barons had recourse to the Scottish monarch, with whom they concluded a treaty, promising to recognize his title to the crown of Scotland; and that prince in return, stipulated to assist them with a body of forces. Encouraged by the hopes of a powerful assistance, and joined by the earl of Hereford at the head of his retainers, Lancaster posted himself at Burton upon Trent, in order to defend the passage of the river. But he wanted intrepidity in the day of battle; he was intimidated at the approach of the royal army, and retreated towards Borough-bridge, in order, if possible, to reach the borders of Scotland. Unfortunately for Lancaster, Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carlisle, suspecting his design, posted himself, at the head of a body of troops, to oppose his passage over the Ene, so that Lancaster found himself reduced to the wretched alternative of venturing an engagement, or surrendering himself a prisoner to Harcla. He chose the former: but the earl of Hereford being slain in the first attack, the baron's troops fled with great precipitation, and Lancaster was taken prisoner. Harcla conducted the earl to the king at Pomfret, where he was tried by a court martial, and condemned to death. Lancaster now experienced no less indignities than what had been practised upon Gaveston. He was dressed in mean apparel, placed upon a lean horse without a bridle, and a hood put upon his head. In this ignominious manner he was conducted to an eminence in the neighbourhood of Pomfret, amidst the scoffs of the rabble, and there beheaded. Thus fell Thomas earl of Lancaster, a prince of the blood, and one of the most powerful barons ever known in England; but whose turbulent temper hurried him into measures destructive at once of the peace of society, and the honour of his country.

Lancaster, however, was not the only person that suffered on this occasion, about twenty other barons were afterwards tried and executed. Many made their



their escape into France, and others were taken and thrown into prison. Opposition seemed to lie gasping at the feet of Edward. Harel was rewarded for his services with a large estate and the earldom of Carlisle; but he did not long enjoy the royal bounty, for he forfeited his honors and life by being found guilty of holding a treasonable correspondence with the king of Scotland.

Edward, desirous that his kingdom might have some respite from the calamities of Scottish invasions, listened to overtures of peace made by Henry de Sully, the ambassador from the court of France; and, about Midsummer 1323, a truce was agreed upon for thirteen years. By the articles of this truce it was agreed, that a free commerce should be open between the two nations, but no other correspondence without a licence from the conservators of the truce: that no new castles should be built, nor any old fortresses repaired: and lastly, that the truce should remain in force, though the king of England, or lord Robert Bruce should die in the interim.

A. D. 1324. The truce with Scotland was the more convenient to England, as the nation was at this time threatened with new calamities. Charles the Fair, the third son, and the third successor of Philip the Fair, summoned Edward to do him homage for his province of Guienne. Spencer, who saw all the consequences that might attend his own authority during the king's absence, would not consent to his leaving the kingdom. The parliament was consulted, and it was the unanimous opinion of the whole assembly, that it was improper for the king to go abroad in person, but that ambassadors should be sent to the court of France, requesting that the homage might be delayed till a more convenient opportunity. Charles refused to postpone the ceremony, and sent a body of forces to attack Guienne. It was now thought proper to send the queen Isabella to her brother's court, in order, if possible, to bring about an accommodation; but all her attempts were in vain; Charles insisted that Edward should repair to Paris in person to perform his homage.

While these disputes were in agitation, the fertile brain of Isabella furnished her with an expedient for removing all difficulties, and putting it in her power to be revenged on the young Spencer, whom she heartily detested. She proposed that the king should resign the sovereignty of Guienne to his son, and that the prince should be sent to Paris to perform the duties of a vassal. This expedient was greedily embraced by the Spencers, and the young prince, attended by the bishop of Oxford, went over to Paris, and did the required homage and allegiance to the French monarch.

The artful Isabella had now gained her principal point, and was determined to make use of her good fortune, by procuring the destruction of her enemies. Edward and his favourites were convinced of the egregious blunder they had committed, in trusting the person of the heir apparent to the crown in the hands of an ambitious woman. The queen, on her arrival in France, had found a great number of fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian party; and their common hatred of Spencer soon cemented a secret friendship between them. Among the rest was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron in the Welsh marches, and one of the leaders of the late rebellion. This young nobleman soon insinuated himself into her affections, and she sacrificed to a vicious passion all the sentiments of honor and fidelity she owed to her husband. It was in vain that Edward ordered her to return; she declared her resolution of continuing in France till the Spencers were banished England with infamy and disgrace.

A. D. 1326. Edward and his friends tried every

gentle method they could devise to bring the refractory Isabella to a sense of her duty; but all in vain: she remained deaf to the lenient voice of intreaty. Recourse was therefore had to the pope, who readily engaged in the cause of the injured Edward. He wrote a very pressing letter to the king of France, insisting, even on pain of excommunication, that the queen of England should be sent back to her husband.

Charles was so affected by this menace, by the continual remonstrances of the English envoys, and much more by the shameful commerce carried on between Mortimer and his sister, that he determined not to support her any longer: he accordingly showed her the pope's letter, and told her that he could not, either with honor or safety to himself, continue to afford her shelter and protection.

Isabella had for some time expected this event, and had therefore taken proper care to guard against its consequences. She had affianced her son, the prince of Wales, to the daughter of William, count of Hainault and Holland; who, in return, promised her an asylum in his dominions, and to assist her with a body of troops to humble her enemies. She therefore retired directly into Hainault, where she was received with the greatest marks of kindness and respect. Every method was now used for raising an army to attend the queen and the young prince to England; and about three thousand men in arms were collected for this expedition, under the command of John de Hainault, the count's brother. But Isabella did not find her hopes of success on the number and value of her troops in the intended invasion of her husband's dominions, but in the connections she had formed with the discontented nobles. All the old Lancastrian faction were ready to join her; and the families of about twenty of the nobility, who had suffered with the late earl of Lancaster, were the more zealous in their attachment, as they hoped, in consequence of her success, to be restored to the estates which had been forfeited in consequence of the rebellion of that relation. Besides these, others had joined the queen's party. The king's brothers, the archbishop of Canterbury, with other prelates, and several of the most powerful barons, approved her measures; so that nothing was wanting but the appearance of the queen and the prince, with such a body of foreign troops as was sufficient to protect them against immediate violence, to turn the whole force of the kingdom against the unfortunate Edward.

Isabella, having collected her forces at Douai, embarked with her son, and landed in Suffolk on the twenty fourth of September. She was immediately joined by the princes of the blood, and other foreign nobles. But to give her hostile appearance a more favourable aspect, she renewed her declaration that the sole motive of her enterprise was to deliver the nation from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of chancellor Baldock, their creature. This proclamation had the desired effect: the ardor of the English to join the standard of the queen was astonishing. Robert de Wateville, who had been sent by Edward to oppose her progress in Suffolk, defeated her with all his forces.

Edward, who was at this time in London, sent to the citizens for assistance against the invaders of his kingdom; but he soon perceived that no reliance could be placed on their loyalty. He therefore set out for the western parts of England, hoping that subjects in that corner of the kingdom would moderate majesty in distress, and support their king against the unnatural rebellion of an implacable man. But he was deceived; they flocking to his standard, and that unfortunate prince found no solution of paying over to his enemies, leaving the elder Spencer to command in the castle of Bodham.



No sooner had Edward left London, than the populace committed the most dreadful disorders. They plundered the houses, and murdered the persons of all who were obnoxious to them. Even the acknowledged virtues of the bishop of Exeter could not protect him from their rage. He was dragged, like a felon, to the great cross in Cheapside, where his head was severed from his body. The other cities followed the example of the capital; and taking advantage of the national confusion, committed every species of outrage with wantonness and impunity.

The earl of Kent, assisted by John de Hainault, at the head of his foreign mercenaries, went to Bristol, and invested the castle, where the elder Spencer had shut himself up, and would have defended the fortress to the last extremity; had not his garrison been infected with the disloyalty of the times; they therefore mutinied against their commander, and delivered him up to the enemy.

No respect was paid to this venerable nobleman, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year. All his former services, as well as his virtues, were forgotten; and though they could alledge nothing against him but his loyalty to his master, he was condemned to death by the rebellious barons, and hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor.

Edward, in consequence of his resolution, had embarked for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himself among the mountains of Wales. Isabella was alarmed when she heard that her husband was in his own dominions. She feared that his distressed situation might turn the tide of popular favor against her party; and it was therefore determined to seize the person of the king. The difficulty of discovering his retreat was soon removed, by bribing the Welsh, who delivered up the unfortunate king into the hands of his enemies. At the time he was seized he had with him only the younger Spencer, Robert de Baldock the chancellor, Stephen de Reading, and a few domestics; all the rest of his courtiers having forsaken him in his misfortunes.

The exultation of the queen and her paramour exceeded all the bounds of decency, in beholding their capital enemy, the young Spencer, in their power. Without waiting for the meeting of a parliament, she resolved to make him the immediate sacrifice to her vengeance. He was accordingly brought to a mock trial before the queen; but he refused to plead before this unauthorized tribunal, in consequence of which sentence of death was passed on him, and he was condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. The sentence was executed with the most shocking circumstances of barbarity and insult: his limbs were displayed through the principal towns in England, and his head was left affixed to the gibbet, as a spectacle to the eyes of his revengeful adversaries. Stephen de Reading suffered the like death; but Baldock, who a priest, was committed to the prison of the bishop of Hereford, from whence he was sent to London, and confined in Newgate, where he soon ended his days, through the barbarous usage he underwent there and in his conveyance from Here-

In the mean time the unhappy Edward was conveyed to Exbury, and from thence about the middle of December to the castle of Kenilworth, where he continued all the winter, under the custody of earl of Lancaster. Before his removal, however, queen, willing to have all possible sanction to her proceedings, had, by the advice of her council, sent the bishop of Hereford to demand the great seal of the king, who, finding it in vain to contend with his

Isabella, having thus obtained the great seal, was now invested with the actual exercise of the government; and the first use she made of it was, to convoke, in the name of her husband, a parliament who were to dethrone him, and which was appointed to assemble on the 7th of January following. This business being done, she left Hereford, and went to keep her Christmas at Wallingford Castle, where, in the adulterous embraces of the infamous Mortimer, she forgot every call of nature; she lost every sense of shame; nor seemed to remember that there existed such a person as the wretched Edward, her sovereign and husband.

A. D. 1327. The parliament, according to appointment, assembled at Westminster on the 7th of January; and on the 10th an impeachment was exhibited against the king; in which, though it was drawn by his most inveterate enemies, nothing but his confined genius or his misfortunes were alleged against him; malice itself not being able to find any particular crime that could be alledged against him. But this was of little weight in an assembly convoked for his destruction. The spirit of faction had annihilated justice. The impeachment being read in the presence of the prince, seated on the throne, it was resolved that young Edward should assume the reins of government, and that Edward II. should no longer be styled king of England, but only Edward of Caernarvon, the king's father.

This resolution of the parliament being notified to the queen, she affected the deepest sorrow for her husband's sufferings; and so well did she play her part, that young Edward, (who was possessed of tender sensations) was so affected with the scene, which he believed to be real, that he solemnly swore not to take upon him the government, if not voluntarily resigned by his father.

The perfidious queen now began to be apprehensive that she had spun the web of dissimulation too fine: the generous resolution of young Edward might have disconcerted the whole plan of her and her faction, the government would naturally revert to its first principals, and all they were doing was treasonable against the state, and might prove fatal to themselves.

In this perplexity the cabal found it absolutely necessary to oblige the king to resign his crown to his son. To effect which certain commissioners were immediately appointed for carrying to Edward the resolution of the parliament with regard to his deposition. This deputation consisted of three bishops, three earls, two abbots, and two knights for each county, together with Sir William Trussel, one of the judges, who was nominated the nation's particular procurator. These were instructed to use every argument they could devise to prevail upon Edward to make a voluntary resignation of that power they were determined he should no longer hold.

In order to prepare the unfortunate king for the approaching change of his condition, the bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of his most inveterate enemies, were sent to converse with him before the deputies arrived. Edward was sufficiently convinced that his fate was determined when these two prelates appeared; and the manner in which they discharged their commission was perfectly similar to the rest of their conduct. Instead of pouring the balm of consolation into the breast of wounded royalty, they aggravated the pungent smart by a thousand malicious insinuations: and when they perceived Edward made the least struggle to maintain his dignity, by refusing to confer with the deputies; they told him, "that if he continued obstinate in refusing to resign, the parliament would involve his whole family in his guilt, exclude all his children from the succession, and place another person on the throne of his ancestors." This



menace awakened all the fondness of a father in the soul of the unfortunate Edward: he paused; he dropped a tear to the remembrance of his fallen state; consented to admit the deputies to an audience, and retired to his chamber.

As soon as he had recollected his spirits, he entered the chamber of audience dressed in a mourning habit; but after the articles of impeachment against him were read, and the commissioners had demanded his immediate resignation, he was unable to stand the shock; his spirits forsook him, and he had fallen to the ground, had not the bishop of Lincoln supported him in this dreadful moment of conflicting passions. As soon as he recovered, he proceeded to the ceremony of resignation, by delivering, with his own hands, to the commissioners, the crown, scepter, and other ensigns of royalty, which had been brought thither for that purpose. And Sir William Trussell renounced, in the name of the parliament and people, all future allegiance and fealty.

This melancholy ceremony (which was performed on the 20th of January 1327) being over, the commissioners returned to London, and young Edward was placed on his father's throne. But it was impossible to prevent these atrocious acts of violence from opening the eyes of a deluded people. The cruelty, the perfidy, and the infidelity of the queen, joined to her impudent hypocrisy, in publicly bewailing, with tears, the misfortunes of the king, who owed them all to her execrable conduct, could not fail of exciting the indignation of the English. Her infamous commerce with Mortimer increased the public odium, and she was looked upon with detestation by every friend to truth, to virtue, to fidelity. The current of popular favour was now changed; the queen was looked upon with horror, while the fate of the unfortunate Edward was deplored. A scene of majesty in distress attracted the pity, the compassion, the tears of the people. The earl of Lancaster himself was touched with these generous sentiments. He treated his royal captive with a lenity and tenderness very inconsistent with the projects his enemies had in view; and such as gave the queen and Mortimer reason to fear that he harboured a design of restoring him to the throne.

In consequence of this, the queen and her paramour resolved to take the royal captive out of the hands of his too indulgent keeper, and to consign him to the custody of such persons on whom they could more firmly depend for the execution of their diabolical intentions. Accordingly, they sent orders to have him conveyed from Kenilworth to Berkeley castle, in Gloucestershire, where he was placed under the care of Sir John Gurney and Sir John Maltravers, both of whom possessed that brutish disposition which was requisite for the designs of those that employed them. Thomas, lord Berkeley, who was governor of the castle, did, indeed, endeavour in some measure to alleviate the wretched king's sufferings by gentle usage; which being observed by Gurney and Maltravers, they made such a report thereof to their principals, that orders were sent to remove Edward in the night, and to carry him from place to place, so that his friends might not know where he was. This order was obeyed with the most inhuman exactness; that he might be the more effectually dis-

guised, and not known to any he might meet, his barbarous keepers made him travel in the night with very thin cloaths and without any covering on his head; besides which, during this melancholy progress, they offered him a thousand indignities: they also attempted, more than once, to poison him; but the strength of his constitution rendered all their attempts ineffectual.

In one of these nocturnal journeys his savage tormentors made him alight in an open field, that he might have his head and beard shaven, which they did with cold water out of a stinking ditch. Here all Edward's firmness forsook him, and the horrors of his altered fate presented themselves so forcibly to his imagination, that for the first time he shed a flood of tears, telling them, that in despite of their insolence and barbarity, he would be shaved with clean and warm water.

The unfeeling monsters having, as they thought, effectually eluded the search, and defeated the attempts of his friends, brought him back again to Berkeley castle, where, as the lord of the place was now absent, the poor king was left entirely to their management, who, by every vexation and fatigue they could devise, endeavoured to put an end to his existence; but finding their endeavours had not so speedy an effect as they could wish, they sent for fresh instructions, for which they were not made to wait long. Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, who had been the chief contriver of the various species of torture and mortification the imprisoned king had undergone, and by which he thought to make his court to those who were the original authors of his calamity, now sent an order, doubtless with the privy, or rather by the direction, of the queen and Mortimer, for putting a speedy end to Edward's life. This order was contained in a letter, directed to his keepers, Maltravers and Gurney, and couched in such artful and ambiguous terms, that though the person to whom it was directed should take it in its literal sense, yet it furnished him with an opportunity of exculpating himself from the fact in case young Edward should bestir himself to bring the authors of his father's death to that punishment they justly merited.

This diabolical stratagem but too well succeeded: no sooner had the keepers read the letter than, perfectly sensible of what was expected from them, they entered the king's apartments while he lay asleep, attended by other ruffians their followers, and caused him to be held fast down to the bed; then thrust a pipe, made of horn, up his body, they ran a hot iron through it, and burnt his bowels in so horrid a manner, that the unfortunate king expired amidst the most excruciating torments.

As soon as these monsters had perpetrated the execrable deed, they exposed the body to public view, imagining that the precautions they had taken would effectually conceal the cause of his death, but though the skin appeared without any wound or blemish, the muscles of his face were so distorted as plainly to shew that he had undergone severe agonies; besides, a number of persons, at a great distance from the castle, had heard the piercing shrieks and groans the tortured prince had thrown out while in the agonies of assassination.

After his body had been viewed by the people of

\* This letter contained the following words;

*Refricandum occidere nolite timere bonum est;*

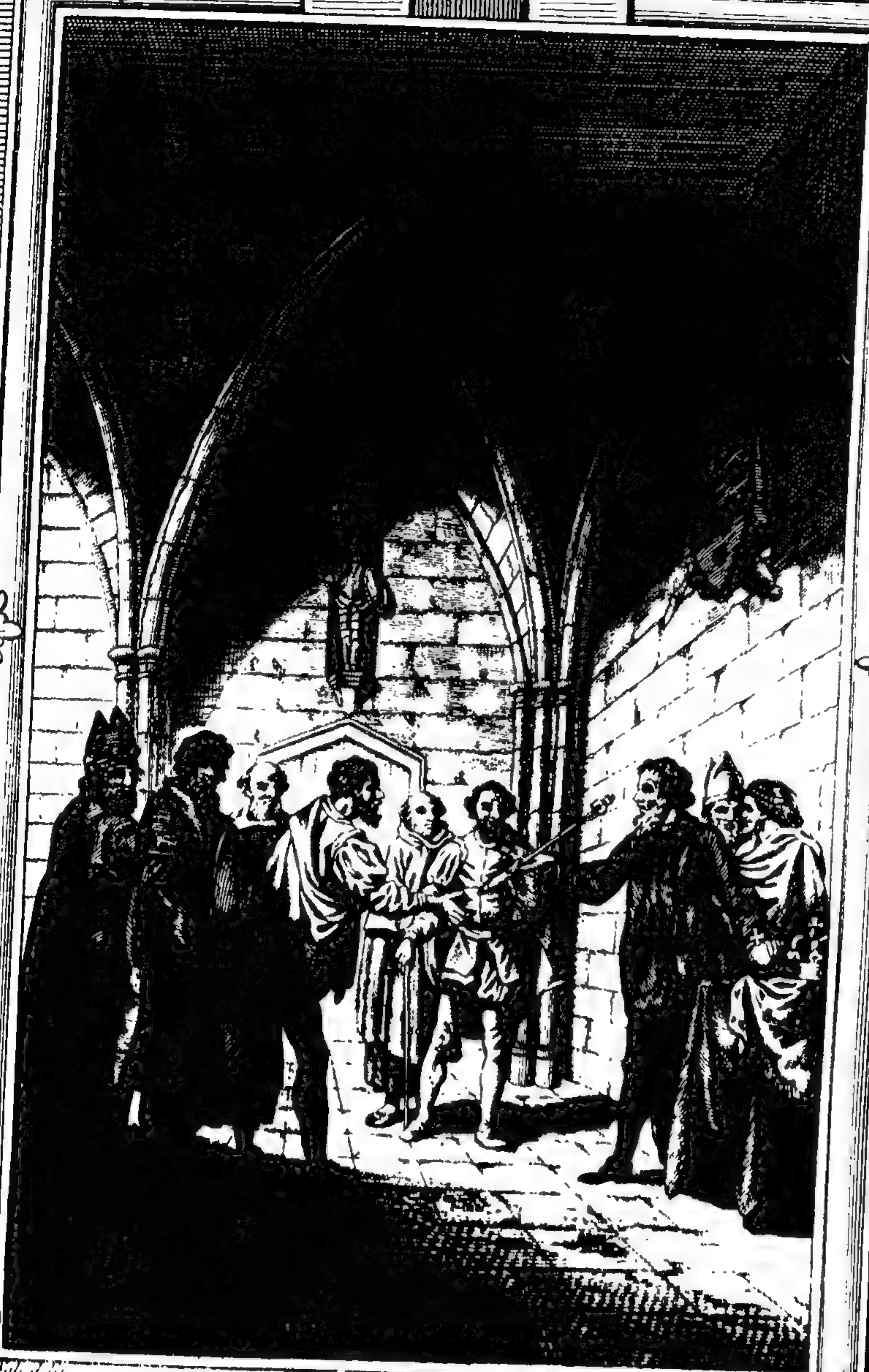
The translation of which is as follows

To shed king Edward's blood  
Refuse to fear I count it good.

These fallacious and artful lines admit of either a good or bad interpretation; for if a comma be placed after the Latin word *nolite*, or the English word *refuse*, they imply the criminality of entertaining any idea of the king's death; but if on the contrary the comma be placed after the Latin word *timere*, or the English word *fear*, the command to commit the murder appears positive.



Engraved for *Pinfolds*  
*History of England*



(EDWARD II)  
*Resigning the Emblems  
of Royalty*







Bristol, the abbot of Gloucester, and several persons of quality and credit, it was buried, without farther enquiry, in the abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester. His murderers, however, were so far from recovering the reward they expected for their infamous services, that they were forced to fly beyond sea, to avoid the resentment of the people; and the very persons that employed them affected to make diligent search after them, to cover the share they had in the crime.

Thus fell Edward II. by the hands of inhuman assassins, in the 43d year of his age, and the 20th. of his reign. He fell a victim to an unguarded affection for his favourites, who, because they were favourites, became justly the objects of national jealousy. As to his incapacity to govern, it does not appear, by any means, to be so great as some writers have alledged; for though he had not all the valour and understanding of his father, yet he was neither a coward nor a fool. In a word, he might have continued to sway the British sceptre to his last moments, had he not countenanced the Spencers in the persecution of the Lancastrian faction. The blood of that nobleman, and others who suffered with him, proved a fountain from which destruction flowed upon those who sought their overthrow: though, at the same time, it must be confessed that the king ought not to have been so severely punished; nor would he, had not the resentment of an implacable woman turned reformation into disloyalty, and expelled from the government him, whom his people sought only to reclaim.

Edward left two sons and two daughters, namely, Edward his eldest son and successor; John, afterwards created earl of Cornwall, and who died young at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, count of Guelders.

The only remarkable occurrence that happened in his king's reign was, the dissolution of the Knights Templars, which was occasioned by the barbarous injustice of pope Clement V. instigated by the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair king of France. This order owed its rise to the first fervour of the crusades; and by uniting valour with devotion, the

two most popular qualities of that age, and employing both in the defence of the Holy Land, they soon made rapid advances to credit and authority. Hence they also acquired, from the piety of the faithful, very ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. But time having relaxed the severity of their original virtues, and convinced them of the inefficacy of those expeditions to the East, which had so long depopulated Europe, they chose rather to enjoy in their native countries those opulent estates, than expose themselves to incessant dangers against the infidels in the Holy Land. By this change of conduct they lost their popularity, while their riches tempted the avidity of several of the monarchs of Europe. But though they were no longer beheld with reverence by the people, they still maintained a considerable part of their former credit; the vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair alone proved the source of their destruction. They were accused, by two profligate and imprisoned knights of their own order, of crimes so repugnant to reason and policy, that their being mentioned was abundantly sufficient to destroy the credit of the witnesses. But Philip was implacable. All the Templars in France were seized and committed to prison in one day; above an hundred of them were put to the most cruel tortures, and fifty-nine burnt together near the abbey of St. Antoine, in Paris. Even the grand master of the order, John de Molay, and Guy, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiné, two of the principal noblemen in Europe, the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth, were committed alive to the flames before the church of Notre-dame. Clement V. one of Philip's creatures, and who then resided at Poitiers, abolished the whole order, by the plenitude of his apostolic power. Their conduct underwent the strictest scrutiny in several parts of Europe, but not the least trace of the crimes imputed to them by Philip was even pretended to be discovered. England sent back an ample testimony of their piety and morals to the pope; but as the order was now annihilated, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions transferred to the order of St. John.

### S E C T I O N III.

## EDWARD III. SURNAMED *of* WINDSOR.

AS soon as the commissioners had returned from Kenilworth-castle, and made their report of the captive king's resignation, his son was immediately proclaimed king by the name of Edward the Third, and a few days after was crowned at Westminster by the archbishop of Canterbury. At this time he was but fourteen years of age, and consequently incapable of holding the reins of government; a council of regency was therefore appointed by the parliament for directing the administration of affairs during his minority. This council consisted of five prelates and seven lay peers, exclusive of the earl of Lancaster, who was chosen guardian and protector of the king's person.

A. D. 1327. From the deposition of the late king, and the elevation of his son, the people flattered themselves with receiving the most distinguished advantages; but they soon found the pleasing prospect overcast, and began to perceive that the govern-

ment of a weak and imprudent king was not more to be dreaded than that of a minor prince, under the direction of a passionate and head-strong woman, herself governed by an arbitrary and unexperienced minister, who, though he possessed even more power than the younger Spencer, was very deficient both with respect to abilities or interest, to that nobleman.

The Scotch, who considered the truce that had been made between them and the English, as terminated by the deposition of the elder Edward, took advantage of the unsettled state of the kingdom, and Bruce made an attempt upon the castle of Northam; but the governor, Sir Robert Manners, having intelligence of the design, made a sally on them with such success that great numbers of them were killed, and the rest fled with the greatest precipitation.

Bruce, however, was not intimidated at this rebuff; he collected an army on the frontiers, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, under the command of the



the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, and threatened to invade the northern counties. The Scots had been long trained to the desultory practices of war. The noble equipage of their troops consisted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a supply in cases of necessity, each soldier carried behind him, together with a light plate of iron, on which he instantly baked the oatmeal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief subsistence was the cattle he seized; and his cookery was as expeditious as his other operations. After flaying the animal, he placed the skin hanging loose in the form of a bag, on some stakes driven into the ground for that purpose; he poured a sufficient quantity of water into this bag, kindled a fire below; and thus made it serve as a cauldron to boil his victuals. Soldiers like these, wholly unincumbered, and who dislodged themselves in a moment, could ravage provinces with impunity; and to this particular they chiefly owed the success they afterwards met with in their various invasions.

Though the English ministry would willingly have evaded the war with Scotland, yet they were too sensible of the fatal consequences that must have succeeded, had they suffered such insults to have passed with impunity. Even the young prince conceived the necessity of repelling their attempts in such a light, that he earnestly desired to lead his troops against the enemy and chastise their insolence. No objection was made to his attending the campaign in person, and he marched to the northward at the head of 60,000 men. He found the enemy encamped on the declivity of a hill, at the foot of which was the river Were. But however desirous Edward was of coming to an engagement, he soon perceived that he could not attack the enemy in their present situation, without exposing his army to the utmost danger. Incensed at being so near the enemy without being able to bring them to an engagement, Edward sent them a defiance, and challenged them to meet him in the open field, and terminate their quarrel by a decisive battle. Douglas was highly exasperated at this defiance, and advised to accept the challenge sent by the king of England; but the motion was over-ruled by Murray, who told Edward, that he never listened to the counsel of an enemy in any of his operations. But Douglas, though he could not prevail on Murray to bring on a general engagement with the English, determined not to continue idle in his camp. He put himself at the head of two hundred horse, passed the river in the night, and entering the English camp unperceived, advanced as far as the royal tent, with a design to surprize and carry off the king. But the attempt was rendered abortive by some of Edward's servants, who awaking in the critical moment, made a noble resistance, and sacrificed their lives in his defence. The king himself cut his way through the Scots, who had entered his camp, and escaped. The English were now alarmed, and the greater part of the Scots were slain; but Douglas himself, with a few followers, found means to retreat to his own army. Soon after the Scots decamped during the night, and marched with such expedition, that Edward, finding it would be impossible to overtake them, marched with his army to Durham, and from thence to York, where he disbanded his forces.

While Edward was at York, he resolved to solemnize his nuptials with Philippa of Hainault, that alliance having been concluded on by his mother, and for which a dispensation had been procured from the pope. Accordingly, a procuration was granted to the bishop of Litchfield to make a contract with Philippa, in the name of Edward, and she was escorted into England by her uncle John de Hainault, with a pompous retinue. She arrived at London on the 23d of December, and from thence set out for

York, where the king at that time resided, and where the nuptials were solemnized with great pomp and splendor, on the 24th of January, 1328; but the ceremony of her coronation was not performed till about two years after.

The queen-mother and Mortimer, who had usurped the whole authority of the government, now found themselves grow daily more and more obnoxious to the thinking part of the nation. The king himself was highly incensed, and was determined to free himself from the power of a minister who seemed totally regardless of all national honor. Mortimer saw his danger, and thought it necessary, at all events, to make peace with the Scots. Accordingly, he entered into a negotiation with Bruce, whom he acknowledged as king of Scotland, renounced the English claim of superiority, and was contented to return with stipulating the payment of 30,000 marks.

Though the queen and Mortimer had sufficient interest to procure a confirmation of this treaty by the parliament, yet it was no sooner made public, than it excited an universal clamour throughout the kingdom, and the people expressed their resentment in the most poignant terms. They declared openly, that this peace was neither honourable nor necessary; that those who concluded it had basely sacrificed both the blood and treasure of the nation to private views, that the queen-mother, who under pretence of her husband's incapacity, had usurped his authority, had now sufficiently discovered how unable she herself was to hold the reins of government; and that the errors of the elder Edward were very inferior to those committed by the queen since the administration of affairs had been in her hands.

Mortimer appeared thoroughly convinced that his treaty with Bruce had rendered him very unpopular, and he began to dread the consequences, especially when he was informed, that the earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London and Winchester, and several powerful barons, had determined to impeach him before the parliament. He knew the consequence if a majority in that assembly should favour the complainants; and exerted all his power to bring about a reconciliation. He very luckily succeeded; and was agreed that all grievances should be redressed in the ensuing parliament.

A. D. 1329. Mortimer, who now imagined he had no farther opposition to dread, acted more like a sovereign than a minister, and, like most tyrants and evil-minded persons, thought rather to terrify the people into a concurrence with his measures, than to win them over by gentleness and good offices. He could not reconcile the treatment he had received from the barons; and though he had been obliged to temporize, yet he was determined to have his revenge; to effect which he singled out an object that might strike his enemies with terror. The weakness of Edmund earl of Kent, (brother to the late king) promoted his criminal intentions. He caused a report to be spread that Edward the Second was yet alive, and confined in Corfe-castle. The earl, who always retained a sincere affection for his brother, though he had joined the queen's party to dave the two Spencers from the kingdom, immediately formed a design of replacing him on the throne. But the treacherous Mortimer had no sooner procured sufficient proofs of his design, than he caused him to be seized, and committed to that prison where he had flattered himself he should meet with his unhappy brother, whom he now discovered was no more. That the report of his existence had only been propagated to enslave and rob him of his former authority.

A. D. 1330. The parliament assembled at Worcester on the 13th of March, when the king







Kent was formally accused of high treason, and being found guilty, was sentenced to be beheaded. The queen-mother and Mortimer, apprehensive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and the earl suffered the next day after his sentence was pronounced. So beloved, however, was he by the people, that when he was brought upon the scaffold the common executioner refused to perform his office; nor could any one be found to supply his place till late in the evening, when the sentence was executed by a felon from the Marshalsea, who, as a reward for his service, received a free pardon for all the robberies he had committed.-----Thus fell this deluded prince, in the 28th year of his age, whose greatest crime was his affection for an unhappy brother, and his detestation of the infamous machinations of an unnatural wife and an ambitious favourite.

This execrable piece of treachery, with other iniquitous measures taken by Mortimer, rendered him universally odious to the people, and all parties now conspired the destruction of this insolent and perfidious minister. The king himself, now in his eighteenth year, was desirous of taking into his own hands the reins of government, and bringing to exemplary punishment a man who made no scruple of sacrificing the honour of his country, and the lives of the nobility, to his insatiable thirst of power. But it was absolutely necessary to use the utmost precaution. Mortimer had so entirely engrossed the administration of affairs, that the whole power of the kingdom was at his devotion; he was always upon his guard, was continually attended by one hundred and eighty armed knights and their followers, and had even surrounded the throne itself with his emissaries, who acted as spies on the behaviour of the king and his friends.

A prince of less fortitude than Edward would have been deterred by so many difficulties; but Edward was a stranger to fear. He imparted his design to William Lord Montacute, and several other noblemen, who all promised their assistance, and it was determined to seize Mortimer during the session of parliament, which was summoned to meet at Nottingham.

That they might be enabled to carry on their designs with more safety and success, it was proposed that the king should occupy the castle of Nottingham; but in this part of their scheme they were frustrated, for, on their arrival, they found it already filled with the attendants of Isabella and Mortimer, one or two apartments only being left for the king. It was now sufficiently evident, that it would be impossible to execute their design without the assistance of Sir William Eland, the governor of the castle. Lord Montacute was then sent to gain him over to their party, which was effected with great facility, that gentleman joyfully embracing an opportunity of shewing at once his affection for the person of his sovereign, and his detestation of those, who by their infamous conduct, had brought their country to the brink of destruction. But at the same time, he informed Montacute that it would be impracticable for them to admit any assistance by the common entry, the castle being strictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. He, however, recollected that there was a subterraneous passage formerly contrived as a secret outlet to the towers, but at present concealed by a heap of rubbish. Through this cavern therefore he undertook to conduct the confederates to Mortimer's apartment. The attempt succeeded; Mortimer was seized in an apartment adjoining to that of the queen, without the least assistance, and sent directly under a strong guard to the Tower of London.

The next day a parliament was summoned to meet

at Westminster for the trial of this tyrannical minister, and a proclamation was issued for all persons who had any complaints to prefer against him, to appear before that assembly, in order to obtain redress for all their just grievances. Nor was justice long deferred. The first business that engaged the attention of the national assembly was the impeachment of the tyrannical Mortimer. The accusation was immediately drawn up, and consisted of nine articles, which contained many high crimes and misdemeanors. Among others, he was accused of having usurped the regal power from the council of regency appointed by the parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conspiracy to restore that prince; of having solicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demesnes; of having dissipated the public treasure; of secreting for his own use twenty thousand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of having repaired to the parliament with an armed force, disturbed their deliberations, and threatened several of the members with death. These facts being all notorious, it was thought unnecessary to call witnesses: and Mortimer was condemned to suffer as a traitor, without being admitted to make his defence. The sentence was executed on the twenty-ninth of November, at a place called the Elms, about a mile from London, where this once powerful nobleman was hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor.

The queen was confined to her house at Rishings in the neighbourhood of London, and her revenue reduced to four thousand pounds a year. The king constantly visited her once or twice a year, during the remainder of her life; but she never recovered the least degree of power or authority in the state.

On the 15th of June this year (1330) queen Philippa was delivered at Woodstock of her first son, who was christened by the name of Edward, and was the same who afterwards became so famous in the annals of Europe, under the title of the Black Prince.

A. D. 1331. Edward having freed himself from his governors now published a proclamation, informing his subjects that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands. This intelligence gave the highest satisfaction to the people: they were rejoiced at seeing on the throne a prince, of whose abilities for government they had already formed the most pleasing idea; and the first acts of his public administration tended to convince them that their hopes were not founded on a chimerical basis. He resumed all the grants that had been made of the royal demesnes during his minority, and rewarded those who had assisted him in seizing the ambitious Mortimer. He remitted the fines and confiscations that had been awarded against the barons who had opposed the destructive measures of that minister. He reversed the sentence of attainder against the earl of Kent, restored his son to the family estate and honours, and his widow to the enjoyment of her jointure. He displaced all the sheriffs that had been appointed by Mortimer, dispatched orders to the judges to administer strict justice to all persons without delay, notwithstanding any letters that might have been procured from the crown to the contrary; and pursued every measure that appeared conducive to establish peace and harmony throughout the kingdom.

The disorders that had crept into the administration of public affairs, were not the only ones that required the abilities and firmness of Edward to remove. The kingdom was infested with numerous bands of robbers, who, taking advantage of the late commotions, had set the power of the magistrates at defiance, and exercised, with impunity, their lawless depredations. They were even openly protected by the great barons, who employed them against their ene-



mies. It was therefore previously necessary to destroy this alarming connection before the evil could be removed. Accordingly Edward exacted a solemn promise from his barons, assembled in parliament, to break off all connections with such malefactors, as a disgrace to nobility. He issued a proclamation, forbidding all jousts and tournaments, which served as a plausible pretence for assembling great numbers of armed men, to the disturbance of the public tranquillity, and the terror of the peaceable inhabitants. After taking these necessary measures, he marched in person against the robbers; and by his courage and activity, the more powerful troops were broken and dispersed; many were taken and executed, and great numbers flew to the continent for safety. The ministers of justice followed the royal example; they were indefatigable in discovering and pursuing, and strict in punishing criminals. By these salutary methods the disease was removed, and the nation continued secure from these free-booters during the remainder of Edward's reign.

A. D. 1332. An event happened in the beginning of this year, which excited the natural ambition of Edward. Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, was now dead, and had left his son David, a minor, under the guardianship of the earl of Murray. Among other particulars in the late treaty, it was stipulated, that both the Scottish nobility, who enjoyed lands in England before the commencement of the war; and the English, who enjoyed estates in Scotland, should be restored to their respective possessions. Edward had scrupulously performed his part of the treaty; but Robert had refused to follow the example of the English monarch. It would have been in vain to attempt any other method for redress but that of petition, while Robert swayed the Scottish sceptre; but the feeble state of the kingdom under a minority induced the English nobles to enter into an association for recovering their rights. Lord Beaumont was at the head of this confederacy. He claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and proposed, as the most effectual method of obtaining justice, to invite Edward Baliol, son of John Baliol to make an attempt for the recovery of his father's crown.

Young Baliol, who had lived on his patrimonial estate in Normandy ever since the death of his father, little thought of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland; but this proposal was too flattering to be rejected, and he readily engaged in the enterprize.

Edward was now applied to for assistance; but he was too prudent to countenance openly the attempt, though he secretly encouraged the undertaking of Baliol, and blew the sparks of discord into a flame.

As soon as Baliol and his friends had raised a body of forces, they determined to try the fortune of a battle. They therefore embarked at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and in a few days reached the coast of Fife. On their approaching the shore they perceived a body of militia, commanded by Sir Alexander Seaton, drawn up on the beach to oppose their landing; but the English charged the Scottish general with such resolution that he was totally defeated, and himself, with near a thousand of his men, slain on the spot. No farther opposition being made to their landing, they advanced to Dumfries, where they strengthened themselves by seizing a large magazine of arms and provisions.

After this success, Baliol marched with his forces to attack the earl of Mar, who lay encamped at Duplin on the opposite side of the river Forth. The Scottish army consisted of 40,000 men, who placing their confidence only in the superiority of their numbers kept no order in their encampments. Baliol was

not in the least intimidated, but availing himself of their negligence, passed the river in the night, and falling on them unexpectedly, they were thrown into confusion, great numbers of them were killed, and the rest made a precipitate flight.

The English now thought they had obtained a complete victory, but they soon found themselves mistaken, for early the next morning they perceived the enemy drawn up on a rising ground. This appearance, however, did not in the least intimidate them, more especially as they saw that the ground between the two armies was so broken, that not more than eight or ten thousand men could engage at one time. The gallant Baliol therefore encouraged his determined troops to stand their ground against the attack of the enemy. The Scots, eager to wipe out the stain of their late defeat, rushed on with the utmost precipitation to the battle, without paying any regard to the broken ground between them and the enemy, in consequence of which their ranks were broke, and an universal disorder ensued. Baliol perceived their confusion, seized the favourable opportunity, advanced his troops upon them, prevented their rallying, and chased them a second time off the field of battle with redoubled slaughter. Near twelve thousand Scots fell in this action, and among those the flower of their nobility: the regent himself, the earls of Carrick, Athol, and Monteith, and the lords Hay, Keith and Lindsey. The loss of the English is said to have been so trifling, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, that only thirty were killed; an evincing proof of the advantages arising from intrepidity and good discipline.

Baliol was so elated at these repeated successes, that he advanced to Perth, which he entered without opposition, and immediately repaired the fortifications.

This necessary work was hardly finished, before the earl of Marche, and Sir Archibald Douglas, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, appeared, and invested the place by land, fully determined to reduce the English by famine. They also collected a few vessels, under the command of one John Crabbe a Flemish sailor, in order to block up the place by water. But the English squadron, which were lying at the mouth of the Tay to supply Baliol's army with provisions, soon drove Crabbe from his station, and took the greater part of his ships.

The Scottish generals now perceived that it would be in vain to continue the blockade of Perth; they abandoned the enterprize; the army dispersed, and the kingdom was, in effect, subdued by an handful of men. The usual consequences attended the good fortune of Baliol: the nobility and gentry flocked to make their submission. The young king, and his queen, sister to the king of England, were sent into France; and on the 27th of September Baliol was crowned king of Scotland.

A. D. 1333. Baliol seemed now firmly seated on the throne of Scotland, and might, in all probability have maintained his power, had not his imprudence or perhaps his necessities, induced him to dismiss the greater part of his English soldiers. In this weakened condition he was attacked near Annan notwithstanding the truce, by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chiefs of that party. Baliol at the head of an inconsiderable number of followers made a noble defence but soon overpowered by multitudes, was obliged to have recourse to flight. His brother John Baliol was taken, and he himself obliged to make the best of his way to England, where he at last arrived in a very miserable condition; having lost his crown by a revolution as quick as it was acquired.

Before this revolution happened Baliol had perceived, that it would be impossible for him to retain possession of the throne without the assistance of the



English monarch. Accordingly he sent a message to Edward, offering to renew the homage for his crown, acknowledge his superiority, and to marry his sister, if a dispensation from the pope could be obtained, as her nuptials with David Bruce had never been consummated. Ambitious of gaining what he had lost by the treachery of Mortimer, Edward entered into a treaty with Baliol; but that prince being now driven from his throne, there was a necessity for replacing him in the seat of power.

The proceedings of the Scotch were now sufficient to rouse a less ambitious prince than Edward. Elated with their late success against Baliol, and allured by the hopes of plunder, they broke into Cumberland, and laid great part of the country waste with fire and sword. Edward immediately sent orders to Sir Anthony Lacy to begin hostilities against the enemy. His commands were obeyed with the utmost alacrity; the invaders were defeated, and obliged to make a precipitate flight to their own country.

This breach of the late treaty greatly alarmed Douglas the regent, who spared neither intreaties, excuses, nor submissions, to divert the gathering storm that threatened the destruction of his country. But all his efforts were in vain; Edward listened only to the voice of ambition. The campaign was opened with the siege of Berwick, where Edward commanded in person. That place was considered by the Scots as the key of their country; and the regent had accordingly furnished it with a strong garrison, under the command of Sir William Keith; while he himself formed a numerous army on the frontiers, in order to penetrate into England, as soon as that fortress should be invested by the English monarch.

The siege continued near two months; when great part of the fortifications being demolished, the garrison agreed to capitulate, if not relieved in five days. The terms were accepted; and a messenger dispatched to Sir Archibald Douglas, informing him of the conditions, and pressing him to march immediately to their relief. The great importance of Berwick, and the impatience of his forces to be led against the English, determined him to comply with the request of the garrison. He marched immediately to their relief, and drew up his forces at the foot of Halidown-hill, a little to the north of Berwick, in sight of the English camp.

Douglas's army was divided into four bodies, and headed by the principal nobility of Scotland. The English were also drawn up in four separate bodies, and both wings flanked with archers; and in this disposition Edward waited the attack of the enemy, who began to ascend the hill with great impetuosity about five in the afternoon; but the steepness of the ascent, the weight of their armour, the incessant showers of arrows discharged from the bows of the English, and the large stones rolled down upon them, soon checked their career. They halted; and their general being that moment transfixes with an arrow, fell lifeless to the ground. The utmost consternation now seized the Scottish army. Edward perceived their disorder, and commanded lord D'Arcy, at the head of a body of light armed infantry, to charge them in flank, while he himself attacked their front with a detachment of veterans. The Scottish knights, in order to render the action more steady and desperate, had dismounted from their horses, but could not stand the shock of the English. The whole army fled with the utmost precipitation. Near thirty thousand of the Scots fell in the action, and all the chief nobility were either slain or taken prisoners. The town and castle of Berwick immediately surrendered; and no farther assistance being apprehended, Edward, after leaving a considerable part of his army with Baliol, returned to England.

The Scots now found it impossible to oppose the power of Baliol: the principal part of their nobility were lost, their army was dispersed, their king in France, and their regent slain. Submission was their only resource. Baliol accordingly marched through the whole country; and all the castles, except those of Dumbarton, Urquhart, and two or three others, which were deemed impregnable, opened their gates and submitted to the conqueror.

A. D. 1334. Baliol now summoned his first parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 10th of February, when he was acknowledged king by the whole assembly; the superiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to him; and Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, were declared to be for ever annexed to the crown of England.

Such shameful conditions could not fail of exasperating the Scots. They submitted to them indeed, but determined to observe the treaty no longer than they were not in a condition to break it. An opportunity soon offered: the English troops returned to their own country, and the Scots immediately flew to arms. They renounced the fealty they had sworn to Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. At the same time they elected Sir Andrew Murray regent, and defeated Baliol in several small, but decisive actions.

A. D. 1335. Edward now saw, that it was necessary for him to subdue that stubborn people a second time; and he accordingly made preparations for invading Scotland at the head of a very considerable army.

The English monarch reached Berwick early in the spring, and pursued his march, without opposition, into the very heart of Scotland; the enemy having abandoned all the plains at his approach, and retired to the mountains and fastnesses of their country. Edward perceiving it would be in vain to traverse a wild, deserted, and barren country, returned to Perth. Several small skirmishes, however, happened between the Scots and the straggling parties of the English; in the one of which Sir Andrew Murray, the regent, was taken prisoner.

During Edward's stay at Perth, he detached a body of forces, under the command of his brother, John of Eltham, and Sir Anthony Lacy, to ravage the western counties, which were principally inhabited by the Brucean party. The Scots, who imagined themselves able to face a part of the English army, left their fastnesses, and presented themselves in order of battle. A bloody engagement ensued; and the victory was, for some time, doubtful, but at last declared in favour of the English; and a great number of the Scots perished in the field of battle.

The adherents of Bruce were so intimidated by this defeat, that they determined to submit to whatever Edward should think proper to impose; and a treaty was accordingly concluded on the following terms: "That the Scottish noblemen should receive a free pardon for all former offences; that they should enjoy their lands, honours and offices in Scotland, and be restored to their English possessions which had been forfeited: That all the privileges and franchises of the church and boroughs of Scotland should continue unaltered and inviolable: That none but natives should be put into the offices of that crown and kingdom, excepting in some particular cases where their king, Edward Baliol, should make use of his prerogative in favour of persons of another nation." It was also soon after agreed by the rest of Bruce's party, who at first refused to sign the above treaty, "That Edward Baliol should enjoy the crown of Scotland during his natural life; and that at his death



death it should descend to David Bruce, who, in the mean time, should be honourably maintained at London."

Matters being thus adjusted, Edward ordered the fortifications of Perth to be repaired, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling to be rebuilt. He also appointed the earl of Athol guardian of the northern parts of the kingdom; and returned to England, at the head of the greater part of his army.

Although the Scots had again submitted to Edward yet they were far from being reconciled to their condition, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of shaking off a yoke to which necessity alone had compelled them to submit. They did not wait long for this wished-for opportunity. The earl of Athol was not at all adapted to govern such turbulent people. Instead of soothing the Scots, and applying lenients to heal the wounds of their country, he treated them with rigour; and the castle of Kildrummy, in which the regent's wife had shut herself up, having still refused to open its gates to the English, the guardian imprudently besieged the fortress; but the garrison attacked him with such impetuosity, that his army was routed with great slaughter, and himself slain. Animated with this success, they invested the castles of Coupar and Lochendoris. The standard of war was again displayed, and forces were collected in every part of the kingdom. But before any farther hostilities were commenced, the pope and the king of France interposed their good offices; and a truce was agreed to till the ninth of May, in the ensuing year.

This truce was intended as a prelude to a final peace, and conferences were accordingly opened at Newcastle in the spring of the following year 1336; but Philip de Valois, who now filled the throne of France, and found his interest in the dissensions between the Scots and English, gave such instructions to his envoys, that though they assumed the characters of mediators between the contending parties, they omitted no opportunity of embarrassing the negotiation, and rendering the intended treaty abortive. Philip had already afforded considerable assistance to the Scots; and his envoys now assured them, that their master would never abandon the cause of the unfortunate and injured David Bruce, but support him to the utmost of his power.

Elated with these promises, and exasperated against the invaders of their country, the Scottish deputies insisted on such high terms, that Edward broke off the treaty in a transport of resentment, and both parties made preparations for deciding the contest by the sword.

The English monarch had already been very careful to conciliate the affections of his subjects by the most popular acts; and being now determined to reduce the refractory Scots to an absolute submission, which could not be executed without large supplies, he wisely passed several salutary laws for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and the more effectually securing the property and persons of individuals from the designs of secret or open enemies. Among others, were several acts for the freedom and extension of commerce, and the preservation of the weight and quality of the coin; for the more effectually bringing to justice the perpetrators of murders, robberies, and other species of felony; and for restraining his officers from committing excesses in the case of purveyance.

By these, and other similar methods, Edward endeared himself to his subjects, both clergy and laity, that they very readily granted him large subsidies not only for supporting the conquests he had made in Scotland, but also to enable him to make that nation totally subject to the English government.

Edward, thus strengthened by supplies, marched a fourth time into Scotland, and laid those countries waste which had declared against him. The lord Beaumont, who commanded a separate detachment, laid the town and castle of Aberdeen in ashes, to revenge the death of Sir Thomas Rosselin, whom the inhabitants had attacked and killed on his landing at Dunotter. Edward met with no opposition in his march; but still the nation itself was as far as ever from being subdued. The Scots had retreated to their fastnesses; experience taught them prudence; they knew they were not able to meet the English in the open field, and wisely abandoned the Low Countries to the ravages of the enemy.

Edward having made a progress to the extremity of Scotland, returned to Perth, where, after staying some time to recruit his forces, and leaving a small army with Baliol, he returned to England, fully determined to undertake an expedition of the most important nature.

A. D. 1337. Edward, on his return from Scotland, summoned the parliament to meet at Westminster on the 3d of March, when he declared his resolution to attack France, and use his utmost endeavours to wrest from Philip de Valois that crown of which he conceived himself to be the true heir, as next in blood to the late king.

In this determination Edward was greatly encouraged by Robert d'Artois, a prince of the blood of France, who having been condemned in consequence of a forgery he had committed, took refuge in England. Inspired with the most implacable revenge against Philip, Robert omitted no arguments to induce the king to declare war against France, in favour of his title to that crown. Edward was the more inclined to listen to the arguments of Robert, because Philip had given protection to David Bruce, the exiled king of Scotland.

Philip was no sooner informed of the counsel given by Robert d'Artois, than he issued a sentence of felony and forfeiture against him; and declared, that every vassal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, was involved in the same sentence. This menace was easily apprehended; it wanted no comment; and Edward made preparations for carrying on the war with the utmost vigour.

Edward, in order to divert the arms of the French monarch from Guienne, and at the same time to make an effectual attack upon Philip's dominions, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany. The earl of Hameln, the duke of Brabant, and several other noble personages, engaged to join the English. But this confederacy was not thought sufficiently formidable, without the accession of Flanders, which required long address to accomplish.

The Flemings, who, by their arts and manufactures had acquired riches and some share of independence, had risen in tumults, insulted the nobility, and driven their earl into France. The leader of these popular insurrections was one Jacob Van Artevelt, a brewer of Ghent, who governed the people in an arbitrary manner than any of their lawful sovereigns. He never appeared in the streets without a guard of fourscore persons, who, from the least signal given by this demagogue, murdered any person who happened to fall under his displeasure. Whatever he thought proper to propose in the assembly of the states, was never contradicted, because every member feared his power.

Edward counted assistance of this ferocious leader, who refused to join in the alliance, unless he would assume the title of king of France, in order to remove the scruples of the Flemings, who laboured under the right of invading the territories of the king.



ford. Edward agreed to the condition, and Ardevelt invited him into Flanders. About the same time Edward received from the emperor Lewis of Bavaria the title of "Vicar of the Empire," that he might with the better authority command the princes of Germany.

Previous to the opening of the rupture, Edward, willing to shew his allies that he was thoroughly in earnest, ordered the duke of Brabant to demand the crown of France in his name; at the same time he constituted him lieutenant-general of that kingdom, and issued a proclamation, commanding the French, whom he called his subjects, to pay him obedience.

Philip was so provoked at Edward's presumption, that he assembled a considerable army to chastise his new allies the Flemings, and to reinstate the earl of Flanders in the possession of that country. But Edward sent a large body of forces to join his new allies, under the command of the earls of Derby and Suffolk, in order to render the designs of Philip abortive. The English, on their arrival on the coast, were informed that Guy de Rickenbourg, natural brother to the earl of Flanders, had taken possession of the isle of Cadzand, in order to cut off all communication by sea to Bruges and Ghent. It was therefore resolved to drive him from that advantageous post. Guy, who was prepared for the attack, gave them a very warm reception; but the English, after an obstinate dispute, made good their landing, when a bloody battle ensued, in which the earl of Derby was thrown from his horse, and would, in all probability, have been killed or taken prisoner, had he not been rescued by Sir Walter Manny, a valiant knight of Hainault, who, at the head of a body of horse, charged the enemy with the utmost fury, and took Guy de Rickenbourg prisoner with his own hand. The loss of their leader struck the French with consternation; they immediately fell into confusion, and were routed with prodigious slaughter. This victory filled Ardevelt and his party with joy; and the Flemings sent a message to Edward, pressing him to come over without delay, and head the allied army in person.

A. D. 1338. In the beginning of February Edward called a parliament, of whom he requested an aid suitable to the projects he had in view. The assembly readily complied, and even granted more than he asked; but notwithstanding it was much greater than any with which his predecessors had been indulged, yet it fell short of his real exigencies, for, exclusive of the prodigious expence attending his armament, his German allies were as insatiable in their demands as they were dilatory in the performance of their contracts.

Edward, having taken all the necessary precautions at home that his prudence could suggest, set sail from the port of Orwell in Suffolk on the 16th of July, with a fleet of 300 ships, accompanied by the chief nobility of England; and, after a quick, and easy passage, he landed, on the 21st of the same month, at Antwerp, the capital city of John duke of Brabant.

The remainder of this year, and the greatest part of the next was wasted in conferences and negotiations. At length, however, Edward took the field, at the head of 40,000 men, and encamped between Marbriennes and Donay, from whence he marched into the Cambresis, which he laid waste, and then halted some time under the walls of Cambrai with a design of forming the siege of that place; but receiving advice that Philip was advancing, with a formidable army, to give him battle, he passed the river Scheldt, in order to meet his enemy, and terminate at once a war attended with so ruinous an expence.

The two monarchs, however, remained for six

days encamped within six miles of each other without coming to an action. At last Edward sent a herald to offer battle, which was accepted by the other, and the following Friday (being the 22d of October 1339) was the day appointed to decide the quarrel. But, whilst both sides were preparing with equal ardor for the engagement, Philip received a letter from Robert king of Naples, who passed for a great astrologer, fore-telling him ill success whenever he should fight the English, which had such an effect on the mind of the French king, that though Edward, on the day appointed, drew out his forces early in the morning in order of battle, the former declined coming to an engagement, and the two armies returned to their respective camps. The next day Edward wheeled off towards Avines for the sake of a more convenient situation, and sent word to Philip that he would wait for him all Sunday in order of battle. This, however, was a challenge the French king did not chuse to accept; but breaking up his camp, and fortifying his frontier towns with strong garrisons, he returned back to Paris, and there dismissed his troops.

The English monarch, finding that Philip had retreated, put his German troops into winter quarters, and marched with his own forces to Brussels, where he arrived on the first of November.

Though Edward had entered into engagements with the duke of Brabant to stay in the Low Countries till the war was ended, he found it impossible to keep his promise. His absence had occasioned many disorders in England, where bands of robbers disturbed the peace of the nation; and the Brucean party had not only recovered what they had lost in Scotland, but also invaded the northern counties of England. These were sufficient reasons for Edward's leaving the continent; and, in order to satisfy the duke of Brabant, who objected strongly to his departure, he left him four English lords, besides his queen, who was at Antwerp, as pledges for his return.

A. D. 1340. Edward arrived at Harwich on the 21st of February, and on the same day issued out writs for assembling a new parliament at Westminster on the 29th of March following. At the meeting of this assembly the members shewed an uncommon alacrity in assisting their monarch, and providing for the security of the realm against all invaders. They granted the king a large supply; and orders were issued for fortifying Southampton and the Isle of Wight; for fitting out a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, to protect the coasts; for sending supplies of provisions to the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling; and for raising a body of seven hundred and eighty-two men at arms, two thousand light horse, and two thousand and ten archers, for defending the marches of Scotland.

These tokens of affection deserved a grateful return, and accordingly Edward granted a full remission of all debts due to the crown, and of all prosecutions of forest-trespasles since his accession to the throne; besides which, he added a confirmation of the two great charters.

Edward was now making preparations for returning into the Low Countries, when advice arrived from the duke of Gueldres, that the French had assembled a powerful fleet to intercept him in his passage. Orders were therefore given for fitting out a sufficient number of ships for carrying the king, and a considerable body of forces, to the continent. The utmost expedition was used on this occasion; and Edward embarked at Orwell on the thirteenth of June, attended by the principal nobility of England. His fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty sail of ships, having on board a powerful body of men at arms, and archers.

Edward, a few days after his departure, discovered



the French fleet in the harbour of Sluys, and immediately made preparations for fighting the enemy. Early the next morning, the French, who had left the harbour, appeared in three divisions; and about eleven the engagement began with the utmost fury. The English had taken care to get to windward of the enemy, and grappled their ships so firmly with those of the French, that they formed a firm compact body, and the men fought with the same firmness as on dry land. The French, whose number of vessels was much greater than that of the English, observing a ship carrying the royal standard of England, advanced to attack her with the utmost intrepidity; but all their efforts were in vain. The examples of the king and his gallant nobles animated to such a degree both the seamen and soldiers, that they every where maintained a superiority over the enemy. The French could not stand the shock of the English; many hundreds of them leaped overboard, and perished in the sea. In this critical moment, a reinforcement of Flemish ships joined the English, and determined the fortune of the day. Two hundred and thirty of the enemy's ships were taken; and thirty-two thousand Frenchmen were slain with two of their admirals.

This defeat was considered in France as having given such a fatal blow to the naval force of that kingdom, that none of Philip's courtiers durst acquaint him with the loss, till his buffoon discovered it to him by the following artful jest. Coming into the royal presence, he cried out several times, Cowardly Englishmen! Dastardly Englishmen! Faint-hearted Englishmen!" The king asked him what he meant by that exclamation? "Because, said he, they durst not leap into the sea as our gallant Frenchmen did."

Soon after this victory Edward landed, and marched at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, composed of English, Germans, Flemings and Gascons. The first attempt was the siege of Tournay; but the city was no sooner invested, than Edward detached fifty thousand men, under the command of Robert d'Artois, who posted himself near St. Omer's to favour the siege. Robert's troops were chiefly composed of tradesmen, who had never faced an enemy, and were wholly strangers to military discipline. From such troops little could be expected; and accordingly, notwithstanding the great abilities of their leader, they were totally routed by a sally from the garrison.

Edward was not in the least intimidated at this defeat, but on the contrary pushed the siege with the utmost vigour. At the end of ten weeks the city was reduced to great distress; and Philip having collected a prodigious army, advanced within a few leagues of the English camp; not with a design to bring on a general engagement, but of being ready to assist the garrison whenever an opportunity offered. Edward, exasperated at the length of the siege, sent an herald to Philip, challenging him to decide their claims to the crown of France by single combat, or by an action of an hundred against an hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied, that a vassal was not entitled to challenge his liege lord; and that the duel was, besides, proposed on very unequal terms; but if Edward would increase the stake, and put also the kingdom of England on the issue of the combat, he would willingly accept the challenge.

While these matters were in agitation, the countess dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip, employed her good offices for bringing about a peace between persons so nearly related to her. Her zeal produced a short cessation of hostilities, and which the pope in vain endeavoured to convert into a peace; but the demands of Edward were too exorbitant to be admitted. He required

that Philip should free Guienne from all claims of superiority, and entirely abandon the protection of Scotland. These conditions were accordingly rejected by Philip; a prolongation of the truce only was agreed to. The success of Edward certainly entitled him not to make such demands. His allies were never firmly attached to his interest: they were, indeed, desirous of his money, but never intended to weaken the power of France. Accordingly, when they found that his treasure was nearly exhausted, they abandoned the confederacy; and Edward being pressed by his impatient creditors, was obliged to pass privately into England.

Edward's embarrassment had chiefly arisen from the nature of the subsidy granted by parliament. It consisted of corn and wool, on account of the scarcity of money; and these commodities could not be collected and disposed of soon enough to answer his exigencies. But though this was nothing more than might have been expected, Edward was determined to punish the sheriffs and officers of his revenue; for he considered them as guilty of negligence, which had, in some measure, occasioned the bad success of his expedition. The bishop of Chichester, chancellor; the bishop of Litchfield, treasurer; and the archbishop, prime minister; now felt the weight of his displeasure. The two former were imprisoned; but the primate, fearing the effects of Edward's anger, retired immediately to Canterbury, and determined to defend himself by the weapons of the prelacy. He accordingly convened a meeting of the clergy in that cathedral, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who should seize the persons, lands, or goods of the clergy, or inform against a bishop for any crime whatever.

A. D. 1341. Edward found himself under the necessity of calling together his parliament, which met at Westminster on the 23d of April, when the primate, who had received no summons to attend, presented himself at the gate in his pontifical ornaments, and demanded admittance to his seat as the first and highest peer of the realm. He was, however, denied admittance for two days successively; but Edward, sensible of the dangerous consequences that might attend his quarrel with the clergy, prudently accepted of the concessions made by the churchman, and the primate was again received into favour.

The immense debt Edward had contracted on the continent, and the arbitrary measures he had taken with regard to the officers of his revenue, alarmed the parliament, and it was determined to set proper bounds to the royal prerogative. They required a new confirmation of the great charter; they passed a bill whereby it was enacted, that no nobleman should be proceeded against or punished, but by the judgment of his peers assembled in parliament; that the more important offices of state should be filled by the king, with the consent of the council and barons; that every session these offices should be returned by him, and the ministers who discharged them reduced to private persons; that they should, in that condition, answer, before the parliament, to any accusations brought against them; and that if they were any way found guilty, they should finally be dispossessed of their dignities, and more sufficient persons be substituted in their place.

Edward ratified these acts in full parliament, and by these important concessions obtained large supplies, particularly a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool to be transported to Flanders before Michaelmas, with a prohibition to all persons from sending thither any wool, till that period was elapsed.

But though Edward had, by sacrificing some parts of the royal authority, extricated himself from his present difficulties, he did not seem desirous of con-



tinuing the war on the side of Flanders, in support of his title to the crown of France. An unforeseen accident renewed the hostilities between the two kingdoms. John III. duke of Britany was desirous of leaving his dutchy to a daughter of his brother the count de Ponthieue; but in order to prevent the calamities that always attend a disputed succession, he determined to marry her to some prince capable of repelling any attempts that might be made to disturb the tranquillity of his country. Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France, appeared to him the most proper for his purpose. He consulted the states of Britany, who approved of his choice: the marriage was concluded; and all the vassals swore fealty to Charles and his spouse, as their future sovereigns. The count de Montfort himself, one of John's brothers by a second marriage, acknowledged the rights of his niece, and made no difficulty of taking an oath of fealty to Charles. But he forgot both his concession and his oath on the death of John, and exerted himself in taking possession of the country. He engaged many of the most considerable barons to acknowledge his authority, and made himself master of the most important fortresses of the dutchy, particularly those of Rennes, Nantes and Brest.

Notwithstanding Montfort had made these acquisitions, yet he was sensible he should not be able to support himself against the attempts of Charles de Blois, unless assisted by some powerful ally. He therefore determined to apply to the English monarch. Accordingly, under pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had fallen to him by the death of his brother, he visited Edward; made that prince an offer of doing him homage, and of acknowledging his title to the crown of France, provided he would engage to assist him against Charles de Blois.

Edward immediately saw all the advantages that might attend an alliance with Montfort; and being at the same time invited by the persuasions of Robert d'Artois, he agreed to the conditions, and a formal alliance was concluded between them.

Montfort, not doubting but his treaty with Edward was a profound secret, made no hesitation of going to Paris, in order to support his claim to the dutchy of Britany. But he was soon convinced both of his error and the imprudent step he had taken. Philip, at his first audience, told him plainly, that he had no right to Britany, and at the same time reproached him with having done homage to Edward, and entered into an alliance with a prince, who was the professed enemy of France. Montfort acknowledged his having passed over to England, but denied the charge of having done homage to Edward; adding, that he was satisfied of the goodness of his claim, and was ready to submit to the judgment of his peers, with regard to Britany.

Philip immediately appointed a day for discussing his claim, but in the mean time forbid the earl to stir out of Paris.

This injunction greatly alarmed Montfort, who being now convinced that he had every thing to fear, took the resolution of making his escape. He accordingly withdrew from Paris during the night in the disguise of a merchant, and reached Britany in safety. Philip was no sooner informed of his escape, than, in a transport of rage and indignation, he instantly confiscated the earldom of Montfort, commanded the parliament of Paris, by his sole authority, even without summoning the peers of France, or exhibiting any formal process, to adjudge Britany to Charles de Blois; and the more effectually to carry the sentence into execution, he supplied his nephew with a numerous army, under the command of his eldest son John duke of Normandy. Montfort, who

was unable to face the French army in the field, shut himself up in Nantes, which was soon besieged by the duke of Normandy. The city was strongly fortified, and capable of holding out a considerable time against the enemy; but by the treachery of the inhabitants the city was delivered up to the enemy. Montfort himself was taken prisoner, and sent to Paris, where he was confined in the great tower of the Louvre.

A. D. 1342. This event seemed to put a final period to all Montfort's pretensions, but his affairs were soon retrieved by an unexpected incident which inspired his party with fresh life and vigor. Jane of Flanders, countess of Montfort, the most extraordinary woman of that age, was roused by the captivity of her husband, from those domestic employments to which her genius had been hitherto confined, and nobly undertook to support the falling fortunes of her family. As soon as she received the fatal intelligence, she assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided, and carrying her infant son in her arms, laid before them, in the most pathetic manner, the calamity of their sovereign, and recommended to their protection the illustrious orphan, the sole remaining male heir of their ancient princes, who had long governed them with so much indulgence and lenity, and to whom they had hitherto professed so zealous an attachment. She declared herself willing to face any dangers with them in so just a cause; discovered the resources which still remained in the alliance with England, and intreated them to make, at least, one effort against the usurper, who being imposed on them by the arms of France, would, in return, make a sacrifice to his protector of the ancient liberties of Britany. Moved by the affecting appearance, and inspired by the noble conduct of the princess, the audience vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family. All the other fortresses of Britany embraced the same resolution. The countess went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary for subsistence, and concerting their plans of defence. And after putting the whole province in a proper posture of repelling the efforts of the enemy, she shut herself up in Hennebion, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succours promised by Edward. In the mean time she sent over her son into England, in order at once to provide him a place of safety, and engage the king more strongly by such a pledge, to embrace with zeal the interest of her family.

Charles de Blois, anxious to make himself master of so important a fortress as that of Hennebion, and still more so to take the countess prisoner, from whose vigour and capacity all the difficulties attending his succeeding succession in Britany now proceeded, invested the place with a numerous army, composed of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and some Bretons, conducting the attack with indefatigable industry. The defence was equally vigorous: the besiegers were repulsed in every assault; frequent sallies were made with success by the garrison, and the countess herself being the most forward in all military operations, every one was ashamed not to do his duty to the utmost in this desperate situation. While she was one day giving her orders on the ramparts, she perceived that the besiegers were entirely employed in an attack, and neglected to guard a distant quarter of their camp: on this, she immediately rushed out at the head of a body of two hundred cavalry, threw them into confusion, put a great number to the sword, and set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines. But when she was preparing to return, she found she was intercepted, and that a large body of the enemy had thrown themselves between her and the gates. She instantly formed her resolution; ordered her men to disperse



disperse, and make the best of their way to Brest. She met them at the appointed place of rendezvous; collected another body of five hundred horse; returned to Hennebon, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and was received with shouts and acclamations by the garrison, who, encouraged by this reinforcement, and by so rare an example of female fortitude and valour, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Notwithstanding, however, the noble defence made by the countess, yet the town was at length reduced to the greatest extremity. Several breaches were made in the walls, and the enemy was preparing for a general assault, which, had it taken place, must infallibly have been destructive to the garrison. It was therefore thought necessary to offer terms of capitulation, and the bishop of Leon was actually sent for that purpose to the camp of Charles de Blois; but the countess, who had mounted one of the towers of the fortress, discovering the English fleet coming to her assistance, immediately communicated the joyful tidings to the garrison, and the bishop of Leon was recalled. The French were confounded when they saw the English enter the harbour, and laid aside their design of making a general assault. This reinforcement consisted of a body of men at arms, and six thousand archers commanded by Sir Walter Manny, one of the best captains of the age. The courage of the garrison was now revived, they readily joined the English in a sally, drove the besiegers from their posts, and obliged them hastily to decamp.

The countess, however, found that this reinforcement was not sufficient to enable her to take the field against the enemy, she therefore determined to pass over into England to solicit in person more effectual succours from Edward. Her request was granted; a more numerous reinforcement was immediately embarked under the command of Robert d'Artois, and the earl of Northampton. The countess herself returned in this fleet, which was attacked in the passage, by a French squadron commanded by prince Lewis of Spain. The countess behaved with her usual intrepidity, till night put an end to the contest. Before morning a dreadful storm arose, which separated the two fleets; but the English were so fortunate as to arrive safe the next day in the harbour of Hennebon.

As soon as the troops were landed, Robert d'Artois advanced to attack Vannes, which he carried by assault, but was dangerously wounded, and during his confinement a party of the Britons, in the interest of Charles, attacked and took the place by surprise. Robert had the good fortune to escape to Hennebon, from whence he embarked for England; but soon after his arrival, died in London of the wounds he had received during the assault.

Edward was greatly affected at the loss of this nobleman, and swore he would revenge his death; an oath which he punctually observed. He assembled his army, embarked at Sandwich on the fifth of October, and after a passage of two days, landed at Brest. He formed three important sieges at the same time, and by attempting too much, miscarried in all; for the duke of Normandy, at the head of forty thousand men encamped in the neighbourhood of the English, and cut off their provisions.

In this dangerous situation Edward listened to the mediation of the pope's legate, and a truce for three years was agreed on, which being ratified and confirmed on the 19th of January, 1343, Edward, in a short time after, embarked for England, and, after a tedious and stormy passage of several weeks, he landed on the 2d. of March at Weymouth, and from thence proceeded to London, where he was received with great joy by his subjects.

The truce made between the two monarchs was but of short duration. Edward was highly enraged at Philip, who had put to death several lords of Brittany, under pretence of their having been guilty of treason. He was even so incensed, when he first heard of the fate of these noblemen, that he gave order for beheading all the prisoners of Philip's party, but was prevailed upon to recall the bloody sentence, by the remonstrances of Henry, earl of Lancaster. He however, sent for one of the principal captives, and told him with great emotion, that though the death of his countrymen beheaded at Paris was a sufficient reason for retaliating the same punishment on him and his fellow prisoners, yet he would not stain his reputation by imitating so bad an example; he would not satiate his vengeance in the blood of the innocent, but by the assistance of the Almighty, he would severely punish the author of such unparralleled treachery and barbarity.

A. D. 1344. Edward was far from being deficient in the execution of his threats: fully resolved to push the war with the utmost vigour, he ordered a commission to be drawn up, constituting the earl of Northampton his lieutenant general in France, as well as in Brittany; and, according to the custom of the age in such cases, commanded him to defy Philip de Valois, as a perjured truce-breaker and an usurper of the crown of France; and to declare war against him in his name, both by sea and land.

A short time after this, Edward dispatched the earl of Derby, at the head of a considerable body of forces, to begin hostilities in Guienne. Derby was the son of Henry, earl of Lancaster, and one of the most accomplished noblemen of the English court. He was at once intrepid and humane, beloved by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. For some time he was very successful in his invasions of the enemy's territories. He attacked the count de Laille, the French general encamped at Bergerac, drove him from his intrenchments, and made himself master of the place. This success animated the English, and they proceeded in their conquests with the most astonishing rapidity.

While the earl of Derby was reducing the French towns, the count de Laille, having collected an army of twelve thousand men, invested Auberauche, which had lately fallen into the hands of the English. Derby hastened to relieve the place, and arriving near the camp of the enemy in the night, Sir Walter Manny proposed to attack the French immediately. His advice was followed with such secrecy and success, that the English entered one quarter of the French camp without resistance, and fell upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that the counts de Laille, Perigord and Valentinois, were taken prisoners in their tents, before they had time to recover from their surprise, and their troops seized with such a panic, that they fled with the utmost precipitation. The confusion was not, however, general. While one quarter was filled with disorder, the other, where the count de Cominges commanded, fled to arms, and advanced against the enemy. Flated with success, the English attacked them with incredible fury, and the engagement became very bloody; when the garrison, alarmed by hearing the trumpets sound a general charge, and discovering by the light of the dawn the English ensigns, sallied out, attacked the French in flank, and put them to flight. Above seven thousand fell in the action, and twelve hundred were taken prisoners, among whom were nine counts, and above three hundred knights and gentlemen of distinction: but the English did not gain this victory without paying a bloody tribute to the valour of their opponents. However, the force of the enemy in these parts being now entirely broken, the earl of Derby put his troops



into winter quarters, and, leaving the command to the earl of Pembroke, set sail for England to obtain a reinforcement.

About this time John de Montfort, after having suffered a severe imprisonment for near four years in the castle of the Louvre, found means to make his escape in the disguise of a peasant, and coming over to England, where his countess and son now resided, did homage and swore fealty to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany; after which he returned to that duchy with the earls of Northampton and Oxford, and a considerable body of forces, by which he was enabled to take the field in the spring of the year 1345, and to reduce Dian and other fortresses on the sea-coast. This success encouraged him to invest Quimper Corentin, which had been lately taken by Charles de Blois, who had, with unparalleled inhumanity, ordered fourteen hundred of the inhabitants to be butchered in cool blood. Upon the appearance of the English forces Charles immediately prepared to give them battle; but John de Montfort, thinking himself not sufficiently strong to hazard an engagement, left his competitor master of the field, and returned to Hennebion, where, on the 16th of September, he died of a fever. Nevertheless, the earl of Northampton, being reinforced by the arrival of the earl of Derby from England with eight thousand men at arms, made himself master of St. Basil, Roche, Meillant, Montregur, and several other very capital places.

A. D. 1346. The French king, alarmed at the progress of the English, collected a numerous army, under the command of his son the duke of Normandy, assisted by the duke of Burgundy. The earl of Derby, finding it would be madness to meet the French in the open field, was reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive. He therefore furnished all the fortified places with good garrisons, large quantities of provisions and military stores; and then passed over to England, to inform Edward of the state of the provinces, and the danger to which they were now exposed.

The duke of Normandy opened the campaign with the siege of Angoulême, the garrison of which made a noble defence; but were at last reduced to extremities. John lord Norwich, the governor, saw the impossibility of defending the place much longer; but being unwilling to surrender at discretion, had recourse to a stratagem, to save at once his own honor, and his soldiers from being made prisoners of war. He ascended the ramparts, and desired to speak with the duke of Normandy. His request was granted. The duke approached the walls; and Norwich begged a cessation of arms for the morrow, which was the feast of the Virgin, to whom the duke, as well as himself, paid great devotion. The duke very readily agreed to the proposal; and Norwich having ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, marched out of the town as soon as the morning appeared. Persuaded they were going to be attacked, the French flew to arms; but Norwich dispatched a messenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. "I see," exclaimed that prince, "the governor has outwitted me; but let us be contented with taking the place."

Edward in consequence of the report he received from the earl of Derby relative to the state of Guienne, determined immediately to lead his army in person. He therefore summoned all his allies on the side of Flanders to furnish their quota of troops, but they refused to fulfil their engagements. Edward, had, indeed, lately lost his friend, Jacob Ardevelt, the demagogue of Ghent. That popular leader, desirous of transferring the government from the earls of Flanders to the prince of Wales, had proposed, in a

meeting of the states, to insist that their count should renounce his alliance with Philip de Valois; and in case he persisted in maintaining that connection, that they should transfer their allegiance to young Edward, adding, that they had nothing to fear from the resentment of either their own sovereign or the king of France, as the English monarch was both able and willing to support them effectually.

The states, astonished at this unexpected proposal, and afraid of contradicting that popular leader, deferred time to consult their constituents, as they had no authority to determine a question of such importance without their consent. The request was too reasonable to be denied, and the assembly broke up in great confusion. His enemies laid hold of this attempt to ruin him; they charged him with having embezzled vast sums of the public money; and of having made large remittances to England, whither he intended to retire, in order to enjoy in tranquillity the riches he had procured by deceiving the people. The giddy multitude eagerly swallowed the bait prepared for them. The idol they had so long worshipped was now devoted to destruction: they thirsted for the blood of a person, for whose preservation, but a few weeks before, they would willingly have shed their own. Ardevelt soon felt the effects of this fatal change in the sentiments of the people. The enraged populace surrounded his house, and, after having killed most of his guards, dragged him forth, and instantly sacrificed him to their resentment.

This accident entirely overturned the plan which Edward had formed, and, in the first transports of his indignation, he vowed severe revenge against the perpetrators of this cruel deed: but the great towns of Flanders having sent deputies to clear themselves from all suspicion of being concerned in the assassination, and the citizens of Ghent representing it as the sudden effect of popular fury, he suffered policy to get the better of his wrath; and, after renewing his treaty of alliance with them, he returned to England.

Edward, finding himself deserted by most of his German allies, and that all prospect of attacking France by the side of Flanders was entirely at an end, embarked with his forces for Guienne; but he was prevented from sailing by the continuance of contrary winds. In this distressful situation Geoffrey D'Harcourt, a Norman baron, prevailed upon Edward to change the destination of his enterprize. D'Harcourt was a nobleman highly esteemed both for his personal merit and valor; but having been persecuted by Philip, fled into England for protection. He displayed the advantages that must attend an expedition into Normandy, a province well cultivated, full of rich and flourishing cities, destitute of troops, and at a great distance from the French armies. Hence he very justly observed, that it would be much more advantageous for the English to land in Normandy than in Guienne. Edward was convinced of the justice of his remarks; and, as soon as the wind permitted, put to sea; and, after a passage of two days only, landed at La Hogue without opposition. Here Edward knighted his eldest son, the prince of Wales, a youth then only sixteen years of age. His army consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh infantry, and six thousand Irish; a number in appearance not at all adapted to the purpose of invading France; though the success of the campaign far exceeded the most sanguine expectations. An universal consternation was immediately spread through the whole province of Normandy, where not the least apprehensions were entertained of an invasion. The ships were destroyed at La Hogue, Battem, and Cherbourg. The towns of Valognes, Carentham, and St. Lo, surrendered